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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

THE ORACLE OF HUBAL.

BY THE REV. J. D. BATE, M.R.A.S.

It is still a moot point whether the vow of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, grandfather of Muhammad, to devote one of his ten sons, meant that the son should be devoted to Allâh or to Hubal, and whether the devotement meant that he should be slain in sacrifice or merely that he should be dedicated to the office of priest. As no monograph, that we know of, has ever been published giving a detailed account of this curious idol of the pre-Islâmite Arabians, we have thought that some notes, gleaned from a variety of sources, might serve as a contribution to the subject.

But there is the usual discordancy between authorities. Some points, however, seem clearly agreed upon in reference to the matter. In the first place, all writers agree that the idol was an importation; and the fact is used to explain how image-worship came to supersede, in the Hijâz that 'Religion of Abraham,' which, according to the Islâmic creed, was the ancestral religion of that territory. The man who is credited with having thus first introduced idolatry there is 'Amr bin Luhai, called by Sale 'Amru,' and by Burckhardt 'Ammar.'[1] He is said by Burckhardt to have been of the tribe of Qussai, and by Osborn to have belonged to the Banî Khuzâ'a.[2] Shahrastânî and most Arabian authors assert that prior to the ascendancy of the Khuzâ'aites in the Hijâz the One only God was worshipped at the Ka'ba, and that Hubal was imported by their chief 'Amr bin Luhai. The point, however, is not one on which they all agree. Thus, Wâqidî states that Hubal was the chief representative idol of the Kinâna tribes; and that it was anciently called the idol of Khuzaima, the supposed father of the Kinâna and some tribes related to them. These more ancient worshippers of Hubal were nomadic tribes, and lived to the west of the Sacred Territory, and on the high road that leads to the north. Al Fâsî also dissents from the common view, and calls Hubal emphatically an idol of the Quraishites. He says that the idols imported by 'Amr bin Luhai were three—viz., Al Khalasa (which was worshipped to the south of Makka) Nahîk (also called Muhâdzir), and Muta'm.[3] The general opinion, however, credits 'Amr bin Luhai with having introduced the idol among the worshippers at the Ka'ba. The unsoundness of this opinion we have shown elsewhere,[4] where we prove that the idolatrous institutions of Makka were ancient in his time.

This man 'Amr, or 'Amrû, flourished at the commencement of the third century of the Christian era, and was king in the Hijâz, on which account the term 'Mâlik' is also applied

[1] Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 14; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* vol. I, 298-9; De Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 223 (edn. Paris, 1847).

[2] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, vol. I, p. 298; Osborn, *Islâm under the Arabs*, p. 75 (edn. Lond. 1876).

[3] Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 7 (edn. Allahabad, 1851).

[4] Bate, *Origin and History of the Ka'ba* (a work that will appear shortly).

to him, and frequent allusion is made to him in the Arabian historians.[5] There is difference of statement as to the place whence the idol was brought. Azrâkî says that Amrû imported it from Hyt in Mesopotamia,[6] Abu'l-Fida, however, tells us that it was brought from Balqâ, in the province of Damascus, in Syria.[7] According to the *Merâcid-al-ittila*, Balqâ is situated between Damascus and Wâdî-il-Kora; and is the locality of the ancient Moabites, to the east of Judæa, near the Dead Sea[8]. De Percival remarks that the name 'Balqâ' recalls that of Balak, the son of Zippor, king of the Moabites.[9] At the time of Amrû's visit, the district was occupied by Amalekites—*viz.*, by the Banî Samaidâ, or Banî Amila-al-Amâlik.[10] This man made a journey into Syria, and on his return he passed by Ma'âb, the town of Moab or Areopolis, in the district of Balqâ, where he saw the people worshipping images.[11] He asked the meaning and object of the homage thus rendered, and was informed,—'These are our gods, formed in imitation of the celestial bodies; and of human figures. When we ask of them victory, they give it us; when, in times of drought, we ask for rain, they send it; wealth, —they bestow it; in danger they accord us their succour. In short, all the prayers we address to them are heard and granted.' "How well," exclaims the learned Pocock, "does the name of the idol, which may be derived from the Hebrew הֶבֶל *hevel*, 'breath,' 'wind,' 'puffing,' 'vanity,' suit such a figment as this?[12] 'Amr, however, was much rejoiced at this intelligence, and asked that one of the idols might be given to him. They gave him Hubal; and he carried it away to Makka, and placed it in the Ka'ba.[13] Such is the rendering given by Pocock to the expression *'ala' zahru'l-ka'bâ*, used by Shahrastânî, which Pocock translates, 'Ad posteriorem (*seu* exteriorem) Caabæ partem.' He explains that some writers relate that some of the images were within the Ka'ba, and others round about it. But De Percival renders the phrase, 'sur la Càba,'—an expression that can have but one meaning—the one given it by Sayyid Ahmad Khân who records that this idol was 'placed *on the summit* of the Kaaba.'[14] It seems a curious circumstance that the idol should have been placed in such a position; yet we learn on good authority that prior to its attaining the honour of supremacy among the idols of the Ka'ba, it passed through a term of probation,—standing for a considerable period outside the Ka'ba, patiently awaiting admission.[15] The information of Dr. Crichton regarding this point seems rather 'mixed.' Speaking of the fate of Hubal on the occasion of Muḥammad's conquest of the city, he says,—'Mounted on the shoulders of the Prophet, Ali pulled down the great idol of the Khozaites from the top of the Kaaba.'[16] If it was on the outside of the Ka'ba at that time, it must have been degraded after its promotion. Yet the statement of Muir is tantamount to the same thing: he speaks of Hubal as having been on that occasion 'in front of the Kaaba, as the tutelary deity of Mecca.'[17] As the matter was 'referred to the arrows of Hubal *within* the Kaaba,' and those arrows were 'thrown' *in front of* the image,—there seems to be some oversight here. Sprenger, who gets the information from Wâqidî, says, that after the time of Qussai at least, this idol stood behind the Ka'ba over a well.[18] The only well there in our day is Zamzam.[19] Dr. Sprenger calls attention to a fact that is adverse to Abu'l-Fida's theory as to the Syrian origin of the idol. He notes that the inhabitants of Syria and Arabia Petræa had, long before the time of Amrû, embraced the Christian religion.[20]

It is not improbable that this particular idol was chosen by Amrû for the Ka'ba, for it was supposed to have the power of giving rain,[21] —the great desideratum of Arabia. The king

[5] Pocock, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 82 (edn. Oxon. 1806); Osborn, *Islâm under the Arabs*, p. 75; Syed Ahmed Khân, *Historical Geography of Arabia*, p. 54.

[6] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, vol. I, p. 299.

[7] Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 14; Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 97.

[8] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 224.

[9] *Numb.* xxii. 10; *Josh.* xxiv. 9.

[10] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, pp. 223, 224; Ibn Khâldûn, fol. 12, 130; Osborn, *Islâm under the Arabs*, p. 75.

[11] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 97; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 224; Osborn, *Islâm under the Arabs*, p. 75. [12] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 97.

[13] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 97; Osborn, *Islâm under the Arabs*, p. 75; Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, 57.

[14] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 224; Syed Ahmed Khân, *Customs of the pre-Islâmic Arabians*, p. 12; and his *Historical Geography of Arabia*, p. 54.

[15] Arnold, *Islâm and Christianity*, p. 26 (edn. Lond. 1874); De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 250.

[16] Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, p. 277 (edn. Edinburgh, 1834).

[17] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. VI, p. 127.

[18] Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 7.

[19] Bate, *The Well* ZAMZAM (a work that will appear shortly).

[20] Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 57.

[21] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 97; Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 14; Irving, *Life of Mahomet*, pp. 30, 151 (edn. Lond. 1876). nf. Sprenger, *Life of Muhammad*, 56-7.

who had thus imported the idol proceeded to engage in worshipping it and offering sacrifices to it—exercises in which he was followed by his compatriots.[22] Hubal became eventually the chief among the idols of the Ka'ba,—the presiding god in the temple, and the principal deity of the Quraishites, who were the guardians of the temple,[23]—the man to whom it was eventually indebted for its promotion being the same man that had introduced it from Syria.[24] This pre-eminence of Hubal was evinced by the fact that in front of it the casting of lots with arrows took place.[25] Its exaltation to this supremacy among the idols of the Ka'ba took place probably at the time when that sanctuary of the Banî Quraish came to be the pantheon for the whole of Arabia.[26] If so, we have here a noteworthy exemplification of the truth of the proverb, 'Facilis descensus Averni;' for the degeneration of the endless congeries of tribes in that immense country from 'the Religion of Abraham' to fetichism in some of its coarsest forms must have taken place within a mere fraction of the lifetime of one man,—'Amr bin Luhai, to whom it owed its elevation to the supreme status among the idols, being said to have been the first to introduce idolatry among his fellow-countrymen.[27] The historian Masa'ûdî gives specimens of the manner in which the Jushumite poets admonished him to uphold the religion of Abraham. He records that their admonitions were all in vain,—he imported idols without number into the Sacred Territory.[28] De Percival, however, shows that idol worship in the Hijâz existed long before this time; and he is of opinion that the crime of which the Musalmân authorities accuse Amrû is that he first introduced into the Ka'ba images already held in veneration by the Arabs.[29] Such a fact would help to remove the difficulty of making out how, if Hubal was the first idol introduced into the Ka'ba, it can be understood to have been elevated to supremacy among the idols there. There is no doubt that in subsequent times it was chief.[30] It is important, however, to qualify this by saying that it was chief among what might be termed the moveable or adventitious idols of the Ka'ba,—for an exception must always be made in favour of the Black Stone, which has from time immemorial been the fixed and permanent idol of the Ka'ba.[31] Wâqidî, speaking of the dignity of Hubal, says that it 'received almost as much homage as the Black Stone.'[32] This could never be second to Hubal or any other idol,—being a *boná-fide* bit of the celestial paradise, which is destined to escape the final conflagration by returning bodily, on the Day of Resurrection, to the place whence it came.[33]

Hubal, whose name هُبَل is sometimes spelt 'Hebal' and generally 'Hobal,' was a huge image made of red agate (Arab. *'aqîq*) in the shape of an old man with a long heavy beard.[34] One of his hands having by some accident been broken off, was replaced by the Quraish by a hand of gold.[35] In connection with this idol there are seven arrows of the kind that were used by the Arabs for the purpose of divination.[36] There is no agreement among writers as to whether, ordinarily, it was the custom to place the whole seven arrows in one hand, or in both, or whether they were not rather placed in front of him, and therefore between his hands, but not in either of them.[37] De Percival says that they were consecrated to the idol and kept near it ('près d'elle').[38] The arrows that were kept for this kind of ceremony were, like those with which the Arabs were wont to cast lots,—that is, they were without heads, points, or wings; and they were distinguished from other arrows by the technical designations *Azlâm* (pl. of *zalam* or *zulam*) and *Qidâḥ* (pl. of *qidḥ*) 'arrows of divination.[39] These curious arrows were kept in the temple

[22] Abulfida, *Historia ante-Islâmica* (edn. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1831) p. 136 ; *Sîrâta'r Rasûl*, fol. 12; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 224.
[23] Arnold, *Islâm and Christianity*, p. 26.
[24] Ibid. [25] Ibid. [26] Ibid.
[27] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, vol. I, p. 299; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 223-4.
[28] Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 57.
[29] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 224.
[30] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 97; Arnold, *Islâm and Christianity*, 26 ; Macbride, *Mohammedan Religion Explained*, p. 37 (edn. Lond. 1857).
[31] Bate, *The Black Stone* (a work that will appear shortly). [32] Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 7.
[33] Burton, *Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, vol. II. p. 65 (edn. Lond. 1855).
[34] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 98 ; Reinaud, *Monumenta Musulmânica*, tome I, p. 246; Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 14 ; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, 224, 225 ; Dods, *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ*, p. 74 (edn. Lond. 1877) ; Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, p. 277.
[35] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 98 ; Sala, *Prel. Disc.* p. 14.
[36] Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 14.
[37] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 98.
[38] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 265 ; and II, 310.
[39] Pocock, *Specimen*, pp. 98-99; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I. pp. 261,265 ; Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 14; Syed Ahmed Khan, *Customs of the pre-Islâmic Arabians*, p. 12 ; *The Christian Remembrancer* (Jan. 1855) p. 118.

of the idol in whose presence they were consulted.[40] Seven such arrows as we have described were accordingly kept in the Ka'ba.[41] There was inside the Ka'ba a hollow or cavity in which were preserved the offerings and other treasures belonging to the temple : the image of Hubal was situated over this hollow.[42]

Sale says that though seven arrows were kept for divination before this idol, yet in actual divination three only were made use of.[43] On one of these were written the words—'My Lord hath commanded me;' on another —'My Lord hath forbidden me;' and the third was blank. If the arrow containing the first of these inscriptions was drawn, it was deemed an indication of the Divine approval of the enterprise concerning which the oracle had been resorted to: the arrow containing the second inscription indicated the reverse of this; but if the blank one happened to be drawn, the arrows were mixed and thrown over again till a decisive answer was obtained by one of the others appearing twice out of the three throws.[44] Though it is usually a most unsafe thing to differ with Sale, yet it is not easy to escape the suspicion that there is some slip in the account he thus gives. If three arrows only were used, how came there to be so many as seven ?

It is not sufficient to reply that seven was the perfect number, for we shall presently see that each of these seven arrows bore an inscription indicating that it was designed for actual use in divination. Besides, in the case of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, now under consideration, it is expressly said that six arrows were used,—in pairs, it is true; but still six, and not 'three.'[45] Now, besides Hubal, there was another idol at Tebâla which was much venerated among the Arabs and was used for exactly the same purposes as Hubal, and consulted by means of the wingless and unpointed arrows.[46] It was called 'Zîu'l-Khulusa.' This is the form given it by De Perciva1. It is also spelt by Arabian writers Zû'l-Khalusa, Zû'l-Khalsa, Zû'l-Khalasa,—this last being the form most commonly used. The form applied by De Percival to the idol is not very commonly so applied—it being not usual to prefix the relative pronoun to any but generic names. The most usual designation for the idol is 'Al Khalasa,' and for the temple 'Zîu'l-Khalasa,'—the name being by some attributed to the fact that the tree called 'Khalas' (a kind of clinging tree, like the vine) grew in the locality. The temple was also called 'Ka'batu'l-Yamâma' or 'Al Ka'batu'l-Yamâniyya,' from its geographical position; and 'Al Ka'batu'sh-Shâmiyya,' because its door faced the north (Syria = Shâm). The temple belonged to several different tribes, among which were the Bani Khatha'm, the Bani Daus, and the Bani Bijîla. This idol, Al Khalasa, was eventually demolished by command of Muḥammad after his conquest of Makka.[47] In consulting it three arrows only were used, on each of which was written one of the words 'Command,' 'Prohibition,' 'Delay.'[48] The correspondence both in number and in sense, of these two sets of oracles, suggests the possibility that Sale may have overlooked the distinction between the two idols.

Among the pagans of pre-Islâmite Arabia, there were ordinarily seven arrows used in consulting the oracle of Hubal.[49] On these arrows were written certain fixed responses, from which some sort of oracle could be gathered in any matter whatever that might be referred to the idol. On each of the arrows of Hubal was inscribed one of the following seven terms, —'The price of blood;' 'Yes;' 'No;' 'It is yours;' 'Assistant;' 'Stranger;' 'Water.'[50] The arrows were thrown into a bag, and drawn by an official of the Ka'ba specially charged with that duty, for which he received one hundred dirhams and a camel.[51] The technical designation of this official was *Sâhib al-Azlâm* or *Sâhib al-Qidâḥ* 'Master of the Arrows' (= Master of Divination, or 'The Diviner' *par excellence*). Generally speaking, the oracle was consulted before anything of moment was undertaken—domestic, commercial, political. As examples we may mention the circumcision of a lad, the fixing of a child's paternity, going

[40] Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 90. [41] Ibid.

[42] Burckhardt, *Arabia* vol. I, 300; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 250; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. I, p. cclvi. [43] Sale, *Prel. Disc.* pp. 14,90. [44] Ibid.

[45] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 261; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. I, p. cclvi.

[46] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome II, p. 310; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. ACDAH; Reinaud, *Monumenta Musalmânica*, tome II, p 14.

[47] Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 786, col. 2 (edn. Lond. 1868); Richardson, *Persian and Arabic Dictionary*, p. 532, col. 2 (edn. Johnson, Lond. 1852).

[48] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome II, p. 310; The *Christian Remembrancer* (Jan. 1855) p. 119; Dods, *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ*, p. 82.

[49] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. I, p. cclvi.

[50] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 265.

[51] Ibid.

to war, concluding a treaty, starting on a journey, entering a state of matrimony, ascertaining the guilty party in a murder, tracing a person's genealogy, and such-like.[52] Before the operation of drawing the arrows began, the applicants had to offer to Hubal the following petition:—'O divinity, the desire to know such or such a thing has brought us to thee. Make us to know the truth!'[53] Having consulted the oracle, persons were expected to take action upon the information or advice thus received.

The question as to whom this idol H u b a l was supposed to represent, elicits information of some interest. The learned Dr. Pocock, whose *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* has not yet been surpassed as the ultimate authority in critical questions relating to Arabia and Islâm, derives the name of it from the Hebrew הַבַּעַל *habba'al* or הַבֵּל *habbêl*,—and, by ignoring the vowel-points, suggests the appropriateness of הֶבֶל *hevel*, 'vanity!'[54] Among the Arabs, H u b a l appears to have had a double character, in which respect he resembled the Syrian idol B a a l (properly, Ba'al), who was regarded both as the founder of the Babylonian empire, and as the Sun personified as a deity.[55] The opinion that H u b a l was the same as the Babylonian or Syrian idol B a' a l or Bêl, or synonymous with it, is in fact supported by the testimony of the Arabian authorities, who relate that it was originally brought from Syria or Mesopotamia.[56] Of course, the Arabian writers do not maintain that H u b a l was identical with Ba'al: they admit, however, that it was an astronomical deity, which Ba'al also is believed to have been,—whose designation, by the way, like that of 'the sun' among ourselves, always appears with the article—'H a b b a'a l.'[57] Further, Herodotus (and after him, Rawlinson), held the opinion that H u b a l was 'the Jupiter of the Arabians,'[58]—presumably because he was believed to have the power of sending rain. Once more, Pocock mentions that this idol is supposed by some to have been the one known in Arabian literature as 'the Image of Abraham,' which was among the idols demolished by Muḥammad when he 'cleansed the Ka'ba' of idolatry in the eighth year of the Hajira.[59] This was the opinion of Abu'l-Fida, who expressly states that the image of Abraham occupied the chief place in the Ka'ba, and that he was represented by H u b a l.[60] Hishâmî says that among the images and pictures that covered the walls of the Ka'ba was a figure of Abraham in the act of divining by arrows.[61] If this was not H u b a l, there were more deities than one who divined by arrows; and if it was, how happens it that this image was inside the Ka'ba, and the image of Hubal outside? It has to be borne in mind, however, that much of this, though it is all of it from the best sources, is in great measure conjectural,—H u b a l remains a mystery:[62] as to the actual identity of the idol, its history and origin, and the etymology of its name, no satisfactory knowledge exists.[63]

We may add that this practice of divining by arrows was followed not only by the Arabs, but also by the ancient Greeks and other nations of ancient times.[64] It is, moreover, particularly mentioned in Scripture: for example, in *Ezek.* xxi. 21—23 we read,—

'The king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination. He made bright his arrows,[65] he consulted with images, he looked into the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem,—to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering-rams against the gates, to cast up a mound, to build a fort. And it shall be unto them as a false divination in their sight,—to them that have sworn oaths:

[52] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 327 seqq.; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. ACDAH; Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 90; De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 265; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. I, p. cclvi. Wâqidî and Abû Hâtim severally mention a tradition of Ibn Zama'ah to the effect that when Muḥammad was an infant, his grandfather Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib took him into the interior of the Ka'ba and standing before the idol Hubal, thanked God and invoked His blessing upon the infant. (Conf. Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 76.) We thus learn another of the uses of Hubal, and what was its position in Muḥammad's time.

[53] De Percival, *Histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 265; *Sîrata-r-Rasûl*, fol. 23; *Journal Asiatique* (Sept. 1838), p. 227.

[54] Pocock, *Specimen*, pp. 97-8.

[55] Arnold, *Islâm and Christianity*, p. 27.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. BAAL (edn. Lond. 1863).

[58] Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I, p. 318; Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. BAAL; Burckhardt, *Arabia*, vol. I, p. 300; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 134.

[59] Pocock, *Specimen*, pp. 98-9.

[60] Arnold, *Islâm and Christianity*, p. 27; conf. Forster, *Mohammetanism Unveiled*, vol. II, p. 409.

[61] Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. IV, p. 128; Hishâmî, p. 364.

[62] Arnold, *Islâm and Christianity*, p. 27.

[63] Pocock, *Specimen*, p. 98. The curious reader may follow up the subject in Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic and Sorcery*, pp. 133-4 (edn. Lond. 1877) and his *Letters Assyriologiques*, tome II, pp. 164-178.

[64] Potter, *Antiquities of Greece*, vol. I, p. 384; Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 90.

[65] 'Made bright his arrows,'—that is, as the Vulgate has it, mixed them together or shook them (preparatory to throwing).

but he will call to remembrance the iniquity, that they may be taken.'

The allusion to Babylon recalls the statement that it was from Mesopotamia that the idol H u b a l was imported into Makka.[66]

The comment of Jerome on this passage is in remarkable agreement with what we are told of the custom as it existed among the ancient Arabs. He writes,—'He shall stand in the highway and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may cast arrows into a quiver and mix them together, being written upon or marked with the names of such people, that he may see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to attack.'[67]

The superstitious practice of divination was forbidden by the author of the Qur'ân. Thus, in Sûra v (*Maida*) 4, we read,—

'Ye are forbidden to make division by casting lots with arrows: this is an impiety!'

See also *ver.* 92 of that same Sûra. Notwithstanding this very plain prohibition, Burton came upon what he believes to be a relic of this practice of the pagan times of Arabia. At no less a place than Madîna he found a religious performance called 'Istikhâra,' or more commonly 'Khîra,' in which the will of the Divine Being is consulted by praying for a dream in one's sleep, revealing to those concerned how any affair (such as a marriage, etc.) ought best to be settled. But they consult God not by prayer alone, but also by the rosary, by opening the Qur'ân, and other devices of a similar nature, which devices bear blame if a negative be deemed necessary. Burton attests that this kind of superstition obtains throughout the Muḥammadan world.[68] His great predecessor, Burckhardt, found the very same practice in vogue at Madîna half a century earlier.[69]

[66] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, vol. I, p. 299.

[67] Pocock, *Specimen*, 329; Sale, *Prel. Disc.* pp. 90-91.

[68] Burton, *Pilgrimage*, vol. II, p. 287.

[69] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, II, 260.

INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS, WITH HINDI LEGENDS.

BY EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S., &c. LONDON.

When editing James Prinsep's *Essays*, in 1858—I was unable to add to his early lists of "Indo-Scythic and Hindû link-coins,"[1] or to advance beyond his highly suggestive readings of the "second series of imitations from the Ardokro type."[2]

Since that period, however, I have never lost sight of the subject, and have lately had time to re-examine my old notes and facsimiles and been favoured with the additional advantage of referring to the recent acquisitions of Sir E. C. Bayley and Mr. A. Grant. In like manner, I have been permitted to study, somewhat at my leisure, the large accumulations in the British Museum, which now include the old India House Collection. From these combined sources I have been able to compile the subjoined list of coins, which will, I trust, materially assist my fellow numismatists in their more ample and extended investigations *in situ*.

One of the most curious results obtained in this direction, however, is the discovery of no less than four several tribal designations of the Indo-Scythians after their apparent establishment in India, which I must refer to in some detail, before I proceed to describe the coins themselves.

I—THE SAKAS.

The S a k a s seem to have formed so recognised a part of the Indian body-politic, in olden days, that we find them noticed in three several passages in the *Mahâbhârata* associated with various other tribes of more or less uncertain origin and geographical location.[3] M a n u, also gives them a place in his restricted survey of more central lands[4] and the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* pretends to define their serial succession, in relation to other apparently contemporaneous dynasties—to the effect that "after these [the Andhras] various races will reign; as, 7 Â b h î r a s, 10 G a r d a b h i l a s, (Gardabhars), 16 S a k a s, 8 Y a v a n a s, 14 T u s h â r a s (Tukhâras),[5] * * *

Then "P a u r a s will be kings for 300 years. When they are destroyed, the K a i l a k i l a Y a v a n a s will be kings."

[1] Plate xxii, page 227, *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. IV, 1835, Plate xxxviii, page 630.

[2] Plate xxx, page 376, *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. V, 1856. Plate xxxviii, page 643.

[3] Quoted in Wilson's *Vishṇu Purâṇa*. Hall's Edition, vol. II, pp. 165, 171, 179.

[4] Chapter X, Sec. 44 "Kâmbojas, Yavanas, and Sakas.

[5] *Vishṇu Purâṇa* vol. IV, p. 202, see also pp. 205 note 1, 208-9, &c.

This is not the place to follow out, at large, any of the curious coincidences, even this bare outline might suggest. But to revert to our numismatic documents, the number of monosyllabic names in this series is singularly significant, in pointing to a Non-Aryan or Turanian and *quasi*-Chinese system of nomenclature.

II—KUSHANS.

Mr. H. Rawlinson considers that the capital of the Kushans, in the time of Alexander, was located at Nishâpûr—the then classical Σούσια.[6] If so, this section of the tribe must have already moved downwards from one of their acknowledged centres at Kushan (Kabushân) on the Atreck—near which the first Arsakes established his new citadel, at Asak-âbâd ('Ασαὰχ).[7]

We need not seek to follow the progress of the leading camps in their southern course, but may accept the main results, so far as their records on Indian soil extend. Their local inscriptions range geographically from Pinjtar, in the Yusafzai country,[8] to the celebrated tope of Manikyâla,[9] and to the eastward, as far as Mathurâ on the Jumnâ.[10]

Their aboriginal race and their language, in its adapted forms of writing, are also of the highest importance in the present enquiry. As to the former, modern testimony, severed from antiquarian tendencies—distinctly points to a simple identification of the Kushans with the Uguirs[11] ("Kaotchang rendu par Oueïgour"). If we may accept this evidence as retrospective many of the difficulties still surrounding the decipherment and interpretation of the coin legends will disappear. But, on the other hand, there is still much that is necessarily vague and obscure in this direction.

The Rev. J. Edkins, an acknowledged authority under the Chinese aspect, tells us :—

"The Turks of Ili live in large cities, and have flourishing silk manufactures. They represent the Weigurs of the middle ages, who, in their literature, employed, first a writing not yet deciphered: then the alphabet taught them by the Nestorians (and communicated afterwards to the Mongols), and last the Arabic."[12]

From all that we can gather by the juxtaposition of imitative coin legends, it would seem that the first official effort towards the creation of a special alphabet commenced, in this case, with a reproduction of the old Greek *capital* letters which had become fixed quantities, in so many of the mechanical traditions of the Eastern mints. The next onward movement seems to imply a parallel resort to the small capitals, or current Greek-hand, which was more likely to appeal in facility of expression to the every-day transactions of a people who were only learning to write—the adoption of the Greek alphabet, in the first instance, by these untutored races must necessarily have been encouraged by the fact that the official language of their neighbours, the Parthians, was simply Greek, the use of which so largely intruded upon the language of the Romans in their eastern dominions.

It is in this state of transition that we have to encounter the stray marginal legends of our coins couched in an unknown tongue—which we have still to seek to interpret.[13]

III—GADHIA BRANCH.

The designation of this section of the Scythic tribes seems to coincide, on the one part, with the opening portion of the name of Gondophares the ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΣ of the early Christian writers[14] and the synonymous Goda-phara of the Semitic version on the Baktrian coins.[15] On the other hand, the sept appellation appears to have been preserved in the conventional form of the *Gadhia-pysa* of later times. So, also, *Gadhia* itself is affirmed to have been a cognomen of Vikramâditya,[16] and in like manner we have traces of the name in the traditional *Gund-gurh*, on the Indus,[17] and may possibly extend identifications from other sources.

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[6] *J. R. A. S.* vol. XV, *O. S.* p. 239. The ابرشهر of the Persians.

[7] Isidore of Charax, chapter 11, *J. R. A. Soc.* 1871, p. 445.

[8] Cunningham *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, p. 61.

[9] Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, p. 146.

[10] *J. R. A. S.* vol. XX, p. 251.

[11] *Mahometism en Chine*, Paris, 1878, p. 7. Ibn Khordadbah, in the IXth century speaks of the king of Maverulnahr as still bearing the name of Kushân-shâh. —*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 41.

[12] *The Phœnix*, London July 1870, p. 5.

[13] The Śakârî seems to have been a recognised dialect in India. See Muir, *Sans. Texts*, vol. II, pp. 65-50.

[14] The Latin *Gundoferus*, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 33, Yule's *Cathay*, pp. 376-7.

[15] Variously written *Gadaphara*, *Gandaphrata*, and *Gudupha*, Prinsep's *Essays* vol. II, p. 214, Pl. xliii. fig. 15, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 340.

[16] *Auriana Antiqua*, p. 410, Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I, p. 341, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1835, p. 687; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, p. 155.

[17] Abbott, *J. A. Soc. Bengal*, 1854, pp. 152-8 130-3, 145, and 1863, pp. 2-17.

IV—SHANDA BRANCH.

The last of the Scythian tribes we have to notice is the Shanḍhas or Khanḍas, for the initial is legitimately convertible into ख—*kh.*

It is a matter worthy of notice, in this place, of how largely these intrusive races clung to the group of *lingual* or *cerebral* letters, which are understood so specially to belong to Tartar languages. Bishop Caldwell stated the case, in the first instance, in the following terms: "None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit."[18] Mr. Norris, in deciphering the Scythic tablets of Darius at Behistun, placed upon record his conviction "that the sounds called *cerebral* are peculiar to the Tartar or Finnish class of languages; that the really Indian languages are all of Tartar origin, or at least that their phonetic and grammatical affinities are Tartar."[19]

Professor Benfey conceded that the mute "cerebrals have probably been introduced from the phonetic system of the Indian aborigines into Sanskrit."[20]

Dr. Bühler, on the other hand, contends at some length against these conclusions, as also does Mr. Beames.[21] These objections are stated in full in Dr. Caldwell's 2nd Edition,[22] but they do not seem to have altogether carried conviction to his mind. Mr. John Muir has collected and criticised with his usual fairness, all that has been advanced for and against these varying theories. His résumé will be found in the volume II. of his *Sanskrit Texts* published in 1871.[23]

To return to our Tribal question: I find the solution in this instance ready done to my hand in Professor Wilson's translation of a portion of the *Mahâbhârata* (*Bhîsma Parvan*), which he incorporated in his edition of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa.* The passage is to the following effect, the speaker being supposed to be Sanjaya:—

"Next hear from me, descendant of Bharata,[24] the names of the inhabitants of the different countries. They are the Kurus, Páncháls, Śâlwas, dwellers in the Madra thickets, Śûrasenas, &c. * * * (the list continues in irregular order) Avantis, Aparakuntis, Goghnatas, Mandakas, Shanḍas." Professor Wilson remarks the more usual reading is Khanḍas, one MS. has Parṇas.[25]

COINS—VASU-DEVA.

No. 1.—Gold.

1. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle,* vol. VI, o. s. (1843) Plate I. fig, 2;

2. *Trésor de Numismatique* (Paris), Plate LXXX., figs. 10-11;

3. Burgess, *Arch. Report,* vol. II, 1874. Gupta series, No. 1.

Obverse. King standing to the front—with a full suit of bossed armour. The right hand casts incense into a small Scythic altar, in the background is seen a decorated trident, the left hand rests on a standard adorned with flowing pennons. *Marginal* legend, in Greek, a more or less imperfect rendering of the conventional *standard* inscription of PAO NANO PAO XOPANO; Hindi legend in the field, to the left भ *Bh,* to the right वासु *vasu.*

Reverse. Seated figure of Parvatî with a Roman cornucopia in the left, and a *paśu* or noose in the right hand. Scythic monogram (No. 160 *Ariana Antiqua*) to the left: to the right, in imperfect Greek APΔOKPO, *And-Ugra* (Ardha-Nârî).

I—ŚAKA BRANCH.

No. 2. Gold B.M. ME *Shaka.*

Obverse. The usual type of the erect figure of the king.

Below the arm मे, *me,* outside the standard षक, *Shaka.*

Reverse. The usual device, with traces of debased Greek letters.

The legitimate Sanskrit श, *ś* does not find a place in these legends, the mint authorities following local speech, seem to have recognised nothing but the ष, *sh.*

PA-*Shaka.*

No. 3. Gold. B. M. Unique.

Obverse. Usual device. Below the arm प, *pa.* Outside the standard षक, *Shaka.*

Reverse. The usual seated figure with OPΔOX.

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[18] *Comparative Grammar of South Indian Languages,* 2nd Edit., Trübner, 1875, p. 32; see also Bopp's *Grammar,* vol. I, p. 14; Burnouf, *Yasna,* p. cxlv.

[19] *J. R. A. S.* vol. XV, pp. 6, 19. Incidentally Molesworth, in the preface to his *Marâthî Dictionary,* p. xxii, says, "Independently of the Arabic and Persian words which have found their way into the Marâthî language * * it has two distinct lingual elements, the Scythian (or Turanian) and the Sanskrit."

[20] Muir's *Sanskrit Texts,* vol. II, p. 460.

[21] *Madras Journal of Literature,* 1864, pp. 116-136.

[22] *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India.*

[23] Pp. 33*n,* 438, 440, 468, 487-8.

[24] *Vishṇu Purâṇa.* Hall's edit. vol. II, p. 168.

[25] It will be remembered that Strabo has preserved the name of the Pârni Dâhæ, Book xi. c. vii. 1 and viii. 2. Ptolemy vi. 10. 2. Πâρνοι—Δâαι. See also Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua,* p. 141.

BHRI *Shaka.*

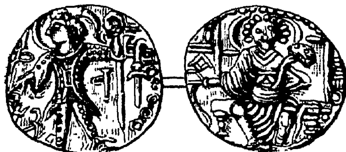
No. 4 B.M. Gen. Cunningham's collection.

Obverse. Below the arm भृ *Bhṛi.* Outside the spear शक *Shaka,* with traces of Scythic letters on the margin.

Reverse. As usual.

Mr. Theobald has a second specimen with this name.

BHU *Shaka.*



No. 5. Gold. Unique ? India Office collection.

Obverse. Below the arm भु *Bhu.* Outside the spear शक, *Shaka.*

Margin. Scythic legend. Below, to the right of the figure भि *bhi* or ति *ti* ?

Reverse. Seated female, with cornucopia and Scythic monogram. Margin, legend in Scythic or corrupt Greek ?

Sayam Shaka.

No. 6. Gold. Common.

Obverse. Below the arm सयं, *Sayam.* To the left भ *Bh.* Outside the spear शक, *Shaka.*

Some specimens have च, *ch* in lieu of *bh.*

Reverse. The usual figure with Scythic legend.

Senam Shaka.

No. 7. Gold. Common.

Obverse. Below the arm, सेणं, *Seṇam.*

Outside the spear शक, *Shaka.* To the left भ, *Bh.*

Reverse. As usual.

There is always a degree of doubt, in these perpendicular legends, not only as to where the top vowel should come in, amid the down line or group of consonants, but likewise what the circular flourish of the vowel itself should stand for, the more frequent *i*, or the less common *e* ? the *â* is definite enough in the coin legends, which is not always the case in some of the Mathura Inscriptions.[25] I have assumed that when the vowel is placed over the first limb of an open consonant it implies *e.* But this theory is quite open to correction. General Cunningham in 1843 read the name, on this class of coins, as "*Sita Palaka* or *Sita-maka*"[26] The त, *t*, however, on the large number of specimens now available, seems to be cut more or less flat on the lower limb, which converts it preferentially into ण, *ṇ* : the previous interpretation, moreover, took no note of the obvious *anuswâra* at the foot of the name. The ण, *ṇ* of the Girnâr Bridge Inscription so far assimilates to the त *t*, that its lower limb is curved, but the curve of the *t* in the same series is much more pronounced; covering, indeed, nearly three-fourths of a circle.[27] Some objection might be taken to the indifferent use of the two forms of ण for one and the same consonant, but in the Mathurâ Inscriptions this apparent inconvenience seems to have been altogether disregarded.[28]

II—KUSHAN BRANCH.

No. 8. Very common.

Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xxii, fig. 13, p. 227 and Pl. xxx. fig. 19, p. 376.

Ariana Antiqua, Pl. xviii, figs. 27-28, p. 427.

Obverse. The name on these very numerous mintages may be variously rendered from the earliest कद, *kad*, to an apparent कदि, *kadi*—the old Persian کدی *kadi*, king, lord ?—and onwards to किदु, *kidu*, or किदर, *kidara.* The earlier renderings might be doubtfully associated with the celebrated Panjâb king H o d i.[29]

Beyond the spear, कषण *kashaṇ.* The ण *ṇ* in these instances takes the form of the Allahabad and Kutila types of *n*, rather than the severe Asoka form noticed in No. 7.

The letters to the right hand of the standing figure near the small altar vary extensively, and no very definite classification can be arrived at at present.

III—GADAHA BRANCH.



No. 9. Gold, rare, unpublished. Coins in B. M.

Obverse. Below the arm, a name very similar to those found on the coins classed under No. 8. There is, however, this marked distinction that an र, *r*, is inserted, in the central line, below

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[25] *J. R. A. S.* vol. V, N. S. (1871), Professor Dowson's article, p. 182 and Plates 1, 2, 3.

[26] *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. VI, o. s., p. 22, Plate figure 3.

[27] Prinsep's *Essays*, alphabets, plate xxxviii, vol. II, page 40.; Burgess' Alphabets, in *Report Arch. Surv. West India*, vol. IV, pl V, No. 13, *Kshatrapa*; and the Rudradâma Inscriptions, plate xiv, *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. II, 1874-75.

[28] *J. R. A. S. supra cit.* Inscriptions IX, X, &c.

[29] *J. A. S. B.* 1863, p. 17.

the क *k* and above the द *d*, which would make the name appear as किर्दे *kirda*, or कार्दि *kardi*. Outside the spear are the letters indicating the tribal name, which read गडह, *Gaḍaha*.

Letters to the right of the standing figure on a line with the small altar क्षण, *kshaṇa*? The *ksh* is formed by joining the *k* to the *sh*, in line, and the cross of the *k* serves for its own definition, as well as the joint discrimination of the *sh* from an ordinary प, *p*. In some cases these letters seem to read *Kshadan*.

Reverse. Seated female figure, as usual. Monogram. No. 162 *Ariana Antiqua*. Letters to the right यप्त, *yapta*?

IV—SHANDHI BRANCH.

No. 10. Gold. Common.

Obverse. Below the arm शिण्ढ, *Shanḍhi*.

Outside the spear बासण, *Bastán*?

To the right of the standing figure ज, *j*, न, *n*, &c.

Reverse. As usual.

No. 11. Gold. Rare.

Obverse. Below the arm भद्र, *Bhadra*.

Outside the spear, (शिण्ढ,) *Shanḍhi*.

Reverse. As usual.

V—LOWER GUPTA BRANCH. NÁRA (Gupta).

The subjoined later Gupta coins may seem somewhat out of place in this Scythic series, but they bear upon the general system of the perpendicular definition of the Hindî alphabet *in loco*, and No. 13 has to be introduced, as a new piece, by a reproduction of its already published direct prototype.

Ariana Antiqua. Pl. xviii. 22 (3 coins in the British Museum.)

No. 12. Gold. Rare.

Obverse. King standing, to the front, with *Garuḍa* standard to the right, and bow in the left hand, general device similar to those of Samudra Gupta's[30] but greatly deteriorated in artistic execution. Below the left arm नार, *Nára*, between the legs गु, *gu*.

Reverse. The usual type of Pârvatî seated on lotus leaves.

Marginal legend. बालादित्य *Báládítya*.

VISHṆU (Gupta).

No. 13. Gold. Rare. *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. xviii. fig. 24, (Willock Collection, India Office).

Obverse. Similar devices to No. 12. Below the arm, inside the bow विष्णु, *Vishṇu*.

at the bottom गु, *gu* at times ह, *h*.

Reverse. The usual device. Legend श्री चंद्रदित्य *Śrî Chandraditya*.

Since writing the above I have discovered a new coin of a Scythic chief, entitled Pu, and bearing the tribal designation of Mahi. Pao was seemingly a common name enough among central Asian peoples. It is mentioned by De Guignes as the appellation of the Hun "Chef des hordes d'Orient," called Lieou-chi, the father of the great Lieou-Yuen-Hai, in the 3rd century A. D.[31] So also, we find a Pou-sa, son of Chi-kien-ki-kin, of the Hoei-ke race, in A. D. 629.[32]

With regard to the tribal name, or subsectional nomenclature of the horde,[33] which is clear and definite on the coin, in old Hindi characters, as *Mahi*—several possible identifications present themselves among the race lists of the *Mahâbhârata*—ranging from the Mahyas and Suhmas to the eastward,[34] Mâhikas or Mâhishas to the south,[35] and Mâheyas, who were supposed to be settled on the Mahî river in Mâlwâ[36] which last seems to afford the most probable association in the present instance.

It would be a great point to be able to establish this latter connection, in coincidence with the strong Scythic element generally prevailing on the Indus and the Western coast.

Of course, there is no pretext for making the reference to the Mâheyas, or other previously cited races named in Indian records, to imply that they were in any way co-existent in their new homes with the "great war" of the Pandus, &c. But, as regards the text of the *Mahâbhârata*

[30] *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. xviii. Nos. 7, 8, 12. Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, Nos. ML and MLVII. Prinsep's *Essays*; Burgess's *Arch. Reports*, vol. II, No. 4.

[31] De Guignes (Paris 1756) Part 2, vol I, p. 145.

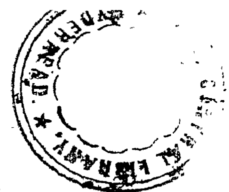
[32] *Ibid*, vol I, p. 231.

[33] Strabo expressly says: "On the left hand (on advancing from the S. E. of the Hyrcanian Sea towards "the East" Translator's note) opposite to these parts are situated the Scythian and nomadic nations * * the rest have the common appellation of Scythians, but each separate tribe has its peculiar name;—Book XI, c. viii, sec. 2. (Bohn's edition vol. II, p. 245). See also Pliny, Book vi, cap. 19.

[34] *Mahâbhârata*, quoted in the *Vishṅu Purâṇa*, Hall's Edition, vol. II, p. 165 *n*. 11.

[35] *Ibid*. vol. II, p. 166 *N. S.* 8; and also *Vishṇu Purâṇa itself*, Book IV. cap. xxiv, vol. IV, p. 220.

[30] *V. P.*, vol. II, page 169 *n*. 6 and 154, *n* 7. Hiouen Thsang, tome III, p. 155; Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 490.



itself, modern criticism discovers so many vital after-incorporations, that we need scarcely regard a few extra Barbarian nations thrown in at hazard by later revisers, as meaning anything more than that the authorized version was written-up to the knowledge of the day! And it has, in this sense, a meaning which has preserved to modern enquirers a fresh geographical circle, from whence to test the location and possible date of the intrusion of these alien tribes into India.

MAHI BRANCH. Pu Mahi.

No. 11. *a* Gold. *Unique.* British Museum.

Obverse. The usual standing figure of the king with trident and small incense altar on his right: the left hand rests upon a standard with flowing pennons.

Legend below the arm, पु *Pu*; outside the staff of the standard महि *Mahi.*

Margin, Scythic legend?

Reverse. Seated figure of Pârvatî with debased Greek legend (ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ). Monogram No. 160, *Ariana Antiqua.*

Finally, to recapitulate our recent acquisitions —we have five definite Scythic tribal subdivisions, and no less than eleven names of kings or military chiefs located in India, more or less unknown to history, of whom the following is a preliminary outline:—

Ṣaka's	No. 2	Me.
Do.	,, 3	Pa.
Do.	,, 4	Bhri
Do.	,, 5	Bhu
Do.	,, 6	Sayam
Do.	,, 7	Senam
Kushans	,, 8	Kidara (Kady) *Hodi*?
Gaḍaha	,, 9	Kirda, or Kardi.
Shaṇḍhis	,, 10	Básanam or Bastán.
Do.	,, 11	Bhadri
Mahi	,, 11 *a.*	Pu.

A RÁSHṬRAKÛṬA GRANT FROM MYSORE.

BY LEWIS RICE, M.R.A.S.

The accompanying grant, dated Śaka 735, was found at Kaḍaba in the Tumkur District of Maisur. It is engraved on five copper plates, about 9½ inches by 5, strung on a metal ring which is secured with a seal 2 inches in diameter, bearing the device of a human figure in a sitting posture, with the hands held up on each side of the chest.[1]

Old traditions, as in the chronicle of the *Kongudeśa,*[2] indicate the rule of Râshṭrakûṭa or Raṭṭa kings in Maisur in very early times, before the rise of the Gaṅga power; and during their ascendancy over the Western Châlukyas in the 9th and 10th centuries, their dominion must have extended to this country. But, so far as I am aware, none of their grants have hitherto been found here.[3] The present inscription is in the Pûrvada Haḷe Kannaḍa character and in the Sanskrit language; but in describing the boundaries and witnesses Haḷe Kannaḍa is introduced. The four forms of *l* are more frequently and systematically used than in any specimen which has come under my notice.

The grant is one made by Prabhûtavarsha, living at Mayûra-Khanḍi, on the application of Châki Râja, of the village of Jâlamaṅgalam in the Iḍigûr district, to a Muni named Arkakîrtti, on behalf of the Jaina[4] temple of Śilâgrâma on the west of Mânyapura. The reason for this donation was that the Muni had been successful in removing some adverse influence of Saturn (*Śanêśvara-pîḍa*) from a prince named Vimalâditya, governor of the Kunuṅgil country, who was a son of Yaśovarmma and grandson of Balavarmma of the Châlukya family, his mother being the sister of Châki Râja, the sovereign of Gaṅga-manḍala.

The locality of the grant is evidently, from the names, in the Karnâṭaka country, but I have not been able to identify it with any of the places bearing the same name in Maisur. Possibly, from the source whence the grant has been produced, Kunuṅgil might be the modern Kuṇigal,[5] but this is only conjecture. Mayûra-khanḍi, it is said,[6] may be Morkhand, an old hill-fort in the Nâsik district.

[1] The figure bears a general resemblance to the one on the Khârepatan plates (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. I., p. 209), but the attitude and details are not the same.

[2] *Mad. Jour. L. and S.*, vol. XIV.

[3] The inscription given in Plate xxvi. of Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, a transcript and translation of which will be found at p. lvii of *Mysore Inscriptions*, is a grant made in Maisur during the Raṭṭa supremacy, but where it was found is not stated.

[4] In the grant it is called *Janendra-bhavana*, but this is no doubt a mistake for *Jinendra-bhavana.*

[5] The same place however was suggested by me for Konikal of the Ambera inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, pp. 89, 96; vol. IX, p. 304.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 64.

itself, modern criticism discovers so many vital after-incorporations, that we need scarcely regard a few extra Barbarian nations thrown in at hazard by later revisers, as meaning anything more than that the authorized version was written-up to the knowledge of the day! And it has, in this sense, a meaning which has preserved to modern enquirers a fresh geographical circle, from whence to test the location and possible date of the intrusion of these alien tribes into India.

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Reverse. Seated figure of Pârvatî with debased Greek legend (ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ). Monogram No. 160, *Ariana Antiqua*.

Finally, to recapitulate our recent acquisitions —we have five definite Scythic tribal subdivisions, and no less than eleven names of kings or military chiefs located in India, more or less unknown to history, of whom the following is a preliminary outline:—

Ṣaka's	No. 2	Me.
Do.	„ 3	Pa.
Do.	„ 4	Bhri
Do.	„ 5	Bhu
Do.	„ 6	Sayam
Do.	„ 7	Senam
Kushans	„ 8	Kidara (Kady) *Hodi*?
Gaḍaha	„ 9	Kirda, or Kardi.
Shaṇḍhis	„ 10	Básanam or Bastán.
Do.	„ 11	Bhadri
Mahi	„ 11 *a*.	Pu.

A RÁSHṬRAKÛṬA GRANT FROM MYSORE.

BY LEWIS RICE, M.R.A.S.

The accompanying grant, dated Śaka 735, was found at Kaḍaba in the Tumkur District of Maisur. It is engraved on five copper plates, about 9½ inches by 5, strung on a metal ring which is secured with a seal 2 inches in diameter, bearing the device of a human figure in a sitting posture, with the hands held up on each side of the chest.[1]

Old traditions, as in the chronicle of the *Kongudeśa*,[2] indicate the rule of Râshṭrakûṭa or Raṭṭa kings in Maisur in very early times, before the rise of the Gaṅga power; and during their ascendancy over the Western Châlukyas in the 9th and 10th centuries, their dominion must have extended to this country. But, so far as I am aware, none of their grants have hitherto been found here.[3] The present inscription is in the Pûrvada Haḷe Kannaḍa character and in the Sanskṛit language; but in describing the boundaries and witnesses Haḷe Kannaḍa is introduced. The four forms of *l* are more frequently and systematically used than in any specimen which has come under my notice.

The grant is one made by Prabhûtavarsha, living at Mayûra-Khaṇḍi, on the application of Châki Râja, of the village of Jâlamaṅgalam in the Iḍigûr district, to a Muni named Arkakîrtti, on behalf of the Jaina[4] temple of Śilâgrâma on the west of Mânyapura. The reason for this donation was that the Muni had been successful in removing some adverse influence of Saturn (*Śaneśvara-pîḍa*) from a prince named Vimalâditya, governor of the Kunuṅgil country, who was a son of Yaśovarmma and grandson of Balavarmma of the Châlukya family, his mother being the sister of Châki Râja, the sovereign of Gaṅga-maṇḍala.

The locality of the grant is evidently, from the names, in the Karṇâṭaka country, but I have not been able to identify it with any of the places bearing the same name in Maisur. Possibly, from the source whence the grant has been produced, Kunuṅgil might be the modern Kuṇigal,[5] but this is only conjecture. Mayûra-khaṇḍi, it is said,[6] may be Morkhand, an old hill-fort in the Nâsik district.

[1] The figure bears a general resemblance to the one on the Khârepaṭan plates (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. I., p. 209), but the attitude and details are not the same.

[2] *Mad. Jour. L. and S.*, vol. XIV.

[3] The inscription given in Plate xxvi. of Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, a transcript and translation of which will be found at p. lvii of *Mysore Inscriptions*, is a grant made in Maisur during the Raṭṭa supremacy, but where it was found is not stated.

[4] In the grant it is called *Janendra-bhavana*, but this is no doubt a mistake for *Jinendra-bhavana*.

[5] The same place however was suggested by me for Koṇikal of the Ambera inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, pp. 89, 96; vol. IX, p. 304.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 64.

Mânyapura would naturally suggest Mânyakheṭa the Raṭṭa capital of other grants, identified with the modern Mâlkheḍ in the Nizam's territory: but it does not appear that Mânyakheṭa is ever described as Mânyapura, while, on the other hand, Mânyapura is the name of a large city and residence of the Gaṅga kings in the 8th century,[7] situated near Châmrâjanagar in the south of Maisur, the site of which is known on the spot as Manipura. The Jainas were in former times settled in great numbers in that neighbourhood, and are still numerous there: whether this is the case around Mânyakheṭa or Mâlkheḍ, I am not aware.

The interest of this inscription in connection with the Râshṭrakûṭas is confined to the genealogy of the kings, and the date; for nothing of historical importance is related of them, except apparently an invasion of some island by Dhârâvarsha, which is only referred to in general terms. The succession is thus given:—

1. Govinda Râja.
2. Kakka Râja, his son.
3. Inda Râja, son of the last.
4. Vairamegha, son of Inda.
5. Kaṇṇeśvara, Akâlavarsha, his uncle.
6. Prabhûtavarsha, son of the above.
7. Dhârâvarsha, Vallabha, his brother.
8. Prabhûtavarsha, II, son of the last, ruling in Śaka 735.

On comparing this list with Dr. Bühler's pedigree of the Râṭhors,[8] it will be seen that the first three correspond, Kakka being his Karka, and Inda his Indra. But the fourth king, here called Vairamegha, is there Dantidurga or Dantivarmâ: while the fifth, whose name is here said to be Kanneśvara, with the title Akâlavarsha, is there simply Kṛishṇa. The sixth, Prabhûtavarsha I, is with him Govinda. The remainder correspond, but the date of the grant is three years beyond the latest year assigned by him to the second Prabhûtavarsha. Not only so, but it is apparently one year later than the date of a grant by his successor.[9] This however may be due to the well known difference of two or three years which prevails between different parts in reckoning the Śaka years.

In regard to the relations at this time subsisting between the Raṭṭas, the Châlukyas, and the Gaṅgas, it would appear that they were friendly also, that although Châki Râja is styled the Adhirâja or supreme king of the entire (*aśesha*) Gaṅga country, yet that he applied to the Raṭṭa king to make the grant. Either therefore the village given was in purely Raṭṭa territory, or if it was in the Gaṅga territory the king of the latter was subordinate to the Raṭṭa king. Of any Châki Râja among the Gaṅga kings no previous record has been found. But at the time of this grant their succession is not clear, while of the Raṭṭa kings it is stated that Dhârâvarsha "overcame the impetuous Gaṅga who had never been conquered before,"[10] and that Prabhûtavarsha or Govinda "released Gaṅga from his long and painful captivity, and sent him to his country. But when Gaṅga nevertheless in his great pride opposed him, he conquered and swiftly fettered him again."[11]

In Śaka 735, the date of the present grant, or five years after these statements, the Gaṅga king was evidently free and on the throne; and not long after, the attention of the Raṭṭas must have been occupied in establishing their lost ascendancy over the Châlukyas. The members of the latter family here named perhaps belonged to some subordinate branch.

But as a further reference to the Raṭṭas, the application of whose titles was unknown to me when translating the Merkara plates,[12] I would now offer the following revised reading of the passage in that inscription describing the gift:—

(Pl. II, l. 5.) Avinîta-nâmadheya-dattasya Desiga-gaṇaṁ - Koṇḍakund-ânvaya - Guṇachandra-bhaṭâra-sishyasya Abhaṇandi-bhaṭâra-tasya sishyasya Sîlabhadra-bhaṭâra-sishyasya Janaṇandi-bhatâra-sishyasya Guṇaṇandi-bhaṭâra-sishyasya Vandaṇandi-bhaṭârargge ashṭa-asîti-uttarasya trayo-satasya saṁvatsarasya. Mâgha-mâsaṁ Śomavâraṁ Svati-nakshatra suddha pañchami Akaḷavarsha-prithuvî-vallabha-mantri Taḷavana-nagara-Śrî-Vijaya-Jinâlakke Pûnâḍu 10[13]sahaśra-Eḍenâḍu-saptari-[14]madhye Badaṇe-

[7] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 286; *Madras Journal for* 1878, p. 141.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 72.
[9] *Journal R. A. S. Bengal*, vol. VIII, p. 302.
[10] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 69.
[11] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 70.

[12] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 363.
[13] That this was a cave numeral was pointed out by Dr. Burnell, *S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 67.
[14] *Sattari* is the Prâkṛit form of *saptati*. See Glossary to Jacobi's *Kalpa-sûtra*.

guppe-nâma Avinîta-mahâdhirâja cha[15] dattena paḍiye âr̤-oḍam-ûrû(pl. III)roḷ pannir-kkaṇḍugaṅ geydu ambalimannuṁ Taḷavanapuradoḷ taḷavittiyaman Pogarigeḷeyoḷ pannir-kkaṇḍugaṁ Pirikeṟeyoḷaṁ râjamânaṁ-anumoḍana-pannir-kkaṇḍugaṁ manoharaṁ dattaṁ.

(*The village*) named Badaṇeguppe, situated in the Edenâḍ Seventy of the Pûnâḍ Ten Thousand, which (*the king*) named Avinîta had given to Vandanandi Bhattâra, disciple, &c. &c., of the Desika-gaṇa and Koṇḍakunda-anvaya, the minister of Akâlavarsha, favourite of the earth, in the year 388, the month Mâgha, Monday, the asterism being Svâti, the 5th of the bright fortnight, having obtained, the gift being also (*confirmed*) by Avinîta Mahâdhirâja, presented the charming (*village*) to the Śrî-Vijaya Jina temple[16] of Talavananagara; having assigned twelve *kandugas* in each of the six associated villages, the *ambali*, the *taḷa-vritti* in Talavanapura, twelve *kaṇḍugas* in Pogarigeḷe and twelve *kaṇḍugas* with enjoyment of the royal rights in Pirikeṟe.

The grant was therefore one made by the minister of Akâlavarsha, with the sanction of the Gaṅga king Avinîta. Now it scarcely admits of doubt that Akâlavarsha must have been a Raṭṭa monarch: and from the silence of the minister regarding his own name, and the absence of all particulars as to himself and his sovereign, it may be conjectured that this Mantri was in exile in the Gaṅga territories. And if from the fact that nearly all the Govindas, and only the Govindas, among the Raṭṭas were called Prabhûtavarsha,[17] it may be inferred that the relations between the peculiar titles and certain names of the kings of that line were constant, Akâlavarsha would indicate a Kṛishṇa Râja.[18] But this is the name of the Raṭṭa king whose son Indra was destroyed by the Châlukya king Jayasimha on the first invasion by the Châlukyas. On such grounds this event might be placed early in the 5th century.

With regard to the Pûnâḍu Ten Thousand, it may be pointed out that it corresponds with the Padi-nâḍ, or Ten Nâḍ country of the 16th century.[19] The name survives in the existing Hadinâḍu, now corrupted into Hadinâru, a village on the Kabbani river not far from its junction with the Kâverî, and the scene of the romantic adventure to which the royal family of Maisur trace their origin.[20]

Pûnâḍu, Punnâḍu or Punnâṭa, as it is variously written, seems also to be indicated by the Pannuta in Lassen's map of Ancient India according to Ptolemy;[21] and by the Pannata of Colonel Yule's map of Ancient India, "*ubi beryllus.*"[22]

Since writing the above, I have through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell seen a grant of the Punnâṭa Râjas which must belong to early in the 6th century. In it their succession is thus given:—

1. Kâśyappa Râshṭravarmma.
2. Nâgadatta, his son.
3. Singa Varmma, son of the last.
4. His son (not named).
5. Skandavarmma, son of the last.
6. Ravidatta, his son.

The addition to the first name may point to a suzerainty of the Râshṭrakûṭas. But from other inscriptions[23] we know that in the time of Skandavarmma the Punnâḍ kingdom was annexed to the Gaṅga dominions by Avinîta who married the king's daughter.

Transcript.

1. Svasti vistrita-viśâda-yaśo vitâna-viśadîkrit-âśâ-chakravâḷa-karavâḷa-pravaḷ-âvataṁśa-virâjita Jayalakshmî-samâliṅ-
gita-daksha-dakshiṇâ-bhûri-bhujarggaḷaḥ gaḷita-sâra-śauryya-rasa-visara-vikhaḷîkṛit-âgrâ-
ri-varggaḥ vargga-traya-varggan-aika-nipuṇâchalâ-bhârav-orvvi-visesha-nirjjit-orvvî-maṇḍaḷ
otsav-otpâdana-paraṁ-

[15] This seems to be *bha* in the fac-simile: but as that gives no intelligible meaning I have read it *cha*.
[16] In the original it is *Jinâlakke*, which literally means for the Jinawar (*âla*): but it seems more probable that it is a mistake for *Jinâlayakke*.
[17] And this in the Gujarat branch as well as in the main line.
[18] The Kannesvara of the present inscription may be reconciled with Krishna.
[19] *Mysore Inscriptions*, Yelandur Inscription, No. 175.
[20] *Wilks*: also *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 239.
[21] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III.
[22] Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography*.
[23] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 140, vol. VII, p. 175; ***Mys. Ins.*** pp. 292, 295.

para-bhûpâla-mauli-mâlâ-lîḍ-âṅghri-dvandv-âravindo Govinda-Râjaḥ tasya sûnuḥ sutaruṇa-bhâvodaya-dayâ-dân-adînetara-guṇa-gaṇa-samarppita-bandhu-janaḥ sakala-kaḷ-âgama-jaladhi-Kalaśayoniḥ Manu-darśita-mârgg-ânugâmî Râshṭrakûṭa-kulâmaḷa-gagana-mṛigaḷâñchhanaḥ budha-jana-mukha-kamaḷ-aṁśumâḷî manohara-guṇa-gaṇ-âḷaṅkâra-bhâraḥ Kakka-Râjâ-nâmadheyaḥ tasya putraḥ sva-vaṁś-âneka nṛipa-saṅghâta-paraṁpar-âbhyudaya-kâraṇaḥ parama-rishi-brâhmaṇa-bhakti-tâtparyya kuśalaḥ samasta-guṇa-gaṇ-âdhi-dhvâno vikhyâta-sarvva-ḷoka-nirupama-sthira-bhâva-ni(r)jitâri-maṇḍalaḥ yasyemam âsît || jitvâ-bhûpâri-varggan-naya-kuśaḷatayâ yena râjyaṁ kṛitaṁ yaḥ kashṭe Manvâdi-mârgga-stuta-dhavaḷa-yaśâ-na-kvachid-yâga-pûrvvaḥ saṅgrâme yasya śeshâsva-bhuja-karabala-prâpitâyâ-Jayaśrî yasmin jâte sva-vaṁśobhyudaya-dhavaḷatâm yâta dân arkka-tejaḥ âsâv Inda-Râjâ-nâmadheyaḥ tasya putraḥ sva-kula-lalâmâyamâṇo mâna-dhano dînânâ-

2a. tha-jan-âhlâdanakara-dâna-nirata-maṇo-vṛittiḥ himakara iva sukhakara-karaḥ kulâchala-samudâya iva sudhâ-dhâra-guṇa-nipuṇaḥ himaśaila-kûṭa-taṭa-sthâpita-yasa-stambaṁ likhitâneka-vikrama-gunaṁ agha-saṅgâta-vinâśaka-surâpagâ yasya sad-yaśo-viśâdaṁ gâyantîva taraṅga-prabhatarâvair-vvahati-jana-mahitâ || asau Vairamegha-nâmadheyaḥ tasya pitṛivyaḥ hṛidaya-padm-âsanastha-parameśvara-siraś-śiśirakara-nikara-nirâkṛita-tamo-vṛittiḥ sa-viśeshasya jaga-traya sâmroddhayen-eva virachitasya chaturtha-ḷok-odaya-samânasya kṛita-yuga-śatair iva nishṭitasya yasya yaśasaḥ-puñjam iva virâjamânaḥ || pradagdha-kâḷâgaru-dhûpa dhûmaiḥ pravarddhamân-opachayâṛ-payodâḥ yasy-âjiraṁ-svachcha-sugandha-toyai siñchanti siddh-odîta-kûṭabhâgâḥ || na-chedṛiśaṁ prâpyaṁ iti praḷobhât bhavodbhavo'bhâvi yugâvatâre avaimi yasya sthitaye svayan tat kalpântaraṅnaiva cha bhâvyatîti || târâ-gaṇesh ûnnata-kûṭa-koṭi-taṭarppitâsu jvâḷa-dîpikâsu momuhyate râtrî-vibheda-bhâvaḥ niśâtyayaḥ paura-janer nniśâyâm || âdhâra-bhût-âham idam vyatîtyam âvarddhate ch-âyam atiprasaṅgaḥ yasy-âvakâśârtham itîva pṛithvîṁ pṛithvîva bhûteti cha me vitarkaḥ || vichitra-patâkâ-sahasra-sanchhâditaṁ upari-paricharaṇa-bhayât lokaika-chuḍâmaṇinâ maṇi-kuṭṭima-saṅkrânta-pratibiṁba-vyâjena svayam avatîryya

2b. parameśvara-bhakti-yuktena namaskrayamâṇam eva virâjamânam prahata-pushkara-mandra ninâd-âkarṇṇan-odit ânurâgaiḥ prâvṛid-ârambha-kâla-janit-otsav-ârambhaiḥ mayûraiḥ prârabdha vṛitta nṛittântaṁ dhûmaveḷâ-ḷiḷ-âgata viḷâsinî-janânâṁ karataḷa-kisaḷaya-rasa-bhâva-sadbhâva-prakaṭana-kuśaḷa-śaśi-vadan-âṅganâ-narttan-âhṛita-paura-yuvatî-jana-chittântaraṁ samasta siddhânta-sâgara-pâraga-muni-śata-saṅkuḷam deva-kuḷam âsît Kanneśvaran-nâma-sva-nâmadhey-âṅkita asâv Akâḷa-varsha iti vikhyâtaḥ tasya sûnuḥ ânata-nṛipa-makuṭa-maṇi-gaṇa-kiraṇa-jâḷa-ranjita pâda-yugaḷa-nakha-mayûkha-prabhâbhâsita-simhâsan-opântaḥ kântâ-jana-kaṭaka-khachita-padmarâga-didhiti-visara-śumbhat-kusumbha-rasa-ranjita-nija-dhavaḷa- vijyamâna châru-châmara-vichaya-vikhyâtaṁ-prâjya-râjyâbhishek-ântar-aikaiśvaryya-sukha-samânubhava-sthitiḥ nija-turagam-aika-vijayânîta-râja-lakshmî-sanâtho mahînâtho yaḥ kalpâṅghripaḥ[24] sas eva chintâmaṇir-iti-dhruḍhaṁ yaṁ vadanty arthinaḥ nitya-prityâ-prâptârtha-sampad asau Prabhûta-varsha iti vi-

[24] In the original *kalpâṅghmipaḥ*.

RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF PRABHUTAVARṢHA II. - ŚAKA 735.

I.

IIa.

J. Burgess,

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

IIb.

IIIa.

J. Burgess,

Scale 7:10 of the original.

RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF PRABHUTAVARSHA II. - ŚAKA 735.

IIIb.

IVa.

J. Burgess,

Scale 7:10 of the original.

RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF PRABHUTAVARSHA II. - ŚAKA 735.

IVb.

V.



khyâto bhûpa-chakra-chûḍâmaṇiḥ tasyânujaḥ Dhârâ-varsha-śrî-prithvî-vallabha-mahârâjâdhi-
râja-parameśvaraḥ khaṇḍit-âri-maṇḍal-âsi-bhâsita-dorddaṇḍaḥ puṇḍarîka iva bali-ripu marddanâ-
krânta-sakaḷa-bhuvana-taḷaḥ sukrit-âneka-râjyabhâra-bhar-odvahana-samarthaḥ himaśaiḷa-vi-
śâḷorasthaḷina râja-ḷakshmî-vihâraṇa-maṇi-kuṭṭimena chatur-âṅgan-âliṅgana-tuṅga-kucha

3a. saṅga-sukhodrek-odita-româñcha-yojitena sva-bhuj-âsidhârâ-daḷita-samasta-gaḷita-muktâphala vi-
sara-virâjit-âribala-hasti-hâst-âsphâlana-danta-koṭi-ghaṭṭita-ghaṇî-kritena virâjamânaḥ tripura-
hara-vrishabha-kakud-âkâr-onnata-vikaṭ-âṁsa-taṭa-nikaṭa-dodhûyamâna-châru-châmara-chayaḥ phena-piṇḍa
pâṇḍara-prabhâv-odita-chchhavinâ vritten-âpi chatur-âkâreṇa sit-âtapatren-âchchhâdita samasta-digviva-
ro ripu-jana-hridaya-vidâraṇa-dâruṇaina sakaḷa-bhûtaḷ-âdhipatya-ḷakshmî-ḷîlâm-utpâdayatâ pra-
hata-pada-ḍhakâ-gambhîra-dhvânena ghanâghana-garjjan-ânukâriṇâ asyâchito-vinoda nirggamaḥ sva-
kîyâṁ sâñchaḷatâṁ para-nripa-cheto-vrittishu dâtum ivo vvairâ-viḷoḷa-prakaṭita-râjya-chi-
hnaḥ turaṅgama-khara-khur-otthita-pâṁsu-paṭaḷa-masriṇita-jalada-sañchaya aneka-matta-dvipa-karaṭa-taṭa-gaḷita-dâna-dhârâ-pratâna-praśamita-mahî-
parâgaḥ || yasya śri-chapaḷ-odayâ-khurataraṅg-âḷî-samâsphâḷanât nirbhinna-dvipa-yânapâ-
tra-gatayo ye sañchaḷa-chchetasaḥ tasminn eva sametya sâra-vibhavaṁ sa-tyajya-râjyaṁ raṇe
bhagnâ mohavaśât svayaṁ khalu diśâmantaṁ bhajante 'rayaḥ || idaṁ kîyad-bhûtalam atra
samyak sthâtum mahat-saṅkaṭam ity udagraṁ svasy-âvakâśaṁ nakaroti yasya yaśo
diśâṁ bhitti vibhedanâni || anavarata-dâna-dhârâ-varsh-âgamena tripta-janatâyâḥ Dhâ-
râ-varsha iti jagati-vikhyâtas sarvva-ḷoka-vallabhatayâ vallabha iti || tasy-âtmajâ nija-bhu-

3b. ja-bala-samânîta-paranripa-lakshmî-kare-dhrita-dhavaḷ-âtapatra-nâḷa-pratikûla-ripu-kuḷa charaṇa-nibaddha
khaḷakhaḷâyamâna-dhavaḷa-śrinkhaḷa-rava-badhirîkrita-paryyanta-jano nirupama-guṇa-gaṇ âkarṇnana-samâ
hlâdita-mânasâ-sâdhu-janena sadâ-sanniyamâna-śaśi-viśâda-yaśo-râśir âś-âvashṭabdha-ja-
na-manaḥ-parikalpana-triguṇîkrita-svakîy-ânushṭhâno nishṭhita-karttavyaḥ Prabhûta-varsha śrî-pri-
thvî-vallabha-râjâdhirâja-parameśvarasya pravarddhamâna-śrî-râjya-vijaya-saṁvatsareshu vada-
tsu | châru Châḷuky-ânvaya-gagana-tala-hâriṇa-lâñchhanâyamâna-śrî-Bala-varmma-narendra-
sya sunu sva-vikram-âvajjita-sakala-ripu-nripa-śiraś-śekhar-ârchchita-charaṇa-yuga-
ḷo Yaśo-varmma-nâmadheyo râjâ-vyarâjata-tasya-putras su-putraḥ kuḷa-dîpika
iti purâṇa-vachanam avitadham iha kurvvan atitaraṁ dhi-râjamâṇo manojâta iva mânini
jana-mana-sthaḷîyaḥ raṇa-chaturaś chatura-janâśrayaḥ śrî-samâliṅgita-viśâla-vaksha-sthalo ni-
tarâm-aśobhata asau mahâtmâ || kamal- ochita-[25]sad-bhujântara śrî-Vimalâdityâ i-
ti pratîta-nâmâ kamanîya-vapur vvilâsinînâ bhramad-akshî-bhramar-âḷî-vaktra-padmaḥ yaṛ pra-
chaṇḍatara-karavâḷâ-daḷita-ripu-nripara-karighaṭâ-kumbha-mukta-muktâphaḷá- vikîrnita-ruchi-
rak-abdhi-kânti-ruchira-parîta-nija-kaḷa-trikaṇḍhaḥ śîtikanṭha iva mâhita-mahim-âmodyamâna ruchira

4a. kîrttir aśesha-Gaṅga-maṇḍal-âdhirâja-śrî-Châki-Râjasya bhâgineyaḥ bhuvî-prakâśatay-asmi Ku-
nungil-nâma-deśam ayaśaṛ-parâṇmukhâ Manu-mârggena pâlâyati sati ❁ śrîy-âpanîya
Nandi-saṅgha-punnâga-vriksha-mûla-gaṇe śrî-Kîty[26]âchâryy-ânvaye bahushv âchâryyeshv atikrâ-

[25] In the original *kapalochita*. [26] These names have been filled in afterwards in a rude manner.

nteshu vrata-samiti-Guptigupta-muni-vṛinda-vandita-charaṇa-Kûvilâchâryyânâm âsît tasy-ântevâsî samupanata-jana-pariśram-âhâraḥ sva-dâna-santarppita-samasta-vidvajjano janita-mahodayaḥ Vijaya-kîrti-nâma-muni-prabhur abhâd || Arkakîrttir iti khyâtim-âtanva-n-muni-sattamaḥ tasya śishyatvam âyâto nayâto vaśam enasâ || tasme munivarâya tasya Vimaḷâdityâsya śaneś vara-pîḍ-âpanodâya Mayûrakhaṇḍim adhivasatî vijaya-skandhâvâre Châki-Rajena vijñapito Vallabhendraḥ Iḍigûr-vvishaya-madhya-vartti-na Jâlamangalaṁ nâmadheya-grâmaṁ Śaka-nṛipa-saṁvatsareshu śara-śikhi-munishu vyatîte-shu Jeshṭha-mâsa-śukla-paksha-daśamyâṁ Pushya-nakshatre Chandra-vâre Mânyapura-var âpara-dig-vibhâg-âḷankâra-bhûta-Śilâgrâmâ-Jan endra-bhavanâya dattavân tasya pûrvva-dakshi ṇ-âpar-ottara-dig-vibhâgeshu Svastimaṅgaḷa-Beḻḻinda-Guḍḍanûr-Ttaṛipâḻ-iti prasiddhâ grâ-mâḥ evaṁ chaturṇṇâṁ grâmâṇâm madhye vyavasthitasya Jâlamangalasy-âyaṁ chaturâya-

4b. dhikramaḥ punastasya sîma-vibhâgaḥ îśânataḥ mukûḍal-dakshiṇâ-digvibhâgam avalokya êḻtaga-kodala-mûḍaga-kela-bandu irppeya-koshade-paḻḻad-oḷagaṇa uḻi-aḷariyê kodeyâḻi-be-ḷane-saykane-bandu pola puṇase eva kîle ante pôyi-ê[27] Bi-dirûr-ggeṛe mukûḍal tatar-paśchimataḥ puli-padiya tenkaṇa pêr-oḷbeye pêr-biḻike eḷa-gala-kaṛ-aṇḍaḻo mukûḍal ante saykane pôgi nâymaṇi-geṛeya tâygaṇḍi mukûḍal tataḥ uttarataḥ Baḷḷageṛeya paḍuva gajagoḍa paḷambê puṇuseyê ânedaḷo-geṛe-ê pulpaḍiyê eḷagallê puligârada geṛe mukûḍal tataḥ pûrvvataḥ niḍu viḻinkke . . davina pulpaḍiyê kanchagâṛa gallê pola ellê puṇusa-ê baṭṭa-puṇu-sayê beḻane bandu îśânada mukûḍaḷoḻ kûḍi nindattu Râcha-malla-gâmuṇḍanuṁ Sîṛanuṁ Gaṅga-gâmuṇḍanuṁ Mâreyanuṁ Belgeṛey-oḍeyo-ruṁ Modabâge-êḻpadimbaruṁ Kunungil-aysârbaruṁ sâkshiyâge koṭṭattu namaḥ âdbhir ddattaṁ tribhir bhuktaṁ shaḍbhish cha paripâḷitaṁ etâni na nivarttante pûrvva-râja kritâni cha || svan-dâtuṁ sumach-chhakyaṁ duhkhaṁ anyasya pâlânaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâḷanaṁ vetti dânâch chhreyo=nupâḷanam|| svadattaṁ paradattaṁ vâ yo hareti vasundharâṁ shashṭim varsha sahasrâṇi vi-shṭhâyâ jâyate krimiḥ || devasvaṁ vishaṁ ghoraṁ kâḷakûṭasam aprabhaṁ visham ekâ=

5. kinaṁ hanti devasvaṁ putra-pautrakaṁ ||

Translation.

May it be well! Of widespread fame, holding the Lakshmî of victory in the strong embrace of his powerful long right arm, adorned with a sword whose flashes like a full-blown flower lit up all the points of the compass, by his power and valour having destroyed the groups of great enemies, the one clever one in three generations, his two lotus feet weighed down with the crowns of the lines of kings of countries subdued by him in acquiring the dominion of the world, was Govinda Râja.

His son, in his youth delighting his relatives by the union of the qualities of kindness, generosity and bravery, an Agastya in drinking up the ocean of all learning and science, walking in the path pointed out by Manu, a moon in the clear sky of the Râshṭrakûṭa kula, a sun to the lotus the face of the learned, adorned with a cluster of pleasing qualities, was named Kakka Râja.

His son, the cause of the continued prosperity of the group of the numerous kings of his line, rejoicing in reverence to ṛishis and Brahmans, proclaimed aloud by the collection of all qualities, famed in all the world for the matchless firmness with which he subdued his enemies, thus did he act:—having subdued the host of hostile kings by policy and skill, he formed the kingdom; in trouble, offering unceasing sacrifices according to the directions of Manu he thus acquired pure fame; in war, forcing the Lakshmî of victory to desert others, he won her with the sword in his own hand; on

[27] The words in this line, from *pola*, have been rudely engraved over the original description, which has been beaten down.

his birth obtaining prosperity and glory for his own line, a bright sun in giving, he was named Inda Râja.

His son, an ornament to his race, his honour, his wealth, ever desiring to bestow gifts rejoicing the hearts of the poor and helpless, like the moon in giving pleasure, like the chains of mountains able in bestowing streams of nectar; having set up the pillar of his fame on the slope of the Himâlaya mountains written over with his many victorious qualities; in having purified himself from all sin, a Gaṅgâ whose sounding waves are the voices of the multitudes of people singing his widespread glory; was named Vairamegha.

His uncle, the Paramêśvara, seated on the lotus of whose heart had dispelled all darkness by the light of the moon on his head, the greatness of whose glory was such that it was like a fourth world to the three worlds united, or like a hundred Kritayugas, the clouds formed by the fragrant smoke arising from whose burning of aloes[28] moistened with showers of sweet perfume his own abode and the places inhabited by ascetics. 'Let none else obtain this,' thus methinks did Brahma from desire ordain in past ages, and that it should not happen in future ages except during his lifetime. Like clusters of stars the bright lamps he placed on all the high places deceived the people of the city, making them doubt whether it was night or whether the day had dawned. "I am the support of all," thus in the past, and yet it grows; perhaps to provide room for him was the earth in long continuance made wide of old. The sun, through fear of moving through the upper regions covered up with a thousand flags, under pretence of seeing his reflection in the jewelled floor, having descended and shining low as if in obeisance through reverence for Paramêśvara; the peacocks, hearing with delight the sounds of the tramping and trumpeting elephants, and thinking that the rainy season had commenced, beginning to rejoice and dance; the young women of the city, with their attention fixed on the movements of the dancing girls on the south-east displaying with the sprouts of their hands the sentiments of love and passion; the line of a hundred Munis who had traversed all the ocean of the *Siddhânta*:—his was like a house of the gods. Thus celebrated was that Akâlavarsha, whose own name was Kannêśvara.

His son, whose throne was illuminated on all sides by the rays from the toe nails of his two lotus feet which were irradiated with the brilliance from the jewels in the crowns of prostrate kings, maintaining a state suitable to the great wealth obtained at his coronation, being fanned by *châmaras* whose whiteness was tinged like safflower by the lustre from the rubies set in the anklets of the beautiful women who held them, a great king who was the husband of the Lakshmî of victory won by the triumphs of his own single horse, he who is the Kalpa tree, he whom petitioners truly call the *Chintâmaṇi*, daily acquiring by love whatever he desired, thus famous was Prabhûtavarsha, the head jewel of the kings of the earth.

His brother, Dhârâvarsha, favourite of earth and fortune, great king of kings, supreme ruler, bearing in his arms a flashing sword which had destroyed all the hostile kings, like a tiger in having slain his mighty enemies and taken possession of all lands, by his merit bearing the burden of the government of many countries; glorious—with a chest as broad as Himaśaila, a jewelled floor on which royal fortune might rest—with the hair on his body standing up with ecstasy from contact with the high bosoms of the cunning fair ones who embraced him—and with the sounds of the groups of the elephants in the enemies' forces striking their tusks with the swinging of their trunks, adorned with clusters of pearls scattered by the blows of the sword in his hand; groups of beautiful *châmaras* fanning his shoulders, which were as high and round as the hump of Śiva's bull; all points of the compass covered by his white umbrella, brilliant as the white foam of the ocean, round yet appearing square (*otherwise*, skilfully shaped); rejoicing his heart—with the terror with which he filled the minds of hostile kings from the sport which he gave to fortune in the government of all countries,—and with the deep sound of the beaten *pada* and *ḍhakka* (*drums*) resembling the thunder of the clouds; distinguished by the royal sign that his mere moving was to give a sufficient display of valour to the minds of

[28] *Kâlâgaru* is said to be a kind of aloe wood, *agallo chum*, used as incense.

foreign kings; the dust raised by the hard hoofs of whose horses formed groups of clouds which were laid by the streams of nectar from the foreheads of his numerous rutting elephants. When moved by fortune, by the charge of the lines of his prancing horsemen the hostile kings were scattered and went in boats to the island, with minds full of alarm, on his approaching there also, forsaking their glory and kingdom, with the distraction of defeat in battle, they fled alone to the farthest regions. As if saying 'This world is too small: to stay here is too confined: sufficient room cannot be obtained here,' his fame burst into all the points of the compass. From satisfying the people with the increasing showers of his daily gifts was he called Dhârâvarsha, and from having the lordship of the world, Vallabha.

His son, whose attendants were deafened with the noise of the clanging of the white chains bound to the feet of the lines of hostile kings holding in their hands the rods of the white umbrellas taken by his own power from the Lakshmî of foreign kings, of clustered fame resembling the pure moon from association with the good whose hearts were rejoiced with hearing of his unequalled good qualities, by satisfying the desires of the hearts of the people trebling his own virtues, doer of the right, was Prabhûtavarsha, favourite of earth and fortune, king of kings, supreme ruler. During the years of whose victorious reign:—

The son of Śrî Balavarmma Narendra the moon in the sky of the beautiful Châlukya race, his two feet worshipped by the crowns on the heads of all the kings subdued by his own power, was named Yaśovarmma.

His son, reverenced by kings, as if to make good here the old saying "a good son is a light to his family" shining with wisdom in every aspect, like Manmatha enshrined in the hearts of women, skilled in war, protector of the skilful, of a broad chest embraced by fortune, that great one shining with such glory; of good wide-spreading arms worthy of Lakshmî, having the celebrated name Śrî Vimalâditya, of a lovely form, of a lotus face in which the bees, his eyes, quiver about with joy, a luminary whose own rays spread a light like that of the ocean caused by the brilliance of the pearls scattered from the foreheads of the elephants of hostile kings cut down by his terrible sword, possessing a brilliant fame like that of Śiva causing joy by its greatness, the sister's son of Śrî Châki Râja the sovereign ruler of the entire Gaṅgamaṇḍala, while, as if saying 'I am a light to the world,' governing the country called Kunuṇgil without incurring disgrace and in the way of Manu:—

When many Âchâris in the line of Śri Kîtyâchâri of the auspicious Nandi-saṅgha and Punnâga-vṛiksha-mûla-gaṇa had passed away, there was Kûvilâchâri, whose feet were reverenced by the company of Guptigupta Munis united in penance. His house-disciple, whose food was the offerings of the people who did him reverence, famous for his own gifts with which he gratified the learned, was the great Muni named Vijayakîrtti. The wide-renowned high Muni, Arkakîrtti, took upon him his discipleship but not his desires.

To that chief muni, on removing the painful influence of Saturn from that Vimalâditya, the Vallabhendra, on the application of Châki Râja, residing in Mayûrakhaṇḍi in his victorious camp, gave the village named Jâlamaṅgalam, situated within the Idigûr district, the years *śara, śikhi, muni* (735) of the Śaka king having passed, on the 10th of the bright fortnight of the month Jeshṭha, in the constellation Pushya, Monday, presented for the temple of Jinêndra at Śilâgrâma, the ornament of the western side of the great Mânyapura.

On its east, south, west and north are the well-known villages Svastimaṅgaḷa, Beḷḷinda, Guḍḍanûr and Taripâḷ. These four define Jâlamaṅgaḷam which is situated in the middle of the four villages. Again its boundaries:—From the north-east angle, looking south, coming down east of the rising and falling ground within the hollow of the *irppe* trees, the *uli* plants; coming straight to the Kodeyâḷi cultivation, the field and the tamarind tree; thence going down, the angle of the Bidarûr tank. Then west:—on the south of the tiger path [*pêr oḷbeye*] the big waste, the boundary stone, the big shelter at that angle; then going straight to the *tâygaṇḍi*[23] of the Nâymaṇi tank.

[23] *Tâygaṇḍa*, mother's husband, is a term of low abuse. It may possibly here mean the temple of some Śakti.

Then north:—the elephant cashew-nut tree on the west of Ballagere, some plants, the elephant tank, the grazing land, the boundary stone, the angle of the Puligâra tank. Then east:—to the tall betel plants, the grass plain, the brazier's stone, the boundary of a field, a tamarind tree, a circular tamarind tree, cultivated ground: thus coming, it joins the angle on the north-east.

Given with the witness of Râcha-malla gâmuṇḍa, Sîra, Gaṅga-gâmuṇḍa, Mâreya, Belgere Oḍeyar, the Modabâge Seventy, the whole of Kunuṅgil. Obeisance.

That which has been given with pouring of water, that which has been enjoyed for three generations, or maintained for six generations, such may not be resumed, nor the gifts of former kings. To make a gift oneself is easy, to maintain another's difficult; but of making a gift or maintaining another's, the maintaining is the most meritorious. Whoso resumes a gift made by himself or by another, shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. The property of the gods is a terrible poison, a secret poison: poison kills one man, the property of the gods (*if usurped*) kills sons and grandsons.

PÛJYAPÂDA AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *JAINÊNDRA-VYÂKARAṆA.*

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In the tenth volume of this journal, pp. 75-79, Dr. Kielhorn has contributed a paper on the Sanskrit Grammar called *Jainêndram.* After reviewing at some length the text of the work as preserved in the commentaries of Abhayanandi,[1] Śrutakîrti, and Sômadêva, the learned Doctor proceeds to deal with the interesting question, who was the author of the work? He finds that Sômadêva attributes it to Pûjyapâda; and his own opinion is that Pûjyapâda is an honorific epithet, and that we are to understand by the term, "Mahâvîra, the last of the Jinas, to whom the title *Jinêndra* is applied not infrequently." It may not be foreign to the subject to mention here that Samantabhadra applies this title indifferently to almost all the *Tîrthaṁkaras.*

In order to prove that Pûjyapâda is no other than Vardhamâna himself, Dr. Kielhorn next quotes at length a tradition, which represents Mahâvîra as having revealed the science of grammar. I may remark here that this and similar other traditions, so often met with in Jaina literature, which represent everything under the sun as जिनास्यविनिर्गतम्, can hardly have any pretensions to historical importance. Sakalakîrti, a writer of the 13th century, tells us, in his life of Mahâvîra, that the dialects, Mâgadhî and Ardha-Mâgadhî, flowed from the lips of the last Jina! And Êkasaṁdhi-bhaṭṭâraka says in his work on architecture, that the *Śilpaśâstra* was, for the first time, revealed by Mahâvîra to the last of the Gaṇadharas.

Dr. Kielhorn, however, seems to admit tacitly the worthlessness of such traditions, when he abandons the *Tîrthaṁkara,* and feels it necessary to "look for an ordinary human author of the work." He then fixes upon Dêvanandi, another name given by Sômadêva and Śrutakîrti, as the author of the *Jainêndram.*

I now propose to settle the question by the light of the Jaina literature of the Karnâṭaka. To arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on this point, we have to answer three questions:—(1) whether there was any author named Pûjyapâda, who flourished in Southern India; (2) whether he wrote the *Jainêndram*; and (3) whether he was known by any other name.

In answer to the first question I would first point out that it is a custom among the Karnâṭaka Jaina poets to praise their illustrious predecessors in the *praśastis* of their works. The importance of these *praśastis,* from an historical point of view, can hardly be exaggerated. In some cases they are as important as inscriptions. Now the poems that have appeared since the beginning of the 8th century A.D., as a rule open with verses praising Pûjyapâda. Arhaddâsa says:—

भट्टाकलंकाद्गुणभद्रसूरेः
समंतभद्रादपि पूज्यपादात् ।
वचोकलंकं गुणभद्रमस्तु
समंतभद्रं मम पूज्यपादम् ॥—*Munisuvratakâvya,* I,10.

Indrabhûti, in his *Samayabhûshaṇa,* deplores the decline of the Jaina faith:

स्वर्गे गते विक्रमांके भद्रबाहौ च योगिनि ।
प्रजाः स्वच्छंदचारिण्यो बभूवुः पापमोहिताः ॥ १ ॥

[1] I have adopted the Canarese form of names ending in नंदिन्.

कियत्यपि ततोतीते काले श्वेतांबरो भवत् ।
द्राविडो यापनीयश्च [2] काष्ठसंघश्च मानतः ॥ ९ ॥

After denouncing the Y â p a n î y a and other sects, which had once been converted to Buddhism and then reclaimed to Jainism, as

जैनाभासाः प्रकीर्तिताः

Indrabhûti recommends, as the genuine exponent of Jaina principles, the writings of

श्रीभद्रबाहुः श्रीचंद्रो जिनचंद्रो महामतिः ॥
गृध्रपिंछगुरुः श्रीमान् लोहाचार्यो जितेंद्रियः ॥ ६७ ॥
एलाचार्यः पूज्यपादो सिंहनंदी महाकविः ॥

Nâgachandra, a Canarese poet, says:—

Kavi-Paramêshṭhigaḷa guṇa-
stavanamgaḷ=Pûjyapâda-yatipatiya guṇa-
stavanamgaḷ=orme nâlage-
ge vamda mânavana vâg-malam nimdapudê ||

"Can any defect remain in the speech of the man whose tongue once utters the praises of the virtues of K a v i-P a r a m ê s h ṭ h i, and P û j y a p â d a, the chief of ascetics?"

The *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, besides many fragments of Kâlidâsa,[3] Subandhu, and Bhartṛihari in Canarese dress, introduces the following passage:—

Śrîmat-Samamtabhadra-
svâmigaḷa jagat-prasiddha Kavi-Paramêshṭhi- |
svâmigaḷa Pûjyapâda-
svâmigaḷa padamgaḷ=îge śâśvata-padamam ||

"May the feet of the venerable P û j y a p â d a, of K a v i-P a r a m ê s h ṭ h i, possessing a world-wide fame, and of the venerable S a m a n t a b h a d r a, confer (*on me*) immortal life."

This author, the holy P û j y a p â d a, is described by a later Canarese poet as "a philosopher's stone, which converted the Buddhist N â g â r j u n a[4] to Jainism." I apologize to the reader for inflicting so many quotations upon him. But I have been forced to do so, with a view to counteract the effects of Dr. Kielhorn's review, which explains away the very existence of an author who occupies so distinguished a place in the ranks of Jaina literature, and who has played an important part in the annals of Southern India.

I now proceed to answer the next question, did P û j y a p â d a write the *Jainêndram*? There is a Sanskṛit work called *Dharmaparîkshâ*, composed by Amitagati. It must have been written some time after the star of Buddhism had ceased to shine, and Brâhmaṇism had revived under Ś a ṁ k a r â c h â r y a. It was extremely popular with the Jainas, by reason of its attacks on Brâhmaṇism; and it was rendered into Canarese verse by Vṛittavilâsa in the 13th century. In the *praśasti* of this Canarese *Dharmaparîkshe*, we are told—

Bharadiṁ Jainêndramaṁ bhâsuram=enal=
oredaṁ Pâṇinîyakke ṭîkuṁ
baredaṁ Tatvârthamaṁ ṭippaṇadin=aripidaṁ
yaṁtra-maṁtr-âdi-śâstr-ô-
tkaramaṁ bhû-rakshaṇ-ârthaṁ virachisi jasamuṁ tâḷdidaṁ viśva-vidy-â-
bharaṇaṁ bhavy-âḷiy-ârâdhita-pada-kamalaṁ
Pûjyapâdaṁ vratîndram ||

"P û j y a p â d a, the chief of ascetics, whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by a multitude of good people,[5] and who was the pride of all learning, composed[6] quickly the *Jainêndram* which was, as it were, shining,—wrote a commentary on the grammar of Pâṇini,—and explained the *Tatvârtha*[7] by comments; [*he*] achieved a reputation, [*by*] writing [*a work on*] the great science of spells and enchanted instruments for the protection of the world."

From this it is clear that P û j y a p â d a[8] was the author of the *Jainêndram*. And from an inscription[9] at Lakshmêśwar, we learn that Ś r î-P û j y a p â d a was a native of R a k t a p u r a, or A l a k t a k a p u r a, and flourished in Śaka 651, in the palmiest days of Jaina literature.

The last question, whether P û j y a p â d a was known by any other name, still remains to be answered. Sômadêva attributes the authorship of the *Jainêndram*, in one place to Pûjyapâda, and in another to D ê v a n a n d i. Now these two contradictory statements made by

[2] This word, *Yâpanîya*, has puzzled many scholars. The citation given above confirms Mr. Fleet's explanation of it; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 34.

[3] As this has escaped the attention of Mr. Kittel, I shall quote one instance from his own edition, pp. 127, 128.—Ivaḷa śriṁgâra-sâraṁ Kusumaśarane mên mâḍidaṁ prôllasat-pallava-pushpaṁ mên Basamtam bayase paḍedan=ettaṁ sudhâ-saudhamaṁ sûsuva Chaṁdran=tâne mên puṭṭisidan=atijaḍaṁ chhâṁdasam Padmajan=nikkuvam=allaṁ kartṛi tâv=aṁdad=init=atiśayan=tâḷdud=î kanney=aṁdam ||

अस्याः सर्गविधौ प्रजापतिरभूच्चंद्रो नु कान्तिप्रदः
शृङ्गारैकरसः स्वयं नु मदनो मासो नु पुष्पाकरः ।
वेदाभ्यासजडः कथं नु विषयव्यावृत्तकौतूहलो
निर्मातुं प्रभवन्मनोहरमिदं रूपं पुराणो मुनिः ॥

Kâlidâsa (quoted from the *Kâvyaprakâśa*).

[4] *Râjataraṁgiṇî*, vol. I, p. 173.

[5] In the commentary on Samantabhadra, the word साधून् is rendered by *bhavyaraṁ*; hence *bhavyar* = good people.

[6] Literally, "said or uttered."

[7] The work of Umâsvâti, or Svâti, born at Girinagara near the Ujayantagiri in Saurâshṭra.

[8] He also wrote the *Samâdhiśataka*.

[9] Mr. Fleet; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 112.

one and the same writer may be accounted for by supposing either that they must be due to carelessness on the part of Sômadêva, or that the author of the *Jainêndram* may have borne two names, Pûjyapâda and Dêvanandi. The latter supposition turns out to be the correct explanation, as we learn from a *paṭṭâvali* :—

यश:कीर्तिर्यशोनंदी देवनंदी महायति:
श्रीपूज्यपादापराख्यो गुणनंदी गुणाकर: ॥ ८ ॥

Nandisaṁghagurvâvali.

To support my conclusions still further, I give below the names of some authors, who mention P û j y a p â d a, with dates.[10]

(Pûjyapâda, Śaka 651)
Abhayanandi ,, 700
Trivikrama Śaka 800 (A Prâkṛit grammar)
Châmuṇḍarâja ,, 900 (*Châmundarâjapurâṇa*)
Śrutakîrti ,, 1045
Mêghachandra ,, 1070

The *Ârya* Śrutakîrti mentioned in the *Pañchavastuka*, and praised in a *paṭṭâvali* as त्रैविद्य: श्रुतकीर्त्याख्यो वैयाकरणभास्कर: was[11] the author of the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*.

Having thus shown, by satisfactory proofs, that Pûjyapâda was the author of the *Jainêndram*, and that he was also called D ê v a n a n d i, I would add, in conclusion, that many of the works of this illustrious author have survived the wear and tear of twelve centuries, and are still to be found in the great *bastis* of Southern India.

THE DATE OF MAHÂVÎRA'S NIRVÂṆA, AS DETERMINED IN ŚAKA 1175.

BY K. B. PÂṬHAK, BELGAUM HIGH SCHOOL.

In the second volume of this journal, p. 140, in quoting several different authorities as to the date of the *Nirvâṇa* of M a h â v î r a, Vîra, or Vardhamâna, the last of the Jaina *Tîrthaṁkaras*, the editor remarks that the Jainas of Maisûr place it 607 years before the era of Vikrama. He suggests, however, that this is a mistake for the Śaka era. And I propose to show now that, with the difference of 605 for 607 years, this suggestion contains the correct truth, and that the resulting date of B. C. 527 is the one given in the Jaina books of these parts for the event in question.

The mistake arose in the misinterpretation, by the native commentator, of a well-known passage in the *Trilôkasâra*, which says :—

पणछ○सयव○स पणमासजुदं गमिय
वीरणि○वुइदो सगराजो

"Six-hundred and five years, joined to five months, having passed away since the *nirvâṇa* of Vîra, the Śaka king (*was born.*)"

This is the literal rendering of the text as written by Nêmichandra. But the commentator, Mâdhavachandra, takes the expression *Sagarâjo* in the sense of Vikramâṅka-Śakarâja. In the text itself there is nothing to warrant this view. And the misinterpretation, which has puzzled many oriental scholars,[1] is not countenanced by the numerous Canarese commentaries on the *Trilôkasâra*, which are found in the Jaina *bastis*. I shall transcribe below a passage from a work on *Śrâvakâchâra*, or the conduct of the laity, which calculates Vîra's *nirvâṇa* according to the Śaka era, and enables us to arrive at 527 B. C. as the date of that event. This exactly coincides with the view of the Śvêtâmbaras of the north, who place the event 470 years before Vikrama.

Like the *Jainêmdram*, the *Trilôkasâra* is regarded as an authority by the Digambaras of Delhi and Jaipur, although Nêmichandra flourished in Southern India 200 years later than the illustrious P û j y a p â d a.

In the passage in question we are told that 1780 years from Vîra had elapsed when this work on *Śrâvakâchâra* was established for worship, on the fifth day called the *Śrutapañchamî*, in the bright half of Jyêshṭha, in the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara*. And we read further on that the Śaka king was born 605 years after Vîra. Now, deducting 605 from 1780, we get 1175. And the author says expressly that the year in which his work was worshipped was the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara*. By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara* fell in Śaka 1174. And Mr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 69, has quoted an inscription in which the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara* is allotted to Śaka 1175,—for 1174, according to Brown. Hence it is evident that 1780 years since Vîra's *nirvâṇa* had passed away in Śaka 1175, the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara*. Con-

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[10] See Mâghanandi's *Śrâvakâchâra*, Mêghachandra's commentary on the *Samâdhiśataka*, and an inscription at Têrdâḷ, which will be published shortly.

[11] *Pampa-Râmâyaṇa*.

[1] *e. g.* Burnell, *So.—Ind. Palæography*, p. 72.

sequently, the "ornament of the *Nâthakula*" attained *môksha* 605 years before the Śaka era. The Śvêtâmbaras place this event 470 years before the era of Vikrama. And the difference between the two eras is 135 years. And

470 + 135 = 605 (before the Śaka era)
605 — 78 = 527 B. C.
470 + 57 = 527 B. C.

I have omitted the fractions, as they do not affect my general conclusions. I have thus proved that the Digambaras of the Karnâṭaka are perfectly at one with the Śvêtâmbaras on this important point.

I must say just a word in regard to the *Śrâvakâchâra*. It is called *Mâghaṇandi-Śrâvakâchâra*, because Mâghaṇandi wrote the first chapter. The remaining chapters, however, were composed by different authors whose names are mentioned. At the beginning of the fifth chapter, Mâghaṇandi himself is thus praised :—

नमो नम्रजनानंदस्यंदिने माघणंदिने
जगत्प्रसिद्धसिद्धांतवेदिने चित्प्रमोदिने ॥

But the question of the authorship of the *Śrâvakâchâra* has no bearing whatever on the date of Mahâvîra himself.

Transcription.

Mattam=î Vardhamâna-tîrthakara-kâladoḷu Gautama-Sudharma-Jaṁbûnâthar = eṁb = ivar= anubaddha-kêvaligaḷa kâlaṁ | aruvatt-eraḍu varshaṁ || 62 || Naṁdi-Naṁdimitra-Aparâjita-Gôvardhana - Bhadrabâhugaḷ=eṁb = ayvaru | śruta-kêvaligaḷa kâlaṁ nûra varshaṁ || 100 || Mattaṁ Viśâkhanuṁ | Prôshṭhîlanuṁ | Kshatriyanuṁ | Jayanuṁ | Nâganuṁ | Siddhârthanuṁ | Dhṛitishêṇanuṁ | Vijayanuṁ | Buddhilanuṁ | Gaṁgadêvanuṁ | Sudharmanum=eṁba daśa-pûrva-dhara[2]r-aikâdaśara kâlaṁ | nûr-eṁbhatta-mûru varsham=akkuṁ | Mattaṁ Nakshatranuṁ | Jayapâḷanuṁ | Pâṁduvuṁ | Drumasênanuṁ | Kusuṁbâchâryanum=eṁd=êkâdaś-âṁga-dhara-paṁchakara kâla-pramâṇam=iṁnûr-ippattu varisaṁ | 220 | Mattam=î-tîrthakara-saṁtânadoḷu Subhadranuṁ | Yaśôbhadranuṁ | Yaśôbâhuvuṁ | Lôhabha-nâmanum=eṁb=âchâr-âṁga[-dhara]-chatushṭayada kâlaṁ | nûru-hadineṁṭu varisaṁ | 118 | Iṁt=î Gautam-âdigaḷa kâlaṁ=ellaṁ kûḍi | aṟu[3]nûr-eṁbhatta-mûru varisam=akkuṁ | Mattam=âchâr-âṁgadhariṁ baḷikka sâsirada toṁbhatt-êḷaneya Paridhâvi saṁbatsarada Jyêshṭha śuddha Śruta-paṁchamiya dinam=î Śrâvakâchâra-śrutaṁ pratishṭhitam= âytu || Antu sâsirad=êḷu-nûr-eṁbhattu varisam= akkuṁ || 1780 || Muṁd=iṁnu Vîra=svâmiya kâlaṁ hattoṁbhattu sâsiradiṁnûr-ippattu varisaṁ || 19220 || pravarttisagu || . . . . || Mattaṁ Vîra-Jina muktan=âdiṁ baḷikkam=arunûr-aydu varisam= aydu tiṁgaḷ-aṁdu || 605 || tiṁ 5 Śakarâjaṁ puṭṭidaṁ.

Mâghaṇandi-Śrâvakâchâra, Chap. II.

Translation.

And in the period of this *Tîrthankara* Vardhamâna, there flourished the *Kêvalis* named Gautama, Sudharma, and Jambûnâtha; their time was sixty-two years,—62. (*Then*) there were five *Srutakêvaḷis* named Nandi, Nandimitra, Aparâjita, Gôvardhana, and Bhadrabâhu; their time was a hundred years,—100. And (*then*) there were eleven masters of the ten *pûrvas*, named Viśâkha, Prôshṭhila, Kshatriya, Jaya, Nâga, Siddhârtha, Dhṛitishêṇa, Vijaya, Buddhila, Gaṅgadêva, and Sudharma; their time was a hundred and eighty-three years. And (*then*) there were five masters of the eleven *aṅgas*, named Nakshatra, Jayapâḷa, Pâṇḍu, Drumasêna, and Kusumbâchârya; their time was two hundred and twenty years,—220. And during the period assigned to this *tîrthakara*, there flourished also Subhadra, Yaśôbhadra, Yaśôbâhu, and Lôhabha, the four masters of the *âchârâṅga*; their time was a hundred and eighteen years,—118. Thus the whole period, including the time of Gautama and others, was six hundred and eighty-three years. And on the *Srutapañchamî*, in the bright half of Jyêshṭha, in the Paridhâvi *saṁvatsara*, being the thousand and ninety-seventh year from the time of the masters of the *âchârâṅga*, this work on the conduct of the laity was worshipped. Thus [*from Vîra*] there were a thousand seven hundred and eighty years,—1780. The time which the era of Vîrasvâmi (*will*) yet (*continue*) is nineteen thousand two hundred and twenty years,[4]—19220

. . . .

And the Śaka king was born when six hundred and five years and five months,—605 (*years*) five months—had passed away since Vîra-Jina attained *môksha*.

[2] An additional *ra* is inserted here by mistake.

[3] This is the only instance in which the old Canarese ṟ occurs in this passage.

[4] The whole period of Vîra's era, therefore is 19220 + 1780=21000 years. *Conf.* वीरजिणतिंयकालो इगिवीस सहस्स वरसं.—*Trilôkasâra.*

THE WHOLE DUTY OF THE BUDDHIST LAYMAN.

A Sermon of Buddha.[1]

BY THE LATE PROF. R. C. CHILDERS.

The Sermon I have selected[2] bears in the Pali canon the name *Sigâlovâda* or "the admonition of Sigâla," but it is popularly known to South Buddhists by the descriptive title of *Gihivinaya*, or "the Layman's Rule of Life," because it deals with the moral conduct of the Buddhist layman, as the *Vinaya*, or ecclesiastical code, deals with the conduct of the Buddhist monk. It was translated thirty years ago by the famous Wesleyan missionary Gogerly, but his version is only known to the fortunate few who have access to that rare work, the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1847. My own translation is a new one, made from a collated copy of the Pali text and commentary. I have been able to correct a great number of errors in Gogerly's translation; but I have pleasure in saying that on the whole I have found it a material help, and I have not hesitated here and there to adopt a rendering of his which struck me as an unusually happy one. I have endeavoured to be strictly literal, though in a few places I have somewhat varied the wording in order to preserve the spirit of the original. I have also omitted a few unimportant repetitions of formal phrases belonging only to the framework of the sermon, and not affecting its substance.

The Sermon.

Thus I have heard. On a certain day Buddha dwelt at Râjagaha in a grove called Veluvana. And the same day the young householder Sigâla rose early in the morning, and went forth from Râjagaha, and standing with wet hair and streaming garments, and clasped hands uplifted, worshipped the various quarters, the east, the west, the south, the north, the nadir, and the zenith. And Buddha rose early in the morning and put on his raiment, and taking his bowl and robe went to Râjagaha to seek alms. And the Blessed One beheld the young householder, as with streaming hair and garments and clasped hands uplifted he worshipped the various quarters, and beholding he thus addressed him:—

Wherefore, young man, dost thou rise betimes, and leaving Râjagaha, with wet hair and streaming garments dost worship the various quarters, the east quarter, the south, the west, and the north, the nadir and the zenith?

Master, my father, when he lay on his deathbed said to me, My son, do thou worship the quarters. Honouring, therefore my father's words, reverencing, revering, and holding them sacred, I rise early in the morning, and going forth from Râjagaha, with wet hair and streaming garments, and clasped hands uplifted, I worship the various quarters—the east, the south, the west, and the north, the nadir and the zenith.

Not thus, young man, should the six quarters be worshipped according to the teaching of holy sages.

How then, master, should the six quarters be worshipped? May it please thee, Master, so to teach me thy truth that I may know how the six quarters should be worshipped according to the teaching of the holy sages.

Hear then, young man, give heed to my words, and I will speak.

And the young householder Sigâla answered, Even so, Lord; and thus the Buddha spoke:—

Young man, inasmuch as the holy disciple has forsaken the four polluting actions, inasmuch as he is uninfluenced by four evil states to commit sin, inasmuch as he eschews the six means of dissipating wealth, therefore freed from fourteen evils, and guarding the six quarters, he walks victorious over both worlds; for him this world is blest and the next also, and on the dissolution of the body after death he is reborn in heavenly mansions.

What are the four polluting actions forsaken by him? The destruction of life is a polluting act, theft is a polluting act, impurity is a polluting act, lying is a polluting act—these four polluting actions are forsaken by him.

And what are the four evil states that tempt men to sin? Through partiality men commit sin, through anger men commit sin, through

[1] From the *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1876. We have omitted most of the author's own remarks as not required in these pages.—Ed.

[2] From the Pali *Tripiṭaka*, or the *Three Baskets*; which are *Vinaya*, *Sûtra* and *Abhidharma*—Monastic discipline, Discourses, and Metaphysics. The sermon here translated is taken from the *Sûtra Piṭaka*, which consists chiefly of moral discourses.

ignorance men commit sin, through fear men commit sin. But inasmuch as the holy disciple lives uninfluenced by partiality or wrath or folly or fear, therefore these four evil states tempt him not to sin. Whoso from partiality, wrath, folly, or fear is tempted to pervert justice, his glory shall fade like the waning moon. But whoso, untempted by these, refrains from perverting justice, his glory shall be made full, like the glory of the increasing moon.

And what are the six means of dissipating wealth? Strong drink, young man, and theatre-going, and evil companions, and dicing, and wandering about the streets at night, and idleness—these six bring a man to poverty.

There are six evils, young man, in being addicted to strong drink,—poverty, strife, disease, loss of character, shameless exposure of the person, and impaired faculties.

Six evils attend on him who wanders about the streets at night. His life is in danger, his wife and children are uncared for, his property is unguarded, he falls under the suspicion of frequenting places of evil resort, false rumours circulate concerning him, and sorrow and remorse follow in his train.

Six evils wait upon him who thirsts after worldly amusements. He is ever crying, Where is there dancing? where is there singing? where is there music? where recitation? where conjuring? where public shows?

Six evils wait upon the gambler. If he win, he begets hatred; if he lose, his heart is sorrowful. His substance is wasted, his word has no weight in a court of justice, his friends and his kinsmen despise him, and he is looked upon as ineligible for marriage—for men say, A gambler is unfit to support a wife.

Six evils attend on him who associates with bad companions. Every gambler, every libertine, every cheat, every rogue, every outlaw is his friend and companion. Six evils attend upon the sluggard. He says it is too cold, and does not work; he says it is too hot, and does not work; he says it is too early, and does not work; he says it is too late, and does not work; he says, I am hungry, and does not work; he says, I am full, and does not work; and while he thus lives, ever neglecting his duties, he both fails to acquire new property, and that which he possesses dwindles away. Some friends are only boon companions, some are hollow friends; the true friend is the friend in need.

Sleeping after the sun has risen, adultery, revenge, malevolence, evil communications, and avarice—these six things bring a man to ruin.

He who has sinful friends and sinful companions, who is devoted to sinful practices, the same is ruined in this world and the next.

Gambling, debauchery, dancing and singing, sleeping by day and wandering about at night, bad companions, and avarice—these six things bring a man to ruin.

Woe to the dicers, to them that drink strong drink, that go in unto their neighbour's wife: whoso follows wickedness and honours not the wise, he shall fade like the waning moon. He that drinks strong drink is needy and destitute, ever thirsting with unquenchable thirst, he plunges into debt as one plunges into water, and will quickly bring his family to nothing; he who sleeps by day and rises at night, who is ever full of wine and whoredoms, is unfit to maintain a family.

Poverty overtakes him who says, 'Tis too cold, 'tis too hot, 'tis too late, and neglects his work; but he who, performing his duties, recks not a straw for heat or cold, his happiness shall not decay.

There are four, young man, who, seeming to be friends, are enemies in disguise—the rapacious friend, the man of much profession, the flatterer, and the dissolute companion.

In four ways the rapacious man may be known to be a false friend:—He enriches himself at your expense; he expects much in return for little; he does what is right only under the impulse of fear; and he serves you from self-interested motives.

In four ways the man of much profession may be known to be a false friend:—He boasts of what he meant to do for you; he boasts of what he means to do for you; he is profuse in unprofitable compliments, but in the hour of need he protests his inability to serve you.

In four ways the flatterer may be known to be a false friend:—He assents when you do wrong; he assents when you do right; he praises you to your face; and speaks ill of you behind your back.

In four ways the dissolute companion may be known to be a false friend:—He is your friend if you follow after strong drink, if you

wander about the streets at night; he is your companion in theatre-going, he is your companion in dicing. The rapacious friend, the insincere friend, the friend who speaks only to please, and he who is a companion in vicious pleasures—recognizing these four to be false friends, the wise man flees far from them as he would from a road beset with danger.

These four, young man, are true friends—the watchful friend, the friend who is the same in prosperity and adversity, the friend who gives good advice, and the sympathizing friend.

In four ways the watchful may be known to be a true friend:—He protects you when you are off your guard; he watches over your property when you are careless; he offers you an asylum in time of danger; and when work has to be done, he gives you the means of doubling your wealth.

In four ways the friend who is the same in prosperity and adversity may be known to be a true friend:—He confides to you his own secrets; he faithfully keeps yours; he forsakes you not in trouble; and he will lay down his life for your sake.

In four ways the good counsellor may be known to be a true friend:—He restrains you from vice; he exhorts you to virtue; he imparts instruction, and points the way to heaven.

In four ways the sympathizing friend may be known to be a true friend:—He grieves over your misfortunes; he rejoices in your happiness; he restrains those who speak ill of you.

The watchful friend, the steadfast friend, the good counsellor, and the sympathizing friend—recognizing those four to be true friends, the wise man cleaves to them as the mother cleaves to her infant son.

The wise man endowed with righteousness, shines like a flaming fire. He who gathers wealth as the bee gathers honey, his wealth shall accumulate as the ant's nest is built up; and with wealth thus acquired he will bring no dishonour upon his family. Let him apportion his property into four, and so let him cement friendships. With one portion let him maintain himself; with two let him carry on his business; the fourth let him treasure up, it will serve him in time of trouble. But in what way does the disciple of holy sages guard the six quarters? Know, young man, that these are the six quarters. Parents are the east quarter, teachers are the south quarter, wife and children are the west quarter, friends and companions are the north quarter, spiritual pastors are the zenith, and servants and dependents are the nadir.

In five ways, young man, a son should minister to his parents, who are the east quarter. He should say I will support them who have supported me, I will perform their duties, I will guard their possessions, I will make myself worthy to be their heir, and when they are gone I will pay honour to their memory. And in five ways the parents show their affection for their son. They keep him from vice, they train him in virtue, they provide him with a good education, they unite him to a suitable wife, and in due time make over to him the family heritage. And thus is the east quarter guarded and free from danger.

In five ways the pupil should honour his teachers, who are the south quarter: By rising in their presence, by ministering to them, by obeying them, by supplying their wants, and by attentively receiving their instruction. And in five ways the teachers show their affection for their pupil. They train him up in all that is good, they teach him to hold fast knowledge, they instruct him in science and lore, they speak well of him to his friends and companions, and protect him from danger in every quarter.

In five ways should the wife, who is the west quarter, be cherished by her husband. By treating her with respect, by treating her with kindness, by being faithful to her, by causing her to be honoured by others, and by furnishing her with suitable apparel. And in five ways the wife shows her affection for her husband. She orders her household aright, she is hospitable to kinsmen and friends, she is a chaste wife, a thrifty housekeeper, and skiful and diligent in all her duties.

In five ways should the honourable man minister to his friends and companions, who are the north quarter. By liberality, courtesy and benevolence, by doing to them as he would be done by, and by sharing with them his prosperity. And in five ways do they in turn show their attachment for their friend. They watch over him when he is off his guard, they watch over his property when he is careless, they offer him a refuge in danger, they forsake him not in misfortune, and show kindness to his family.

In five ways the master should provide for

the welfare of his servants and dependents who are the nadir. By apportioning work to them according to their powers, by supplying them with food and wages, by tending them in sickness, by sharing with them unusual delicacies, and by granting them occasional relaxation. And in five ways do they in return testify their affection for their master. They rise before him and retire after him, they are content with what is given them, they do their work thoroughly, and they speak well of their masters.

In five ways should the honourable man minister to his spiritual masters, who are the zenith. By friendly acts, by friendly words, by friendly thoughts, by giving them a ready welcome and by supplying their temporal wants. And in six ways do they show their affection in return. They restrain him from vice, they exhort him to virtue, they are kindly affectioned toward him, they instruct him in religious truth, clear up his doubts and point the way to heaven.

Parents are the east quarter, teachers are the south, wife and children are the west, friends and companions the north, servants and dependents are the nadir, the zenith are spiritual pastors : let a man worship these quarters, and he will bring no dishonour upon his family.

The wise man who lives a virtuous life, gentle and prudent, lowly and teachable—such a one shall be exalted. If he be resolute and diligent, unshaken in misfortune, persevering and wise, such a one shall be exalted. Benevolent, friendly, grateful, liberal, a guide, instructor and trainer of men—such a one shall attain honour.

Liberality, courtesy, benevolence, unselfishness, under all circumstances and toward all men—these qualities are to the world what the linchpin is to the rolling chariot. And when these qualities are wanting, neither father nor mother will receive honour and support from a son. And because wise men foster these qualities, therefore do they prosper and receive praise.

When Buddha had thus spoken the young householder Sigâla addressed him as follows :— It is wonderful, Master ! It is wonderful, Master ! 'Tis as if one should set up again that which is overthrown, or should reveal that which is hidden, or should direct the wanderer into the right path, or hold out a lamp in the darkness—so that they that have eyes to see shall see. Yea, even thus has the Blessed Lord made known the Truth to me in many a figure. And I, even I, do put my trust in Thee, and in thy Law and in thy Church—receive me, Lord, as thy disciple and true believer from this time forth as long as life endures.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES.

1. CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH.—*Kallaf* = *Club*. *Kallab* and *gallab* for the English *club* are not uncommon in India, and in the North the word *ghar*, house, is ordinarily added. The accent in *kallab* and *gallab* is usually on the first syllable. In Lâhor *Kallaf ghar* is common for "the Club." Here *b* becomes *f*. See *Ind. Ant. ante* vol. XI, p. 297 for a similar change.

Saffína = *Sub-pœna* is very common in the Panjâb Courts and in *misals* and *'arzís* one often meets with at as سفینہ Here the *b* and *p* are changed into *ff*.

Ajítarí = *Registry*, is a curious corruption, and one constantly in the mouths of Panjâbî *chuprásís*, *e.g. ek ajítarí hai*, "it is a registered letter."

Gudrí-kalôt, or either separately, used for an English baby's napkins, and frequently used by ayahs and English ladies in Northern India. The two words mean precisely the same thing. *Gudrí* is Hindî, meaning a ragged quilt, a ragged garment, a rag, and *kalôt*[1] is, I am nearly sure, a corruption of "clout," which is defined by Ogilvie as "a rag, a piece of cloth for mean purposes." *Kalôt* is used only as above, and never to designate any kind of native garment.

Santar—centre—a main street in a Cantonment Bâzâr. *Santar* is also used for the *Chauk* or Central point in a Bâzâr, whence the principal streets diverge, and this seems to have been its original sense, whence its application extended to the main streets themselves. Natives generally divide the streets in a Cantonment Bâzâr into *santars*, *kúchás* and *galís*, or main streets, lanes and alleys. *Santar* is not known in towns, outside Cantonments, and corresponds to the *kúchá* or street, but as a matter of fact the broad streets of a Cantonment Bâzâr do not exist in a native town, and hence probably the invention of the word *santar* to distinguish them. It is very common and its sense beyond dispute; *e.g. 'woh dusre santar meṅ rahtá hai*, he lives in another street.'

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] Is it not rather a corruption of *cloth*?—ED.

REVISED TRANSLATIONS OF TWO KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS.

By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

MY enquiries connected with the Bakhshâlî MS.[1] which is written in the so-called Gâthâ dialect, lately led me to re-examine the Kshatrapa Inscriptions. On doing so, I discovered that some of the points in them which hitherto have remained obscure are at once cleared up, when those documents are taken as written in the "Gâthâ." At the same time I also found that in some places they are still misread and mis-translated. Accordingly I venture to submit herewith revised readings and translations of two of the Kshatrapa Inscriptions.[2]

The first Inscription treated in this paper is the Nâsik Inscription, West's No. 17.[3] It was first read and translated (in 1853) by Dr. Stevenson in the *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. Asiat. Society*, vol. V, pp. 49 ff., afterwards by Prof. Bhandarkar in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, of 1874 (pp. 326 ff.), and, as already mentioned, by Prof. Bühler in the *Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. IV, pp. 99, 100.

REVISED READING.[4]

Siddham | râjñaḥ kshaharâtasya kshatrapasya Nahapânasya jâmâtrâ Dînîkaputreṇa *Ushavadâtena* trigośatasahasradena nadyâ[ṁ] Vârṇâsâyâṁ suvarṇadânatîrthakareṇa *devatâbhyaḥ* brâhmaṇebhyaś cha shoḍaśagrâmadena anuvarsha[ṁ] brâhmaṇaśatasâhasrî[ṁ] *bhojâpayitrâ*

Prabhâse puṇyatîrthe *brâhmaṇebhyaḥ* ashṭabhâryâpradena Bharukachhe Daśapure Govardhane Śorpârage cha *chatuśâlâvasadha*-pratiśraya-pradena ârâma-*taḍâga-udapâna*-kareṇa Ibâ-Pârâdâ-Damaṇa-Tâpî-Karabeṇâ-*Dâhanukâ nâvâ*-puṇyatara-kareṇa etâsâṁ cha nadînâṁ *ubhato tîraṁ* sabhâ-

prapâ-kareṇa Pîṁḍitakâvaḍe Govardhane Suvarṇamukhe Śorpârage cha Râmatîrthe charaka*parshabhyaḥ grâme Nânaṁgole dvâtrîśat*-*nâḷîgera*-mûla-sahasra-pradena Govardhane Triraśmishu parvateshu dharmâtmanâ idaṁ *leṇa*[*ṁ*] kâritaṁ *imâ* cha *poḍhiyo* bhaṭ[ṭ]âraka*âñatiyâ* cha gato'smi varshâ-*ratuṁ Mâlayehi* ru[d]dhaṁ Ut[t]amabhadraṁ mochayituṁ

te cha *Mâlayâ pranâdeneva* apayâtâ Ut[t]amabhadrakâ*nâṁ* cha *kshatriyânaṁ* sarve *parigrahâ kṛitâ* tato'smi *gato Poksharâni* tatra cha mayâ *abhiseko krito tîṇi* cha *gosahasrâni* dat[t]âni *grâmo* cha ||[5]

NEW TRANSLATION.

May it be well! By the son-in-law of King Kshaharâta Satrap Nahapâna, the son of Dînîka, Ushavadâta, who gave (*as alms*) three hundred thousand cows, gave gold to build a sacred bathing place on the river Bârṇâsâ, gave sixteen villages to the gods and Brahmans, fed a hundred thousand Brahmans every year, presented (*the means of marrying*) eight wives to Brahmans at the sacred bathing place of Prabhâsa, presented quadrangular rest-houses at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Govardhana, and Śorpâraga, made gardens, tanks and wells, placed sacred ferry-boats on the rivers Ibâ, Pârâdâ, Damaṇa, Tâpî, Karabeṇâ, Dâhanukâ, provided on the bank, on both sides of those same rivers, places for the distribution of water to those who assembled (*for the purpose of crossing*), (*and*) presented in the village of Nânaṁgola thirty-two cocoanut trees, worth a thousand (*kârshâpaṇas*), to the congregations in Pîṇḍitakâvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, and Śorpâraga, (*who are in the habit of*) frequenting Râmatîrtha,—on the mount Triraśmi in Govardhana, out of religious principle, this cave has been caused to be made as well as these cisterns. And by the command of the noble Lord I went, in the rainy season, to deliver the Uttamabhadra who was beset by the Mâlayas; and those Mâlayas, at the mere noise (*of my approach*) fled away

[1] See *Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal* for August 1882.

[2] This paper was written and, indeed, was already in type, when I learned that Prof. Bühler had lately re-read the Nâsik Inscriptions from beautiful new impressions. Dr. Burgess kindly supplied me with MS. copy of Prof. Bühler's revision, and the references to the latter which I have inserted are based on them. It is necessary to explain this, as in many cases my emendations agreed with those of Prof. Bühler. In the main object of this paper, however, which is to point out the fact that these records are written in the so-called Gâthâ dialect, I have not been anticipated.

[3] See reduced copy of Lieut. P. F. Brett's copy in *Journal Bombay Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. V, No. IV, pp. 8-10; Mr. West's eye-copy, *ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 50; and the facsimile of the new impression in *Arch. Survey of Western India*, vol. IV, pl. lii.

[4] The *anusvâras* and double consonants within brackets are not in the original. All or some of the omissions of the *anusvâra* may be due to the Gâthâ character of the record. All Prâkritic elements are in *italics*.

[5] From the new impression read—l. 1, *anuvarsha*, for °*shaṁ*; l. 3, *Nânaṁgole dvâtrîśat nâḷîgera*, for *Nânagole dvâtriṁśat nâḍhigera*; *leṇa* for *leṇaṁ*; l. 4, *utamabhadrakânâṁ*, for °*naṁ*.

and were all made subjects of the Uttamabhadra Kshatriyas. Thence I went to the Pushkaras, and there by me ablutions were made, and three thousand cows were given as well as a village.

As regards the language of this Inscription, it is usually said that the first portion is Sanskrit, while the latter part is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prâkrit. This description is not quite correct; the first portion is not exactly Sanskrit; forms like *bhojâpayitrâ* or *ubhato* are certainly not Sanskrit, but Prâkrit (or Pâli). Again, the latter portion, if Prâkrit, is, at all events, a very peculiar sort of Prâkrit, seeing that it admits the vowel *ṛi*, the conjunct consonant *ksh* and other peculiarities unknown to the ordinary Pâli-Prâkrit, but distinctive of Sanskrit. The fact is, the Inscription is composed in *one* kind of language throughout, and that language is the so-called Gâthâ dialect, one of the distinctive features of which is a curious mixture of Sanskritic and Prâkritic elements. The only peculiarity of this Inscription is, that in the earlier part the Sanskritic element predominates, but in the latter part the Prâkritic. This will be seen at once by a glance at my revised text, where I have distinguished the Prâkritic elements by printing them in *italics*. I employ the term "Gâthâ dialect," as a mere matter of convenience, being the name hitherto generally used. The term is, however, a misnomer, since it has become known that the dialect, or rather language, is employed not only in verse, but also in prose writings of the Buddhists.[6] I cannot here further enter into the question of the Gâthâ dialect; but the subject will be found fully discussed in the Introduction to my edition of the Bakhshâlî Manuscript which will shortly be published by order of the Panjab Government. I shall, however, in the course of the following remarks, point out most of the Gâthâ characteristics that occur in this inscription.

In the first line *Ushavadâta*, I suppose, is a Prâkritic form of the Sanskrit *Ṛishabhadatta*.[7] In *devatâbhyaḥ*, we have an instance of the characteristic Gâthâ disregard of the ordinary Sanskrit rules of sandhi, according to which it should be *devatâbhyo*.[8] Another instance occurs, lower down, in *parshabhyaḥ* for Sansk. *parshadbhyo*. Of course, where the omission of sandhi coincides with a pause, and serves as a sort of interpunctuation, no stress can be laid on it as a mark of Gâthâ usage; for a similar practice may be met with in Sanskrit writing. But it is different with cases like *devatâbhyaḥ*, *parshabhyaḥ*, which occur in the midst of the flow of a sentence. The case is still more striking, if the omission of sandhi occurs in the middle of a compound, as in the third line, in *dvâtriśatnâḷigera*°, which, by the Gâthâ standard is quite correct, but which according to Sanskrit rule should be *dvâtriśannâḷigera*°.

The meaning of the first line is clear, with the exception of the compound *suvarṇadânatîrthakareṇa*. Professor Bhandarkar translates it, "he presented gold and constructed flights of steps," treating it as a *dvandva*-compound;[9] lit. "by the maker of presents of gold and of steps." This would be a curious juxtaposition of work done, and °*dânakareṅa* would be, I imagine, a rather unidiomatic expression. Dr. Stevenson's translation, "he established for the presenting of gold a holy place on the river Bârṇâsâ," is possible; but Prof. Bühler's version, which I have adopted, is undoubtedly the most probable; lit., the phrase means "who made a *Tîrtha* by the gift of gold." *Bhojâpayitrâ* is a Prâkṛitised form of the Causal verb, very common in the Gâthâ; the Sanskrit would be *bhojayitrâ*.

In the second line, there are again three instances of sandhi, or rather disregard of sandhi, characteristic of the Gâthâ. We have *brâhmaṇebhyaḥ ashṭa*° for Sanskrit *brâhmaṇebhyo'shṭa*°; again the hiatus in the compound °*taḍâga-udapâna*° for Sanskrit °*taḍâgodapâna*°; lastly *ubhato tîraṁ* for Sanskrit *ubhayatas tîraṁ*. Professor Bhandarkar, under the impression that the record is in Sanskrit, naturally was staggered by the anomalous form *ubhato*, and hence he proposes to substitute *ubhaya*, forming a compound with *tîraṁ*.[10] The original, however,

[6] See, *e.g.*, the excellent edition of the *Mahâvastu*, lately published by M. Senart.

[7] In this Prof. Bühler agrees with me. In the *Veda*, *dâta* is said to occur for *datta*. Or *dâta* might have been "purified by" Ṛishabha.

[8] Prof. Bühler reads *devatâbhyaḥ*, but in the new impression the top of the letter and vowel sign are chipped. Dr. Stevenson read *devatebhyah* after Lieut. Brett's copy. The latter is a true Gâthâ form, and, therefore might be genuine.

[9] In Sanskrit: सुवर्णदानं च तीर्थं च यः करोति स सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरः ॥

[10] At least, so I understand the bracketed *ya* in his text; suggesting *ubhayatîraṁ*.

which has very clearly *to*, affords no ground for such a correction; and as the record is not in Sanskrit but in Gâthâ, there is no need for it. This line, indeed, is particularly full of marks of the Gâthâ. Thus *tîraṁ* presents an instance of the Gâthâ characteristic of confusing the cases, the accusative being used for the locative *tîre*. Another instance occurs, lower down, where we have the accusative *varshâ-ratuṁ* "in the rainy season", for the locative *varshârato* (Skr. *varshartau*). In the *Mahâvastu* and *Lalita Vistara* there are numerous examples of this confusion, those of substituting the accusative for the locative being particularly frequent.[11] Again the two words *chatuśâlâ* and *âvasadha*, the Sanskrit forms of which would be *chatuḥśâlâ* (as given in Prof. Bhandarkar's Note 4) and *âvasatha*, are spelt in Prâkritising fashion[12]. In the ancient Prâkrit, as mentioned in one of Chaṇḍa's special rules, the aspirates were occasionally softened.[13] Both Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar read *âvasatha*, but in defiance of the original which unmistakably has *âvasadha*.

The meaning of the first portion of this line is clear; but I am inclined to agree with Prof. Bühler, that "only one kind of building is intended by the whole compound *chatuśâlâvasadha-pratiśraya*." The second portion has puzzled Prof. Bhandarkar, whose interpretation seems to have been adopted by Prof. Bühler. They divide the passage, from *Ibâ* to *karena* into three separate words, *Ibâ-Parâdâ-Damaṇa-Tâpî-Karabeṇâ-Dâhanukâ* and *nâvâ* and *puṇyatara-kareṇa*, taking *nâvâ* as the instrumental singular of the Sanskrit word *nau*, and °*Dâhanukâ* as an error for °*Dâhanukânâṁ*. Their difficulty, however, only arose from the persuasion that the record was in Sanskrit. If we remember that it is in Gâthâ, all difficulty disappears. *Nâvâ*[14] is simply the Prâkrit-Pâli equivalent, of the Sanskrit word *nau*, the whole, *nâvâ-puṇyatarakareṇa*, forming one compound; and °*Dâhanukâ* is the accusative plural used for the locative °*Dâhanukâsu*, after the Gâthâ fashion, of which other instances have been already noticed. The meaning of the word *puṇya* is somewhat obscure. Dr. Stevenson translates the phrase *puṇyatara-kareṇa*, "he placed charitable ferry-boats," and Prof. Bhandarkar similarly, "he charitably enabled men to cross." Prof. Bühler translates it somewhat differently, "he established, for the sake of religious merit, ferries." I take *puṇya* to be used here in the same sense "sacred," as before in *puṇyatîrthe*, lit. "maker of a sacred ferry of boats." The ferry-boats are called sacred, because they were set apart for a special sacred purpose, viz., to carry pilgrims across. The act of providing them was, of course, an act of religious merit, but no more so than the other acts specified in this record. The words *etâsâṁ cha nadînâṁ ubhato tîraṁ* Prof. Bhandarkar has omitted to translate; perhaps by a mere oversight, for there is no difficulty whatsoever in them. He translates *sabhâ-prapâ-kareṇa* by "he constructed Dharmaśâlas and endowed places for the distribution of water;" construing it as a dvandva-compound. So also Prof. Bühler, who translates: "he has erected rest-houses (for travellers) and places for the (gratuitous) distribution of water." But the compound may be explained much more simply as a common tatpurusha, meaning "watering-places for the assemblies," *i.e.*, for those assembled to cross over the rivers by the ferry-boats which Ushavadâta had provided. Of these "watering-places" he had naturally provided one on each side of the river, for the use of all those who wished to cross from either bank.

The third line opens with a very long and complicated sentence, in which we have clearly three distinct sets of names, with distinct grammatical references. *Râmatîrthe* stands in immediate relation to *charaka*, "wandering to Râmatîrtha"; *Nânaṁgola* stands in immediate relation to *Nâḷigera*, "cocoanut trees in Nânaṁgola"; and *Piṁḍitakâvaḍa*, *Govardhana*, *Suvarṇamukha*, *Śorpâraga* stand in relation to *parshabhyaḥ*, "the congregations in those four places." The meaning of the whole is, that Ushavadâta

[11] *E.g.*, *Mahâv.*, p. 26, l. 14, *avîchiṁ*; *ibid.*, p. 220, l. 9, *dharaniṁ*; *Lal. Vist.*, p. 309, l. 1, *Râjagrihaṁ*: *ibid.*, p. 467, l. 14, *mâṁsaṁ*.

[12] Pâli *chatusâlâ*, Prâkrit *chaüsâlâ*; like *chatuvagga*, Skr. *chaturvarga*. Prof. Bühler, in his notes, also mentions both Sanskrit forms, by way of emendations.

[13] See my edition of Chaṇḍa's *Grammar of the Ancient Prâkrit*, the *Prâkrita Lakshaṇaṁ*, III, ii, and my notes on the Bharhut Stûpa Inscriptions, Part I, No. 5. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 119). Thus we have *Madhurâ* for *Mathurâ*, *nâdho* for *nâtho*, *Maghâdeva* for *Makhâdeva*.

[14] See Childers' *Dictionary*. The word occurs in the acc. sing. *nâvâṁ*, in the Gâthâ of the *Lalita Vistara*, p. 264, line 6. It also occurs in the Jaina Prâkrit, see Weber, *Bhagavati*, p. 419. Prof. Bhandarkar's difficulty about the singular number of *nâvâ*, of course, disappears under this view of the text; for *nâvâ*, being a mere stem in a compound, can have either a singular or plural meaning, according to circumstances.

gave thirty-two cocoanut trees, situated in the village of Nânaṁgola, to the congregations resident in Pîṁḍitakâvaḍa, etc., who were in the habit of going to the Râmatîrtha. These cocoanut trees are said to have represented a capital of one thousand Kârshâpaṇas.[15] I suppose their annual produce was devoted to the objects of those Parshads. There may have been some special (religious or other) use to which it was applied. The word *nâḷîgera*[16] has greatly puzzled Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar who read it *nâṇḍigera* and *nâḍhigera* respectively; but the other form *nâḍigera,* in which the same word occurs in No. 16 of the Nâsik Inscriptions, at once suggests its identity. It is simply a Prâkritising form of the Sanskrit *nâḍikela* or *nâḍîkela* or *nâlikera,* and the Pâli *nâḍikela* or *nâḍikera* or *nâḷikera.* The softening of unaspirate consonants, especially of *k,* is not uncommon in the ancient Prâkrit; Chaṇḍa has a special rule regarding it, and gives the examples *titthagaro* = Sanskrit *tîrthakaraḥ, egaṃ* = Sanskrit *ekaṃ.*[17] The Gâthâ form of the name *Śorpâraga,* for Sanskrit *Śûrpâraka,* shows the same softening of *k.* Prof. Bhandarkar thinks that we must read *charaṇa* for *charaka;* but the original has very clearly *charaka,* and there is no need to assume an error, seeing that *charaka* gives a very good sense; it qualifies *parshabhyaḥ* with reference to *Râmatîrthe,* "the Parshads going to Râmatîrtha." In Sanskrit we should expect the accusative *Râmatîrthaṁ;* but the substitution of the locative fo the accusative is very common in Gâthâ.[18] Prof. Bühler's view, I think, does not materially differ from mine, except that he constructs *Râmatîrthe* with *Śorpârage,* "at Râmathîrtha near Śorpâraga." He translates: "who has given, in the village of Nânaṁgola, one thousand as the price of thirty-two cocoanut trees (*destined*) for (*the benefit of*) the Charaka congregations at Pîṁḍitakâvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, and at Râmatîrtha near Śorpâraga." The main difficulty is as to the meaning of the term *charaka.* It may mean, as Prof. Bühler notes, either "congregations of (wandering Brahmanical) students," or "assemblies of Brâmaṇas studying the *charaka śâkhâ.*" The former meaning appears to me the more probable. There were Brahmanical schools at the four places mentioned, the students of which, according to a common practice, used to visit the, at that time apparently famous, Thîrtha. Râmatîrtha cannot have been very far from any of those four places.[19] There are some more Gâthâ forms in this clause. Both Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar read *parshadbhyaḥ* (given also in Prof. Bühler's notes, as an emendation); but the original has *parshabhyaḥ* (without *d*), and this requires no alteration, as it is a true Gâthâ form. Strictly it should be *parshâbhyaḥ* (Pâli *parisâbhi*), but the Gâthâ is not particular about the length of vowels in inflection.[20] On the characteristic disregard of sandhi in *parshabhyaḥ* and *dvâtrîśatnâ°* I have already remarked. But *dvâstrîśat* itself is a Prâkritising Gâthâ form for Sanskrit *dvâtriṁśat;* the corresponding Pâli form is *dvattiṁsa* or *battiṁsa,* Prâkrit *battîsa,* and compare the Gujarâtî *batrîśa* and Sindhî *batrîh.* There is another Gâthâ form in the disruption and inversion of the compound in *grâme Nânaṁgole,* which in Sanskrit would be *Nânaṁgolagrâme.* Instances of this practice are not uncommon, in both the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Mahâvastu.*[21]

The second clause of the third line is plain. But I do not think my predecessors are correct in constructing *dharmâtmanâ* as agreeing with *Ushavadâtena,* "by the benevolent (or charitable) Ushavadâta." There are two objections to this construction. In the first place, if the writer had meant to express what they assume, it is not likely that he would have separated the two words so widely; but secondly, what is much more conclusive—the same expression *dharmâtmanâ* again occurs in the Inscription No. 19 (West's No. 4)[22] (the last word of

[15] I understand *kârshâpaṇas,* as this is the money mentioned in most of the Nâsik Inscriptions.

[16] That this is the true reading is proved by the new impression. Dr. Bühler also translates it correctly "cocoanut tree."

[17] See my edition of Chaṇḍa's *Prâkṛita Lakshaṇaṁ,* III, 12. Also Hemachandra (ed. Pischel) I, 177.

[18] So in the *Mahâvastu* (ed. Senart), p. 150, l. 13, *dvâre upagamya* for *dvaraṁ;* see also p. 145, l. 2 *et passim, âdau* for *âdiṁ.* This usage is specially noticed by Hemachandra in his rule III, 135.

[19] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 237; Govardhana was near Nâsik.—Ed. *I. A.*

[20] Thus *asmabhir,* for *asmâbhir,* in the *Lalita Vistara,* p. 415, l. 11. See also E. Müller's *Dialect der Gâthâs,* pp. 13, 20.

[21] E. g., in the *Mahâvastu,* on page 29, line 3, we read *loke pretasmiṁ* for *pretaloke;* see also M. Senart's remarks on pp. 393,396. Prof. Bühler's new impression, I am told, has *grâma Nânaṁgole;* this, if genuine, is an inversion of the compound no less characteristic of the Gâthâ.

[22] *Rep. Arch. Surv. West. India,* vol. IV, p. 114. The new reading is *Îdâgnidatasa dhaṁmâtmanâ.*—*Ed. I. A.*

the first line), where it is impossible to construct it with the person named *(Indrâgnidatta);* for the latter is in the genitive case, while *dharmâtmanâ* is in the instrumental.[23] I think, therefore, that *dharmâtmanâ* must be taken as an independent phrase, in which apparently the motive of the act of excavation is intended to be expressed: "(moved) by religious principle." I am inclined to think that it is probably a Buddhist technical term of this, or a similar, signification. The word *poḍhiyo* (Marâṭhî *poḍhî* or *poḍî*) is the Prâkrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *protha* "an excavation;" the feminine *prothî* or *prothikâ* would mean "a cistern"; hence the Prâkrit *poḍhî* (plural *poḍhiyo*) and *poḍhiyâ*; both forms occur in Inscription, West's No. 1 (*do poḍhiyo* and *ekâ poḍhiyâ*). The change of the dental surd *th* to cerebral sonant *ḍh* is not without analogues in Prâkrit; e.g., *paḍhama* "first" (H. C. I, 55), for Pâli *paṭhama*, Sanskrit *prathama*.

In the third clause of the third line Professor Bhandarkar reads *bhaṭṭârakâ âṇṇatiyâ* where the final *â* of *bhaṭṭârakâ* is unintelligible. The original, however, has very clearly *bhaṭârakâñâtiyâ* as a compound, and its division is indicated by a subscribed *a* under °*kâñ*°. The compound, therefore, must be divided *bhaṭṭâraka âñâtiyâ* or *aññâtiyâ* ("by the command of the noble lord"), which is perfectly correct. *Âñâtiyâ* or *aññâtiyâ* is the Sanskrit *âjñaptyâ*, the Pâli *âṇattiyâ* (or *aññattiyâ*).

The following is Prof. Bühler's note on this word: "The *a* of *aṇâtiyâ* stands below the line and is a correction which only causes confusion. It ought to be either *bhaṭârakâñâtiyâ* or *bhaṭâraka añâtiyâ*, i.e., *bhaṭârakâjñaptyâ*." The inscription, however, has quite correctly *bhaṭârakâñâtiyâ*, and the subscribed *a* is not meant as a correction, but as a help to the right division of the compound. Such subscribed letters are not uncommonly met with in MSS. where they serve to elucidate the sandhi. We have another instance in this very Inscription in *siddham* where *m* is subscribed. In the Skandagupta Inscription on the Junâgaḍh rock many examples occur; e. g., in line 2, in *saśvat Śrîpari*° the *t* is subscribed, to avoid the complicated sandhi *śaśvachchhrîpari*°. A similar instance occurs in the Rudradâma Inscription, on the same rock, in the 7th line, *âsît chatvâri*° with subscribed *t*. In our present Inscription the second *t* of *dvâtriśat nâḷîgera* should be subscribed, and the compound must be read *dvâtrîśatnâḷîgera* (not *dvâtrîśatanâḷîgera*, as Prof. Bühler apparently reads). For the latter form, *dvâtrîśata*, there is no support in either Sanskrit or Prâkrit; and it may easily be understood that in such rock Inscription the "subscription" was not always done accurately. Instances of inaccurate subscription occur in the Skandagupta Inscription, in lines 9, 17, 21[24]. The word *varshâ-ratuṁ* is again a Prâkritising Gâthâ form; *ratuṁ* being, as already suggested by Prof. Bhandarkar, the equivalent of Sanskrit *ṛituṁ*. In the ordinary Pâli-Prâkrit the vowel *ṛi* of this word changes to *u*, (Pâli *utu*, Prâkrit *udû* or *uû* or *riû* H. C. I., 141.) The Gâthâ use of the accusative for the locative has already been noticed.

The last clause of the third line has been altogether misunderstood by Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar. They were misled by a gap which occurs between *Mâlaye* and *hi rudhaṁ*, into thinking that a portion of the Inscription was lost. Accordingly they read *Mâlaye* and *Hirudhaṁ* as two words, of which they make the former to be the name of a place, constructing it (apparently as a locative singular) with *gato'smi*, while they make the latter the name of a person called *Hirudha*, of the Uttamabhadra race of Kshatriyas. But the fact is that nothing is lost. and that the words must be divided *Mâlayehi rudhaṁ* "beset by the Mâlayas." Reading *Mâlayehi* not only produces the correct form of a word, but it also completes the sense of the sentence; for in the next line we are told that the Mâlayas fled at the approach of Ushavadâta who was sent to the rescue of the Uttamabhadra. In this view, I find, I am supported by Prof. Bühler.

I have followed my predecessors in taking Uttamabhadra as the name of a Kshatriya race which, as Prof. Bühler notes, in the singular number refers to the chief of the race, and in the plural to the members of the race generally. This undoubtedly is a common usage with regard

[23] Professor Bhandarkar himself saw this in translating that Inscription. But he gets over the difficulty by arbitrarily changing the reading to the genitive *dharmâtmano*, so as to agree with *Indrâgnidattassa;* though the facsimile is quite clearly *dhaṁmâtmanâ*.

[24] See the photographic facsimile in Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. I, Pl. XV.

to such names; but I do not know that the existence of a Kshatriya race called Uttamabhadra, has been otherwise verified. This being so, might not Uttamabhadra be the name of a place, and *Uttamabhadraka Kshatriya* mean "the Kshatriyas of, or resident in, Uttamabhadra?"

The ablution mentioned in the fourth line was performed in *Pokharâni*.[25] This word looks uncommonly like *pokharâni*, and I cannot help thinking that it is really nothing else but a Gâthâ form of it. The reference is evidently to some well-known place of sacred tanks to which Ushavadâta went after his victory to pay his "thank-offerings." There are several places of this sort, known under the name *Pokhar*, the best known being that near Ajmir, which is suggested by Prof. Bühler. The name is spelt with the dental *n* which though it would be anomalous if the record were in Sanskrit, is not so in the Gâthâ; the same peculiarity occurs in *pranâdena*, °*bhadrakânâṁ*, *Kshatriyânaṁ*, for Sanskrit *praṇadena*, °*bhadrakâṇâṁ*, *Kshatriyâṇâṁ*. The facsimile has *tiṇi*, not *tini* as in Prof. Bhandarkar's Text. The spelling *utamabhadra* with one *t* does not make the word Prâkrit. Even in acknowledged Sanskrit Inscriptions a homogenous double-consonant is not always written in full; thus in Skandaguptâ's Inscription at Girnâr, the last word in the seventh line is spelled *pravṛitaḥ* for *pravṛittah*; in the 14th line we have °*sîtâchaṁdra*° for °*sîtâchchaṁdra*,° et passim.[26]

I now proceed to the Jasdhan Inscription, of which a facsimile, Nâgarî Transcript and English translation has been given by the late Mr. Bhâu Dajî in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. VIII, pp. 234, 235.[27]

REVISED READING.

Varshe 127 bhâdrapada*bahulasa* 5 râjño mahâkshatrapa[sa] bhadramukhasya svâmi-Châshṭana-putra-*papautrasya râjño* ksha[tra]pasya svâmi-Jayadâma-putra-pautrasya râjño mahâkshatrapasya s[vâmî]-Rudradâma-pautrasya *râjña* ma*h*aksha[tra]pasya bhadramukhasya svâmi-Rudrasîha-[putra]sya râjño mahâkshatrapasya svâmi-Rudrasenasya idaṁ *śatra*-mâna[ṁ] tu Tuṁgotras[y]a Pratâ[ra]thaka-putrasya Khara-pautrasya bhâtṛi[bhi]ḥ *utthavitâst*[*i*].

NEW TRANSLATION.

On the 5th (*day*) of the dark half of (*the month*) Bhâdrapada in the 127th year of the king, the great satrap, Lord Rudrasena, [*the son*] of the king, the great satrap, the gracious[28] Lord Rudrasîha, the grandson of the king, the great satrap, Lord Rudradâma, the great-grand*son* of the king, the great satrap Lord Jayadâma, the great-great-grandson of the king, the gracious Lord Châshṭana—this memorial of the munificence of Tuṅgotra, the son of Pratârathaka, the grandson of Khara has been erected by his brothers.

MR. BHAU DAJI'S TRANSCRIPT.

Varshe 127 bhâdrapadabahula sa 5 râjño mahâkshatrapasya bhadramukhasya svâmi-Chashṭana putrapapautrasya râjño Ksha . . . . . . sya svâmi-Jayadâma-putrapautrasya râjño mahâkshatrapasya bha . . .-Rudradâma-pautrasya râjño mahâkshatrapasya bhadramukhasvâmi-Rudrasiṁhasya râjño mahâkshatrapasya svâmi-Rudrasenasya idaṁ śatraṁ Mânasasagotra-Supranâthaka-putrasya Kharapautrasya bhrâtṛibhiḥ utthavitâsva (?)

MR. BHAU DAJI'S VERSION.

In the year 127 Bhâdrapada (month) dark half-7th (day) of the moon, this Satra (tank) of Râjâ Mahâ Kshatrapa Bhadramukha Swâmi Rudra Sena, the great grandson of the son of Râjâ Mahâ Kshatrapa Swâmi Châshṭana the grandson of the Râjâ Ksha(trapa) Swâmi Jaya daman, the grandson of Râjâ Mahâ Kshatrapa. . . . . Rudra Dâmâ, (son of) Râjâ Mahâ Kshatrapa Bhadramukha Swâmi Rudra. Of the son of Supra Nâthaka of Mânasagotra, the grandson of Khara, with brothers . . . . (some letters not well made out).

The old translation is very unsatisfactory; it is greatly confused throughout, and in some respects altogether wrong. To mention, first, some of the minor points of confusion, which perhaps are due to mere carelessness. The epithet Bhadramukha is given to Rudrasena, whereas, according to the text, it belongs to his father Rudrasîha; the latter's name moreover is

[25] Prof. Bhandarkar reads *abhisekaḥ kṛito*, misled apparently by two strokes which are shown in Mr. West's copy between *abhiseko* and *krito*. But these strokes could not be the sign of the *visarga*, but of the numeral two, meaning "he made two ablutions." Their genuineness, however, is very doubtful, as the new impression has no lines after *abhiseko*, nor any room for them.

[26] See facsimile in *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII; and in Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. I, p. 134, Plate xv.

[27] See also Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. I; pp. 15, 43.

[28] lit., "the good-faced," benign.

simply given as Rudra instead of Rudrasîha, as the text has it. Rudrasena is also said to be the "grandson" of Jayadâma, while the text calls him his great-grandson.

In the translation the date is given as the seventh day; the reason of which I am somewhat puzzled to understand, seeing that in his Nâgarî transcript Mr. Bhâu Dajî gives the date correctly as the 5th, as the facsimile clearly has it. The only explanation that occurs to me, is, that he may possibly have divided *bahala* and *sa* into two words, and taken the letter *(sa)* as an abbreviation of *saptame* "seventh." There would then be, however, a discrepancy between the date in words and in figures, and *bahula* would be uninflected. However, as he gave no explanation of this point in his translation, his reason for translating 7th may have been a different one.

Mr. Bhâu Dajî constructs the genitive of the royal names as dependent on *śatra* "the tank of Râja, etc." which causes the genitives following *śatra* to remain unconnected and unintelligible. But it is plain from the whole context that the first genitives are connected with *varshe*, "in the year of the king, etc.", while the genitives belonging to *śatra* are contained in the names following it. The date 127, of course, is not the year of the reign of Rudrasena, but of the era of his reign.

To *śatra* Mr. Bhâu Dajî gives the meaning "tank." There are two objections to this translation. First, the predicate, *utthavita*, belonging to it, and which means "erected," shows that the object referred to cannot have been a "tank," but most probably the "stone-pillar" itself on which the inscription is borne. Secondly, to judge from the *Petersburg Dictionary* it is very doubtful whether the word *śatra* has the meaning of "tank" at all.

The last line, as Mr. Bhâu Dajî translates it, mentions the brothers of an individual who is the grandson and son of two men who are named, but the individual himself is not named. This would be a very extraordinary proceeding, and certainly one which has not been found in any other inscription. It is evident that the name of the individual must be contained in the letters which precede the name of his father. Mr. Bhâu Dajî reads those letters *mânasagotra*, and makes this (apparently) the name of the family (or perhaps, the place), to which the unknown individual's father belonged. In his reading, however, he has omitted one *sa* (or rather *saṁ*, as the facsimile has an anusvâra over the second letter); for the text has *mânasasaṁgotra*, which I think would make it impossible to translate in the way Mr. Bhâu Dajî has done. But the two letters which he transcribes *sasaṁ*, are clearly not *sasaṁ* in the facsimile but rather *tutuṁ*.[29] We have therefore *mânatutuṁgotra*. This I would divide into two words, and read *mâna* with *śatra*[30] as a compound, *śatramânaṁ i.e.*, "memorial of the munificence" (lit., "honouring of his *śatra*"). *Satra* is properly "a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days;" hence it comes to mean "liberality" or "munificence" generally. It might possibly be here used in its proper sense. *Satra* is the correct spelling; here it is spelled *śatra*, after the Gâthâ fashion, which is apt to interchange the sibilants. In *tutuṁgotra*, I think, we have the name of the individual, whose *satra* is commemorated. As the name must be in the genitive, I think, the following letter must be taken with it and read *sya*. There is an indistinct mark under the letter, which Mr. Bhâu Dajî takes to be the vowel *u*; but it is more probably the remnant of a subscribed *ya*; the whole letter, accordingly, is *sya;* and the whole word is *Tuṁgotrasya* "of Tuṅgotra." I omit one *tu*, because I think it was most probably repeated by the carelessness of the writer.[31] There is absolute evidence of the inscription having been incised with much carelessness; *e.g.*, in the fourth line we have *Kshapasya*, instead of *Kshatrapasya*; in the fifth line we have °*sîhasya* instead of °*sîhaputrasya*. If the writer was careless enough to omit syllables, he was also likely to add them where they were not required.[32] Next follows the name of the father of Tuṅgotra, which Mr. Bhâu Dajî reads *supra-nâthaka;* but "*sa*" is no part of the word; the second consonant is not *nâ*, but *tâ*;[33] and after it there is a lacuna

[29] At all events, whatever they may be, they are certainly not two *sas;* for the sign for *sa* occurs about twenty times in the inscription and is very different.

[30] Mr. Bhâu Dajî reads *śatraṁ*, but the facsimile has no anusvâra; to *mâna* an anusvâra must be supplied, but that makes no difficulty, as the inscription is written in the Gâthâ, which is careless about anusvâras.

[31] If it is genuine, it might be the expletive particle *tu;* or, of course, the name itself might be *Tutuṁgotra*.

[32] As I have not seen the original, it is just possible that these mistakes may be due to the copyist.

[33] The facsimile has clearly *tâ;* the letter is precisely the same as in the last word *utthavitâsti*.

of one letter, which was probably *ra*, as the space is small. Hence I read the whole name Pratârathaka.[34] Then follows the name of the grandfather Khara. Finally the "brothers" of Tuṅgotra are named as the persons who erected the memorial; the reading is *bhâtṛibhiḥ* "by the brothers" (not "with the brothers"). Mr. Bhâu Dajî reads *bhrâtṛibhiḥ*; but the facsimile shows no initial compound; we have a similar omission of the conjunct *r*, in the second line, in *papautrasya* for *prapautrasya*; such omissions are not unknown in the Gâthâ. The last word is doubtfully read *utthavitâsva* by Mr. Bhâu Dajî. There can be little doubt that it must be read *utthavitâsti*. The last line is not very well preserved, which easily accounts for the loss of the final *i*, and the apparent similarity of *stâ* to *svâ*. *Utthavitâsti* stands for *utthavitaṁ asti*, according to a well-known practice of Pâli sandhi.[35] *Utthavita* is a thoroughly Pâli-Prâkrit form; the Sanskrit would be *utthâpita*; but in both Pâli and Prâkrit the long *â* may be shortened,[36] and the softening of *p* to *v* is already known to the ancient Prâkrit.[37]

Besides the Pâli-Prâkrit forms, already noticed incidentally, there are some others in this inscription which show that it is not written in Sanskrit, but in the so-called Gâthâ dialect. Thus we have the un-sanskritic sandhi *râjño ksha*° (line 2), *râjña mahâ*° (line 4).[38] Again in the first line we have the Pâli genitive singular *bahulasa* (or *bahulassa*, for Sanskrit *bahulasya*); so also in the last word of the same line *Kshatrapasa*[39] (or *Kshatrapassa*) for Sanskrit *Kshatrapasya*. It is true, the last letter, according to the facsimile is doubtful; but, at any rate, the traces shown in it suggest *sa*, not *sya* as Mr. Bhâu Dajî transcribes.

The end of the second and third lines is not well preserved. I would suggest that the last letter of the third line is not *bha*, but a badly drawn *sa* (compare *svâmi*, the first word in the same line); and that originally it had a *va* subscribed, which is now lost[40]; further that this *svâ* was originally followed by the letter *mi* (or *mî*), of which however nothing remains except the superscribed large curve of the vowel *î* (or *i*), and which the copyist has represented as attached to the foot of the letter above it in the second line. This letter in the second line is the letter *pa*, badly drawn by the copyist, but clearly required by the word *Kshatrapasya*, which is the last of the second line, and of which the letter *tra* is altogether lost. The last word of the third line, then, is *svâmî* or *svâmi*, or if two letters be missing at the end of that line, it might have been *svâmisya*. Another way to fill up the lacuna would be to supply *bhadramukha* at the end of the third line, and *svâmi* at the beginning of the fourth line; but this would not explain the curious letter, last but one, of the second line.

NOTICE OF A BUDDHIST TOPE IN THE PIṬṬÂPUR ZAMINDARI.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

The recent discovery of the Stûpa at Jaggayyapêṭa, the inscriptions from which were described in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. XI, p. 156, furnishes another proof of the hold taken by the Buddhist faith in the Doab of the Kṛishṇâ and Godâvarî. I desire now to place on record a similar example which fell under my observation some years ago, but which might otherwise come to be overlooked.

In 1848 the late Sir Henry Montgomery, who had been employed on special duty five years before in Rajahmundry, having told me that some curious relics had been found near Piṭṭâpur by the Zamindar, I at once applied through the Collector for information about them. In reply Mr. Forbes sent me a report by the native head of police, from which I gathered the following particulars:—In the beginning of 1848 Râja Veṅkaṭa Sûryarâu, Zamindâr of Piṭṭâpur, having occasion for some bricks in a work he was then constructing, directed them to be taken from a ruined structure near the village of Timavaram. In the course of the excavation the workmen discovered five stone vessels with covers of the same material

[34] Perhaps it might be *pûtânâthaka* "the lord of Pûtâ."

[35] See Childers' on Sandhi in Pâli in *Jour. R. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 112, No. 60; *e.g.*, *tâsâhaṁ* for *tâsaṁ ahaṁ* (Kachh. p. 28, sûtra 8; ed. Senart).

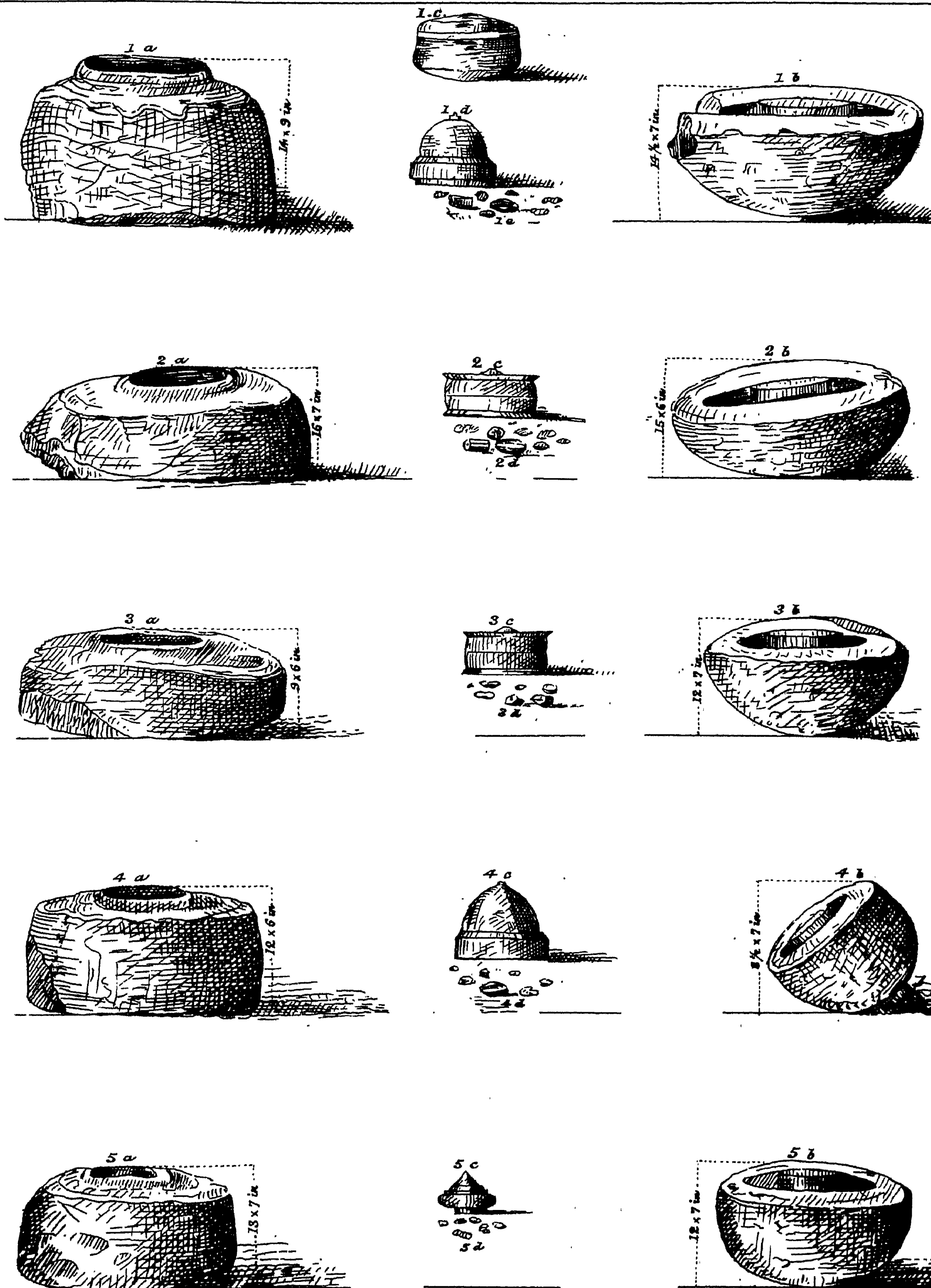
[36] See Childers' *Dict.*, *uṭṭhapeti*; Hemchandra, I., 67, *saṁthavio*; Kuhn's *Beiträge*, p. 118.

[37] See my edition of Chaṇḍa's *Prâkṛita Lakshaṇaṁ*, III, 12.

[38] Mr. Bhâu Dajî reads *râjño mahâ*°, misled by the prejudice that it must be Sanskrit; but the facsimile has *râjño*, a kind of sandhi, not uncommon in the Gâthâ.

[39] This is the well-known form on the Kshatrapa coins.

[40] Possibly the Pâli form *sâmi* stood here.



RELICS FROM A STUPA AT TIMAVARAM IN THE PITTAPUR ZAMINDARI 1848.

each containing a small crystal box or casket. The latter contained each a splinter of precious stone (ruby, emerald, &c.), a small pearl, a bit of coral and a piece of gold leaf. An inventory was made of the whole, and they were sent to the Zilla Court, in conformity with the regulations for Treasure Trove. On the expiry of the prescribed period of six months they were claimed by the Râja, who at my request presented them to the Madras Literary Society, from which they were afterwards transferred to the Government Central Museum. I intended to have published a notice of this transaction in the *Journal of the Literary Society*, and caused a lithograph to be prepared for the purpose, but having been sent to the Northern Sarkârs on special duty, where I remained five years, the matter was overlooked and the management of the *Journal*, which had been under my care, passed into other hands. The consequence was that the illustration appeared in the next number, where it stands at page 225 of Volume XIX,[1] without any explanation whatever to show what it means.[2]

[1] The accompanying plate is a reproduction of the one in the *Journal of the Madras Lit. Society*.

[2] The subject was incidentally referred to, but without any particulars, in a subsequent Volume.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from vol. XI., p.* 282).

XVIII.

Before describing Chinghiz Khân's campaign in China the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* inserts one or two curious notices which we will now illustrate. One of them refers to the Shaman Kokochi or Kukju whom we have previously mentioned as taking an active part in proclaiming Chinghiz as Khakan. It tells us that Munlik, of the tribe Khuankhotadai, had seven sons, the fourth of whom, Kokochi, was a sorcerer,[1] and was surnamed Tep-tengri (*i. e.* one who can mount in the air to heaven). In the Arabic text of Abulfaraj, though not in the Syriac, the incident about Chinghiz Khân's being named by the Shaman is mentioned, being no doubt derived from the *Jehân Kushai*. The Shaman is here called a distinguished prince, and we are told the name he gave his patron was Jingiz Khân Tubt Tangri, in which his own appellation, which it will be noticed, is here given as in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, is confused with that of Chinghiz himself.[2] Rashidu'd-dîn says that Kukju's people credited him with the power of mounting up to heaven on a dappled grey horse; he adds that they called him But Tengri.[3] In regard to the claim to mount in the air, Colonel Yule has collected some curious facts. Father Ricold reports that "there are certain men whom the Tartars honour above all in the world, viz. the Baxitae[4] * * * They are usually acquainted with magic arts, and depend on the counsel and aid of demons; they exhibit many delusions, and predict some future events. For instance, one of eminence among them was said to fly; the truth however was (as it proved) that he did not fly, but did walk close to the surface of the ground without touching it; and would seem to sit down without having any substance to support him." Ssanang Setzen reports similar feats, including restoring the dead to life, turning a dead body into gold, penetrating everywhere as air does, flying, catching wild beasts, reading thoughts, making water flow backwards, eating tiles, sitting in the air with the legs doubled under, etc. As Colonel Yule says, these are the very kind of performances which the old legends assign to Simon Magus. He made statues to walk; leapt into the fire without being burnt; *flew in the air*; made bread of stones; etc. etc.[5] In regard to the name But Tengri, it is curious that the Tukiu or Turks of the 6th century are reported to have worshipped a spirit which they called P o T e n g r i, meaning God of the Earth (? God of heaven).[6] Von Hammer suggests that this Po Tengri is no other than the But Tengri of Rashidu'd-dîn, Mirkhavend and Khuandemir, which Abulghazi gives as Tangrining-Buti.[7]

To revert to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, we read

[1] *i. e.* a Shaman.

[2] *Op. cit.*, ed. Pocock, p. 281.

[3] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 99; Erdmann, p. 204.

[4] *i. e.* Bakhshis.

[5] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 306 and 307.

[6] Abel Remusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 297.

[7] Abulghazi, p. 88 and note 1.

that Tep-tengri and his six brothers were truculent persons, and on one occasion assaulted Khazar, Chinghiz Khân's brother, who complained to him about it, but Chinghiz replied, "Once you boasted that no one could contend with you, how then did you permit them to illuse you?" Khazar went out much distressed at this answer. We are told he shed tears, and did not not see his brother for three days. Tep-tengri then went to the Great Conqueror, and said that the Spirit had revealed to him the will of heaven, which was that he, Chinghiz, was first to reign over the nations and after him Khazar, and if he did not put Khazar aside he might become dangerous. Chinghiz set out the same night to seize his brother. Meanwhile Guchu, who, as we have seen, was an adopted son and protégé of hers, informed Khoilun, the mother of Chinghiz, who had married Munlik the father of Tep-tengri, of what had occurred. Having harnessed a white camel in a kibitka she set out, and at night arrived at Khazar's camp at the very time when Chinghiz had taken off his brother's cap and belt, and tied his sleeves, and was questioning him. On seeing his mother Chinghiz was much confused and afraid. She descended from the kibitka, unbound Khazar, and gave him back his cap and belt, then with rising anger she sat down, and crossing her legs took out her two breasts and placed them on her knees, and said: "Do you perceive? These are the paps which you have sucked. What crime has Khazar committed that you should destroy your own flesh and blood? When you were a child you used to suck this breast. Khachiun and Ochigin could neither of them suck it. Khazar alone could suck both my paps and ease my breast. Therefore it is that the mind of Temujin is gifted, while Khazar has strength and skill in shooting. Whenever the peoples have rebelled he has subdued them with his bow and arrows. Now that the enemy is destroyed, Khazar's services are no longer needed." When Chinghiz saw that his mother's anger was cooled down, he said, "I am afraid, and I am ashamed," with these words he left. Afterwards, unknown to his mother, he deprived Khazar of some of his people, leaving him only 1400 households. Khoilun was sorely troubled when she heard of this, and shortly after died. Jebke, who had been attached to Khazar as we have seen, went to the country of Barkhujin.[8] This saga is apparently reported nowhere else. The *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen, without detailing the cause report the quarrel between Chinghiz and Khazar. The latter author says that Khazar united in a revolt with the Dologhon Khongkhotan (*i. e.* with the seven brothers of the tribe Khongkhotan mentioned in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.*)[9] Both the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang-Setzen report that Chinghiz sent an army under Subegetai in pursuit of his brother, and report also Chinghiz Khân's instructions to him, but in different language. The former says that Chinghiz addressed the troops as follows: "You, my soldiers, who are like herds rushing forwards headlong. You who are like the precious stone which decks the front of a moon-shaped headdress. You who are like a cairn of stones. You who are strong and manly; who are like a cane brake, a trench girdling me about. You, my obedient soldiers, listen:—In your everyday life behave like two year old calves,[10] but in attacks on the enemy sweep down like hawks. In games and feasts be playful as young stallions, but in battle attack the enemy like falcons. * * * Imitate the hungry tiger and the fierce badger. Be watchful like the cautious wolf on a sunny day, and patient as a black raven on a dark night, constant and jealous as a queen."

Subegetai Baghatur replied—"We will pursue with all our might and fulfil your commands. May we have in all things the luck of our commander." He thereupon set out and overtook Khazar, to whom he said,—"To depart from friends is to become the prey of strangers. To part from relatives is to sacrifice oneself. To leave a large family is to make oneself an orphan. A small nation may overwhelm a large family when dispersed. You may perchance find subjects, but not relatives." Khazar, we are told, approved of these words.

Ssanang Setzen reports Chinghiz Khân's speech on this occasion thus: "You, my faithful army leaders, each one like a moon at the head of an army. You like the ornament of a headdress. You the pink of honour. You, inflexible

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[8] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 135 and 136.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

[10] *i. e.* With gentleness and simplicity.

as stone, and you my army who environ me like a wall, and whose files are like a field of reeds, hear my words:—In times of peaceful play, be united like the fingers of a hand; but in times of war, pounce like a falcon which is over its prey. When at sport rove about like flies, but in the day of battle rush down like an eagle which is striking its quarry. What we can do or not do the future will tell. Whether we shall accomplish it the tutelary spirit of our ruler will inform him." He then went after Khazar, and when he had overtaken him he sent him the following message,—"He who breaks with his relatives will only have a small share of the booty. If kinsmen fall out they will be as strangers when the enemy has to be spoiled. You may get together a party, but you cannot bind them with ties of blood. You may secure subjects, but not a brother." These words reconciled Khazar, who made peace with his elder brother.[11]

This is not the only Saga reported by these authorities in reference to the quarrels of Chinghiz with his brothers. In the *Altan Topchi* we read how on one occasion Jingir Bukhi, of the Taijiut tribe, having dug a hole in his tent, covered it with felt, and invited Chinghiz, with sinister intentions, to go and see him, saying to him, why should we strive against one another, we are not strangers. When Chinghiz set out, his mother, Ukgelen Eke, said to him,—"Do not despise the poisonous snake because it is thin, nor make light of deceitful friends. One must not be too confiding, one must be vigilant." Thereupon Chinghiz said to his brothers,—"You Khabatu Khazar guard the bow and arrows, and you Buke Belgetei look after the drink. You Khochigu watch the horses, and you Oitu-Ochikhu keep by my side: we do not know what awaits us." When they reached the camp of the Taijiut, Chinghiz, having entered the tent, would have sat down in the midst of the piece of felt covering the pitfall, but Ochikhu stopped him, and planted him on the edge of it. Belgetei having noticed a crippled woman cutting off the left stirrup of his horse he broke her leg, while she cut open his shoulder. A struggle now ensued, Khazar's arrows did not miss their mark, while Belgetei, laying about him with a basin of airak or spirit, helped Chinghiz on to the back of a white stallion belonging to Toktogakhu, the Khorchin, for which service the latter was afterwards created a *terkhan*.[12] Ssanang Setzen also tells the story. He makes out that on this occasion Chinghiz was asked to a feast by the Taijiut, Büke Chilger, with the words, "Formerly we knew not thine excellence, and lived at strife with thee. We have now learnt that thou art not deceitful, and that thy tutelary spirit is in fact a Bogda of the race of the gods. Our old hatred is stifled and gone, condescend to enter our small house." In this edition of the story, Chinghiz, in addition to the instructions he gives his brothers to look after him, is also said to have ordered his nine *örlöks* to go in with him and his three hundred and nine body-guards to surround the yurt.

It also says that after Belgetei had punished the old woman who cut off the stirrup by striking her on the leg, one Büri Büke wounded his horse with his sword, while it makes the nine örlöks gather round their master and help him to mount the white mare of Toktangha Taiji of the Khorchin, whereupon a struggle began, which ended in the subjugation of the enemy.[13] While the Saga is told in this detached way by the author just quoted, the *Altan Topchi* links it on to another which is told as a separate incident by Ssanang Setzen.

To revert to the *Altân Topchi*, we read that after his escape from the Taijiut, Chinghiz blamed Khazar for having allowed the stirrup to be cut off. Belgetei was also charged by Chinghiz with having deliberately taken him by the left hand when mounting him on his horse. He was seized and pinioned to a one horse *araba* or waggon. When all had lain down to sleep he moved away carrying this on his back, "and had a conference with Khazar. "Chinghiz," he said, "punishes us unjustly, he subjugated the four foreign countries and the five peoples with the help of Belgetei's strength and Khazar's skilful archery." When Chinghiz heard of their conversation, wishing to quell their pride, he dressed himself as an aged peasant engaged in selling long yellow bows. The two brothers said to him—"Whence art thou old man, we have not seen thee before?" He replied—"I am a poor

[11] Ssanang Setzen, pp. 71-73.

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 131 and 132. [13] Ssanang Setzen, p. 81.

man who sells bows." They did not approve of his wares, whereupon he replied,—"Although my bows are not pretty, try to draw the string of one." Belgetei took one, and tried to bend it, and attach the string, but he could not, whereupon the old man did it for him, and then handed it to Khazar, but Khazar could not draw it. The hoary old man, who was seated on a light grey horse, thereupon put his arrow (Altan-tokhok) to the string, and shot so that it penetrated into a cliff, saying,—"Are you not brothers of the Bogdo Erdeni, Khazar the famous archer and Belgetei the strong. The proverb says it is better to fill the mouth full than to try and speak from a great height." He then disappeared, and the brothers who were in fear said, —"In truth this must have been Bogdo Erdeni himself."[14] Ssanang Setzen also tells this story, but he makes it a separate incident, and not an episode in the adventure with the Taijiut. In his account the old man offered the two brothers a long bow. They jeered him, saying,—"Ah, old man, your bow would do well enough as a snap bow to kill moles with!" He replied, —"How can you young people be so scornful before you have tried it, the old man may teach you differently." When each had tried in vain to string and bend it, the old man changed himself in their presence into a hoary and decrepit person, riding on a blind mule, and fired an arrow at a rock which he clove in pieces. Then turning to them he said: "Boasting stinks, says the proverb. You know it as well as the old man." They then agreed that this could be no ordinary man, but an incarnation or *Khubilghan* of their ruler and elder brother. Thenceforward they were afraid and obedient.[15]

Let us now revert again to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. It reports another saga about the Shaman Kokochi or Teb-tengri, which is not preserved elsewhere so far as I know. We read that there joined him people of nine different languages, as many as were with Chinghiz Khân himself. Among others were some of the subjects of Ochigin, Chinghiz' brother. Ochigin sent Sokhora to bring them back, but Teb-tengri beat him, and sent him back again with a horse saddle fastened on his back. Ochigin having afterwards gone in person, Teb-tengri with his brothers surrounded him, and said, "How did you dare to send men to take our people from us?" They were going to beat him, when Ochigin, growing afraid, said he ought not to have sent them, upon which they replied,—"As you are guilty you must ask forgiveness from us." They accordingly made him crawl out backwards on his hands and knees. Next morning, before Chinghiz rose, Ochigin entered his tent, knelt down, and related how he had been treated, and wept. Chinghiz did not speak, but his wife Bortieujin,[16] sitting up in bed and covering her breasts with the clothes, broke into tears and said,—"What does this mean? The Khuankhotan have already beaten Khazar, and now they have made Ochigin kneel down to them. If while you are still alive they assail your brothers, who are majestic as cedars, how will a people which resembles agitated grass and a flock of birds (? without much cohesion) submit to your children who are small and ungainly." Chinghiz thereupon said to Ochigin, "When Teb-tengri comes here to day you may do what you please with him." Ochigin went out and engaged three very strong men. Presently Munlik arrived with his seven sons, among whom was Teb-tengri. Hardly had the latter seated himself on the western side of the drink store when Ochigin, taking him by the collar, said,—"Yesterday you made me ask pardon. To-day I will try how strong I am." While they were wrestling the cap fell from Teb-tengri's head, and was picked up by his father, who having smelt it put it inside his coat.[17] Chinghiz now ordered them to go and wrestle outside. As they went out, holding each other, the three strong men who had been posted behind the threshold of the door seized Teb-tengri, broke his back bone, and threw his body to the left towards the kibitkas. Ochigin now went into the tent and delivered himself in enigmatical phrases. "Yesterday," he said, "Teb-tengri forced me to ask forgiveness. Today, when I wished to measure strength with him he lay down and refuses to get up. It is clear he is a person of the ordinary kind."[18]

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 132 and 133.
[15] Ssanang Setzen, pp. 73 and 75.
[16] Burte Fujin.
[17] Palladius explains that among the Mongols, as with the Chinese, smelling is equivalent to kissing with us. *Op. cit.* note 524.
[18] *i. e.* not supernaturally endowed.

Munlik understood the words, and shedding tears said—"Khân, I helped you before you began to rise, and have remained faithful to this day." While he was speaking his other six sons blocked up the doorway, and gathering themselves about the hearth began to roll their sleeves.

It was now the turn of Chinghiz to be afraid, and he rose and said—"I will go out." He accordingly went out, and was immediately surrounded by a Sanban of his archers.

Seeing that Teb-tengri was already dead Chinghiz ordered a tent to be erected over his body. He then rose and went away. The door and smoke-hole of this tent were closed. On the third day at dawn the smoke hole opened by itself, and the corpse passed out through it. Chinghiz thereupon remarked, "Teb-tengri beat my brothers, and wrongfully slandered them, on this account heaven has not favoured him, but has taken away both his body and his life."

Then addressing Munlik he said—"You were not able to control your sons properly. He wished to be my equal, for this reason I have destroyed him. If I had known these qualities of yours before, I should long ago have destroyed you as I did Jamukhu, Altan and Khuchar. But if, having pledged my word in the morning I break it at night, or having pledged it at night I break it in the morning, I shall be ashamed of men's judgment upon me. I have already undertaken to absolve you from the penalty of death." Thereupon the anger of Chinghiz cooled down, and we are told the self-sufficiency of Munlik and his sons diminished greatly.[19]

The curious reference to the disappearance of the Shaman through the smoke-hole of the yurt may be illustrated from other sources. Thus Colonel Yule, quoting the Rev. Mr. Jaeschke, says,—"Our Lama[20] tells us that the owner of a house and the members of his family when they die are carried through the house-door; but if another person dies in the house his body is removed by some other aperture, such as the window, or the smoke-hole in the roof, or a hole in the wall dug expressly for the purpose. Or a wooden frame is made, fitting into the door-way, and the body is then carried through; it being considered that by this contrivance the evil consequences are escaped that might ensue, were it carried through the ordinary, and, so to say, undisguised house door!"[21] Again, speaking of China, Mr. Williamson says,—"It may interest the reader to know that a small square opening on the tomb is purposely left for the more convenient ingress and egress of the spirit."[22]

In regard to the end of the Shaman Kokochi, or Kukju, Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that he became very tiresome, and used to come into the Imperial Orda, and make boastful and noisy harangues. Chinghiz thereupon ordered his brother Juchi Khazar to kill him when he came again boasting into the camp. Khazar was very strong, and when he gripped a man round the waist he could break his back like breaking a stick. He gave him two or three kicks and then killed him. His father remained sitting and picked up his cap, not knowing at first that anything was meant. On discovering the truth he still remained quiet.[23] Erdmann says the same notice, but in a more epitomized form, is found in the *Jihân Kushai*. Mirkhavend says, that as Kukju had secured a number of followers he began to dispute with Khazar about affairs of state, whereupon he grew angry, caught him by the neck, and threw him down so violently that he killed him.[24]

Rashidu'd-dîn says that three of his brothers became great Amirs and commanders of *hazarehs*, namely, Tulun Jerbi and Sugtu Jerbi, who were attached to the right wing, and Sutun,[25] who was attached to the left.

The stories reported of Kukochi the Shaman in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* remind us that the religion of the Mongols at this time was Shamanism, that form of nature worship which is so widely spread throughout Northern Asia, which seems to have been the primitive faith out of which the various Asiatic religions of a more philosophical and rational character have developed by way of reform, and to have been further the background of much of the early religion of China, of Egypt, and of the West. It will be a convenient place to collect here such notices as we can find about the Shamanism of the Mongols. The greater portion of the race is now and has long been converted to Lamaism, the form of Bud-

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 and 138.
[20] *From Central Tibet.*
[21] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 211.
[22] *Journeys in North China*, vol. I, p. 322.
[23] Erdmann, p. 204.
[24] *Id.*
[25] Erdmann, pp. 204 and 205.

dhism prevailing in Tibet, but the Lamas were an accommodating class, and incorporated into their system a good deal of the earlier faith. In addition to this, Shamanism still prevails and prevailed much more extensively in the last century among the Kalmuks and the Buriats, while the mediæval travellers have preserved some valuable notices about it. From these various sources it is quite possible to collect a fair account of the Shamanism which was professed by Chinghiz Khân and his ancestors.

The supreme being among the Mongols was styled Tangri or Tegri.[26]

As Remusat says, among the early Chinese the name for heaven, *Thian*, was ambiguous, and meant equally the spiritual and the material heaven—God, and the grandest of his works. This was the case also apparently with the Turks and Mongols, with whom *Tangri* or *Tegri* had apparently the same ambiguous meaning. The word *Tangri* is apparently of Mongol origin, and Remusat suggests that it is derived from the word *tagera* meaning 'elevated'. The Chinese emperors styled themselves sons of heaven, which was the style used by the chiefs of the Hiongnu, who called themselves Tangri-kutu.[27]

The Tukiu or Turks of the 6th century, used to offer an annual sacrifice between the 10th and 20th days of the 5th month to the spirit of the sky. We are also told they reverenced a spirit whom they went to worship at a distance of 500 *li* to the west of their chief's camp. This spirit, as we have seen, they called Potengri. Michael the Syrian tells us the Seljuks before their conversion to Muḥammadanism called their god Kauk Tangri, meaning the Blue God or the god of heaven. *Köke* means blue in Mongol, while *koek* in Turkish means the sky.[28]

The Georgian history says that the Mongols placed at the head of their books the phrase *Mangu Tangri Kuchundur*, meaning "by the power of the immortal God."[29] This statement is literally true, as has been verified by Schmidt, Banzarof, &c. who found that the *paizahs* or natal tablets of office which have reached our day, as those found at Minusinsk in 1846, another found in 1845 at Grouchovka on the Dnieper in the Government of Ekaterinoslaf, and a third found in 1853 in the district of Verkhnéudinsk, all of which commence with the phrase *Munke tengri yin kuchundur.* The same phrase, as Banzarof says, is found in the Shaman prayers, in the various *yarlighs* issued by the Mongol sovereigns, and in the historical works of the Mongols. The phrase *tengri yin kuchundur* is a translation of the Chinese sacramental phrase *Foang thian yun*, by the will or grace of heaven.[30] Carpini tells us the Mongols believed in one God, whom they held to be the creator of all things visible and invisible, and that he was the distributor of good and ill in this world. They did not offer him any prayers however, nor did they worship him with any religious rites. They called him Itoga. The Comans (*i. e.* the Kipchak Turks) called him Kam or Cham.[31] Mandeville gives this name as Iroga.[32] Itoga is probably preserved in the Kalmuk name for God, *Bukhan At Zaici*, *i.e.*, the Creator.[33] Although this Supreme Being was acknowledged as the Creator and Master of the Universe, the system of Shamanism, which is in fact a form of pantheism, supplemented him by a crowd of spirits, each mountain, rock, river, brook, spring and tree having its own special spirit dwelling in it. These were not only deemed to be the authors of the various revolutions and changes in nature, but also to control the fortunes of men, and to bring them prosperity and happiness on the one hand, and disease and pain on the other. To conciliate or appease these spirits was the special office of the medicine men, who were called Kami and Böge by the Mongols, Hlaba by the Tibetans and Samans by the Manchus.[34] Carpini tells us the Mongols adored the sun, moon, fire, earth and air, and offered them some meat and drink before partaking themselves. They began their undertakings at new and full moon, whence they styled the moon the Great Emperor, and bowed the knees and prayed to it. They called the sun the moon's mother, since the latter derived its light from the

[26] Guirago's Vocabulary, *Journ. Asiat.* 5ième ser. tome XI, p. 251. *Anonymous Georgian History*, edited by Brosset, vol. I, p. 487; Ssanang Setzen, p. 303 note 16.

[27] Remusat, *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, pp. 296-7.

[28] Id., pp. 296 and 297; Von Hammer, *Golden Horde*, p. 202.

[29] *Op. cit.*, vol I, p. 487.

[30] See Grigorief, *Journ. Asiat.* 5 ième ser. tome XVII, p. 522, &c., and the works there cited.

[31] D'Avezac, p. 626.

[32] *Id.*, p. 525, note 3.

[33] Stollenwerck, *Recherches Historiques*, etc. p. 65.

[34] Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, p. 353.

former. They purified everything by fire, and when envoys, princes or others went to them it was the custom to pass them, and the gifts they brought between two fires, which was supposed to be a protection from any attempts they might make to poison, and to be an antidote to any poison they might have with them.[35] It will be noted that this form of purification was very ancient. The Turks according to Menander worshipped fire, air, earth and water, and their priests were soothsayers or medicine men. These medicine men were noticed by Zemarchus in the Altai. They made the Byzantine officers purify themselves by passing through the fire just as the Mongols made the Franciscan missionaries and the Russian princes do so.

The Mongols, like the early Turks, paid divine honours to the sun, and we read how at the accession of Mangku Khan the princes, in doing homage to him, made a sevenfold prostration to the sun, an obeisance which was also demanded from the Russian princes. In saying their prayers they unloosed their girdles, and threw them over their shoulders.[36] Marco Polo says of the Mongol religion, "They say there is a most High God of Heaven whom they worship daily with thurible and incense, but they pray to him only for health of mind and body. But they have also a certain other god of theirs called Natigay, and they say he is the god of the earth, who watches over their children, cattle and crops. They show him great worship and honour, and every man hath a figure of him in his house made of felt and cloth, and they also make in the same way images of his wife and children. The wife they put on the left hand and the children in the front, and when they eat they take the fat of the meat and grease the god's mouth as well as the mouths of his wife and children. Then they take off the broth and sprinkle it before the door of the house, and that done they deem that their god and his family have had their share of the dinner."[37] In regard to the name Nategay given to these dolls, Von Hammer suggests that a very slight alteration would identify it with Naghusha or Nighushak, the name by which some Persian writers call the religion of the fire-worshippers,[38] a suggestion which is surely far fetched.

The felt idols are very important elements of Shaman caste. Carpini says of them,—"But nevertheless they have certain idols made of felt, in the shape of men, and these they put on each side of the door, and below them they placed something shaped like a teat, and they deemed these to be the guardians of their flocks, and that by their aid they obtained milk and fertility in their flocks. Others of these idols they made of silk and reverenced them greatly, placed them in a beautiful covered cart in front of the door, and whoever stole anything from the cart was put to death. When they made these idols they assembled all the elders, and made the figures reverently, and when they had them they killed a sheep and ate it and burnt its bones, and whenever even a boy was ill, they made an idol in this way and fastened it to his bed. They offered to these idols the first milk of all their cattle, and when they ate or drank anything they first offered them some of the food or drink, and whenever they killed an animal they similarly offered its heart to the idol in the cart as above mentioned, and left it there till the next day, after which they cooked and ate it."[39] Rubruquis, who names the idols, says, "One of these felt figures[40] was always suspended over the head of the house, and was known as the lord's brother. Another over the mistress was called the mistress's brother, and higher and between the two was a small very meagre one, which was deemed the guardian of the whole house. The mistress of the house placed on her left side at the feet of the bed in an elevated place *a small skin* of some animal[41] filled with wool or other material, and beside it a small idol looking towards the maid servants and women. Close to the door in the women's quarter was another image with a cow's teat, for the women who milked the cows, and on the other side of the door among the men was another image with a mare's teat for the men who milked the mares. When they met together to drink, they first sprinkled the image above the master of the house with the drink and after-

[35] Carpini, pp. 627 and 628.
[36] Von Hammer, *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. 202 and 203.
[37] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 248 and 249.
[38] Von Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 204, note 3.
[39] D'Avezac, pp. 618-620.
[40] Pappa vel Statuncula de feltro.
[41] Pelliculam hedinam?

wards the others in order. Thereupon an attendant went out with some food and drink and sprinkled three times towards the south while bending the knee. This was to adore the fire; then he did the same towards the east which was to adore the air; then towards the west in adoration of water, and lastly towards the north in memory of the dead. When the lord of the house was about to drink he threw some of the liquid upon the ground. If he drank while seated on horseback he poured some of it over the horse's neck or mane, and then poured some out to the four quarters of the world.[42] In the discourse which Rubruquis had through an interpreter with the great Khân Mangu, when the latter said that his people believed only in one God, the friar asked him why therefore they made these images. The reply was that they were not images of God, but that when a rich man died or his son or wife or someone dear to him, it was customary to make an image and to reverence the memory of the dead one. This, as we shall see, was either a misleading statement on the part of the interpreter, or was misunderstood by the friar. He goes on to say that the images were dressed in very precious clothes, and placed in special carts, which were placed in charge of their priests. These priests were always about Mangu's tent, and those of other rich men. The poor, unless they belonged to the family of Chinghiz, had not any. The carts with the images preceded the camp when on the march, "like the cloud preceded the camp of Israel." These guardians selected the new camping ground, and the idols were first housed, after which the rest of the camp was pitched. On feast days they were taken out and ranged round the tent; into which the Mongols entered and did obeisance; no stranger was permitted to go in. On one occasion Rubruquis having entered was greatly upbraided for doing so.[43] In his illustrative notes on Carpini, the Buriat Lama Galsang Gomboyef, speaking of these felt penates, says, that we can still recover their names from the traditions prevailing among the Buriats. The one placed in the middle of the kibitka, and therefore found in the foremost part of the Khoimor, was called Dsayaghachi, *i. e.* the chief author of fortune. The one placed at the door was probably the Emegelji, the guardian of the herds, especially of the young cattle; he was dressed in sheep skins. Outside the kibitka was placed Chandaghatu, meaning one possessed of a (white) hare. Part of his dress consisted of a white hare skin. He also was decked in other costly furs. He had the supervision of the chase and also apparently of war. Besides these there were also other gods as Khayaghanaiki, *i. e.* the one placed on the side wall (the door); Nokhaitu, to whom it was customary to offer dogs in sacrifice; Bars-ebugen, *i. e.* the old tiger, which was deemed a glutton, etc. etc. These various gods have been displaced by Buddhism, with the exception of Dsayaghachi who is surnamed Tenggeri (Heaven-dweller), and who has been incorporated into the Buddhist Pantheon.[44]

The Russian traveller Georgi spent a considerable time among the Buriats, and has recorded a number of valuable details about their religion. He tells us this is substantially the same as that of the Tunguses, except among the Buriats of Dauria, whose Shamanism is much mixed with Lamaism. He says they call their supreme god Oktorgon Burkhan,—and also Tingiri Burkhan. The names and occupations of the subordinate gods are as complicated as those of the Tunguses. The sun (Nara), the moon (Hara), and the earth (Gasar) are the principal and best. They have more evil spirits than the Tunguses, and employ many ceremonies to exorcise them. Each Shaman has one however as his friend, without whom he is helpless. The chief of the evil spirits is called Okodil. They deem both male and female Shamans when dead to be holy. They have no coherent belief about the future, but they pray that God will take the dead to himself, and not let the evil spirits take them: their inferior gods they called Ongon, and they are made of wood, naked or dressed; of felt, tin or lambskin, and often only made up of cloth. They are all made by the Shamans, who give them arbitrary names. The most usual god, who is present even in the humblest hut, is made from a piece of birchwood, a span long and about three inches broad. Its upper part is shaped something like a man's head with coral or lead eyes,

[42] *Id.*, pp. 223 and 224.
[43] *Id.*, pp. 286-288.

[44] *Mélanges Asiatiques of the St. Peterburgh Academy*, vol. II, pp. 652 and 653.

and ornamented with carved work and stumps for arms and legs. It generally stands in an oval frame of birch three inches wide, the former rim of a magical trumpet; at other times it is merely placed in a box. Sometimes it is dressed in the ordinary Buriat dress, sometimes only the face is cushioned over, and sometimes it is quite naked.

Felt or woilok gods are made as shapely as the Shaman's skill permits, some of them being stuffed like dolls. Both kinds have glass or lead eyes. Painted rag gods, which they merely call Nogit,[45] are the most abundant. The Shaman draws with red chalk on a small rag, a span square, the outline of one or generally of three men's figures. The eyes are made of coral or of small shot. Often there is fixed on the head of such a god a small tuft of hawk's feathers.

"The lamb gods" are made from the skin of a black lamb without the feet, and where the head should be a small board is introduced shaped like a man's head, with coral eyes; sometimes the figure is stuffed, sometimes there is merely the skin.

The various gods are hung in a bundle on the west side, *i. e.* the left on entering the yurt; the felt and lamb gods often with strings fastened to their necks or passed through their heads. The lamb gods are placed in small four-cornered bags and thus hung up. They are always dressed in a black dress.

With the Ongons are generally hung some dedicated things, such as bunches of hair from the manes of consecrated horses, remains of the burnt shinbones of sheep which have been sacrificed, deers' hoofs, weasel and hare skins, and especially a Iryekei, *i. e.* a piece of stiff leather, which is cut into strips except at one end, about a span square in size. As attendants on the lamb gods, which they call Imegilchin, they hang small tin gods shaped like men, a finger long in size. During the summer they hang the whole bundle of gods on a post in front of the yurt on the right of the sacrificial pale *(Tirgan)*.

When a Buriat first leaves his yurt in the morning, when he is going on a journey or returning home, he bows towards the gods, towards the sacrifice, and especially towards the sun, which he salutes at all times towards the south. He goes through similar ceremonies at feast times. Nothing of the feminine gender may, in going in or out of the yurt, pass on the west side of the hearth fire. They must also turn their backs to the fire, however near it happens to be to the gods. They hold all females to be unclean, and are greatly embarrassed when strange women approach the gods, nor will they sit down on seats or in saddles where women have sat, until they have been fumigated with smoke from the white pine.[46] Gmelin in describing the interior of a Buriat yurt which he entered says that on the right of the entrance was a cloth sack of a square shape, on this sack was the skin of a wild animal (*iltis ?*), to which was attached a kind of idol called *Onkhon* about three inches in length, made of brass beaten very thin. The sack contained many other Onkhons, the greater part of which were made of Chinese silk brocade, embroidered with metal thread called Solomka, and each of them had a head designed in a brown colour in which small leaden pellets were inserted to imitate eyes, some were single, others were united in threes or fours, others again having one body and several legs fastened together with bands. To the greater part of these figures was attached an Onkhon of thin brass.[47]

Pallas, speaking of the Shaman idols which are still in use among the Kalmuks says, one class is called Onggoi by them, and consists in a kind of figures cut out of pieces of cloth, which are held to protect the household from disease and other misfortunes, and are hung in the huts on the left of the bed, and before them are generally two lamps and a bowl of water. They generally consist of four pieces of cloth fastened upon one another, the lowest being the longest, and the others falling in steps, and represent rudely the figure of a man; to the upper-most are fastened two long bands and a quantity of floss silk of different colours.

A more important god is the one called Jmmegiljin[48] by the Mongols and Buriats, who is the protector of sheep and other cattle. He is represented by two figures, one of which

[45] The origin of the Natigai of Marco Polo.
[46] *Pinus Picea*, Georgi, *Reisen*, vol. I, pp. 313-315.
[47] *Reise durch Siberien*, ed. 1751, vol. I, pp. 428-9.
[48] Among the Kalmuks this is the name of the shrub *eronimus*.

is called his wife. They are nothing more than two flat long bolsters with the upper part shaped into a round disk, and the body hung with a long woolly fleece: eyes, nose, breasts and navel being indicated by leathern knobs stitched on. The male figure generally has at his girdle the rope with which the horses are tethered when pasturing, while the female, which is generally accompanied with smaller figures representing her children, has all kinds of little nick-nacks for sewing implements hanging to her.[49]

Rubruquis tells us the priests, *i.e.* the Shamans, abounded at the Mongol court, and that there was a leader or pontiff among them, whose tent was pitched near that of Mangu Khân. Some of them had charge of the sacred carts containing the images, others had quarters assigned them in another part of the camp. People came to them from all parts. Some of them were proficients in astronomy (astrology), especially their leader, and they used to predict eclipses of the sun and moon, and when this was announced everybody prepared food, since it was not deemed right on such occasions to leave their houses. When the eclipse was in progress they sounded drums and pipes (timpana et organa), and made a great noise. This is precisely what the Chinese do still. When it was over, they ate and drank largely, and were full of joy. These medicine men fixed lucky and unlucky days for undertaking anything, and the Mongols would not begin a war nor engage in battle without consulting them as to a propitious season. They undertook the purification of various objects by fire, and received a portion as their due. They also purified the household furniture, &c. of the dead, and Rubruquis says that Brother Andrew and his companions had to be passed twice through the fire. In the first place because they bore presents, and secondly because they had looked at one who was already dead, namely, Ken Khân.[50] Rubruquis himself escaped this ordeal as he took no presents. If any animal or thing fell during the purification ceremony, it was claimed by the medicine man or Shaman. On the 9th of May they collected all the white mares, and consecrated them. At this ceremony even the Christian priests who were at Mangu's court had to join with their thuribles. On that day they sprinkled new kumiz on the ground, and made a grand feast. When a boy was born, the Shamans were summoned to predict his fate, and if anyone was ill they were also summoned and sang songs, and decided whether his sickness was natural or caused by witchcraft. Rubruquis reports a curious story he heard from a European slave in the service of a Christian Mongol lady. On one occasion the latter was presented with some rich furs which had to be duly purified, and the Shamans took more than they were entitled to. Thereupon her servant, who had charge of her wardrobe, reported the matter to her mistress, who duly reprimanded the medicine men. Presently the lady was taken ill, and had severe pains in her limbs. The Shamans being summoned, sat some distance away, and asked one of her maidens (who was doubtless one of their confederates) to put her hand where the pain was, and to snatch away whatever she found. She did so, and found in her hand a piece of felt, or something else. They told her to put it on the ground, when it began to crawl about like a live animal. It was then put in some water, and was changed into something like a leech. They thereupon declared the lady had been bewitched by the person who had told her of their peculations. The latter was accordingly taken out of the camp and bastinadoed during seven days. Meanwhile the lady died; the woman who had been punished asked to be put to death also, that she might accompany her mistress, to whom she had never done any harm, but as nothing could be proved against her, Mangu ordered her life to be spared. They then accused the nurse of the lady's daughter, who was a Christian and the wife of one of the principal Nestorian priests. Her servant confessed that she had been sent by her mistress to consult a certain horse—loqui cum quodam equo,—and obtain answers from him, and she declared what she had done was to obtain the lord's favour for her mistress, and not to do her any harm. Her husband who had burnt some of the magical characters and letters she had made was declared by her to be blameless. She was put to death. Presently Mangu had a son of whom the Shamans prophesied wonderful things, but

[49] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.* vol. II, pp. 346 and 347; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 250.

[50] *i. e.* Kuyuk Khân.

when he shortly after died, the boy's mother, who was furious, summoned them, and demanded an explanation. They laid the blame on the nurse, Chirine, or Thirine, who had been put to death. The outraged mother thereupon seized upon the son and daughter of the accused nurse, and had them killed by a man and woman of her household. Mangu demanded where the children were, for he declared they visited him in his sleep. When he learnt what had occurred he had the man decapitated who had killed the boy, and having hung his head round the neck of the woman who had killed the girl, had her beaten with heated scourges, and put to death. He denounced his wife for daring to put a man to death without consulting him, had her confined, and put on short commons for seven days, and would have put her to death only that she was the mother of some of his children. The Shamans professed to be able to control the weather, and Rubruquis tells us that when the cold became very great, and their remedies were of no avail, they sought out someone in the camp whom they accused of witchcraft, and put him to death without scruple. On one occasion one of Mangu's concubines having fallen ill, the Shamans said their incantations over a Teutonic slave belonging to her, which caused her to sleep for three days. On awaking they asked her whom she had seen. She mentioned several people, whom they judged were in consequence about to die, but as she had not seen her mistress, they considered that she would recover from her illness. Rubruquis says he saw the slave when she was still suffering from a headache caused by her three days' sleep. Rubruquis reports how on visiting a princess he found four swords half-drawn from their sheathes, one at the head, the other at the feet of the bed, and two others on each side of the door; while hanging from the roof was a silver chalice, which he suggests had been plundered from a church in Hungary. This was filled with ashes, on which was placed a black stone. All this was part of the hocus pocus of the Shamans. Some of these medicine men invoked spirits (demons), and assembled those who wished to have an answer from them in a tent where they placed some cooked meat. The Shaman then began to recite his songs, to strike the ground violently with his drum, and to get excited, and then bound himself. The spirit then came in the dark, and gave him some of the meat to eat and also gave him answers. On a certain occasion, as Rubruquis was told by the famous Parisian silversmith, Magister Willelmus, who was at Mangu's Court, a certain Hungarian ventured to secrete himself in the tent where this invocation was going on, whereupon the spirit stood on the outside of the tent, and shouted out that he could not enter, inasmuch as a Christian was present. He thereupon speedily withdrew as they began to search for him.[51] All this is assuredly exceedingly like what takes place at a spiritualist seance in the middle of the nineteenth century in the superior atmosphere of London.

If fire fell from heaven upon any of their cattle or upon men, which often happened, they deemed it was necessary to have recourse to incantations for the purpose of purification. They believed that after death men lived in another world, and tended their flocks and ate and drank and lived otherwise as men do here.

When any one among them was mortally ill, they placed a spear in his tent, and wrapped some black felt about it, and no stranger was thereupon to enter, and when a rich man began to die, all left him, for no one who was present at his death might enter the ordu of any chief or of the Emperor until the succeeding new moon.[52] The relatives and other residents in the tent of a person who died had to be duly purified after his death. This was done by means of fire. They made two fires, and planted a spear by each, and hung a cord across, upon which they tied some pieces of cloth (scissuras de bucarano). They then passed the men, cattle, and tents, which required purification underneath. Meanwhile a woman stood on either side sprinkling water and chanting songs. If any one's cart was broken, or if any one fell, they had recourse to incantations. If any one was killed by lightning everybody and everything, including the tent, beds, carts, felt, clothes, etc. had to be purified, nor could any one touch them until this had been done.[53] Rubruquis also says that when any one was ill, a mark was put upon his tent so that no one might enter; and if it was a grandee, sentries were posted round it at some distance,

[51] Rubruquis, pp. 325, 362-367. [52] Carpini, pp. 627 and 628. [53] Carpini, pp. 632 and 633.

for they feared that bad spirits or winds might enter with the intruder.[54]

In regard to the Buriat Shamans, Giorgi tells us they were dressed very much as the Shamans of the Tunguses are. Of these latter he says that when a child has convulsions, or is in the habit of bleeding at the nose or mouth, whether of the male or female sex, he is deemed to be marked out or distinguished as a Shaman, such a boy is called *Hudildon* among the Tunguses. When two years old, he is adopted by an old Shaman, who performs certain ceremonies over him, which are a kind of confirmation. He is thenceforward styled *Yukedyeren*, and is taught by the old man what he knows. As a Shaman he wears the Shaman coat (*Shamasi*), a cap (*kuru*), and a doublet made of armour, and similar stockings. His chief instrument is his drum (*Ningandi* or *Kachan*), sometimes only some staves or arrows.

The coat worn by the Shamans is not like that of the ordinary Tunguses, but long and wide and made of leather. In the sleeves are gauntlets, and along the arms iron plates like splints. In front and about the neck is a wide collar, which is all hung with little metal gods (*Hanen*). These are also hung about the doublet (*Grubtun*). Across the back are three or five iron plates, to which there hang from rings, over fifty metal gods shaped like men or animals. The whole of these trinkets are known as *Arkalan*. Metal plates are fastened to the leggings as well as the sleeves. Sometimes there hang from the back serpents made of leather or *kitaik* (? silk) with coral eyes. The cap (*kuru*) has its rim decorated with metal gods, and instead of a knot at the top is the figure of a large spider or rather scorpion called *Ataki*. From the rim of the cap there also hang stuffed snakes made of *kitaik* which are called *kulish*.[55] This was doubtless the old dress of the Shamans among the Mongols. Now it has become much simpler, the Shamans among them having a very secondary roll to the Lamas, and being now poor. Many of them have neither a Shaman's coat nor drum, but perform their part in ordinary costume merely with a staff. Some of those in Dauria are clad in silver tissue. On the staff (*horbu*) there hang sometimes small bells and tin gods.

[54] *Id.* pp. 237 and 238.
[55] *Id.* pp. 280-281.

Sometimes they use a small branch of larch to which some leaves are still attached, to which they fasten a banner which they are continually moving about. This they called *Yodo*.[56]

Giorgi tells us further that the Shamans prefer to worship in the open air rather than in their yurts, and especially favour mountain tops for their sacrifices. Some of these mountains, which they call *Tailga*, are deemed holy, and are not to be approached without an offering. The prayers used by the Shamans are short, and the long chants of an hour or two long, in which they sometimes indulge, consist generally either of repetitions or of an enumeration of their many Burkhans or gods, and of dead Shamans, as *Burkhan-tingeri* or *Khomley khan-tengeri*, God of the heaven, defend the Empress; *Bŭrkhan khairla*, God give children, *Uguch*, grass, &c. *Tengeri Burkha na mudu Sagaish*, God have pity on the sick one. *Adahun eineg kheirla*, bless our cattle, etc. To these ejaculations the congregation reply—Have mercy.

They use many amulets, consisting of little tin figures of gods which the Shamans sew on leather, and children who are epileptic or otherwise ailing hang them about them.

There are certain curious rules about women: thus a woman who has had three husbands may not marry again, and becomes a so-called *bilbyrhüne mu*. A widow, when she has lost one or two husbands, can, if she likes, foreswear further matrimony, and join the celebate sisterhood. The mark of the sisterhood consists of a band a palm wide of silk, silver tissue or sammet, decked with corals worn over the shoulders. Underneath the band are three round disks, the size of a rouble; from it are also suspended coins. All the hair which falls from these devoted people is plaited into cords, which are embroidered on the bags containing the gods.

The greater part of the Shamans profess to discover thieves, and to see into the past and future, to interpret dreams, and to divine by means of the burnt shoulder-blades of sheep. They are generally paid for their services by gifts of cattle, the amount being however arbitrary.[57]

[56] *Id.*, p. 316.
[57] Giorgi, vol. I, pp. 322 and 323.

PADINENṬ-AGRAHÂRA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

In vol. X, pp. 185ff, I published the Ḍambaḷ Buddhist inscription, which records grants that were made in Śaka 1017 (A.D. 1095-6), the Yuva *saṁvatsara*, while Lakshmâdêvî, one of the queens of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI, was governing the *Padinenṭ-Agrahâra*, or Eighteen *Agrahâras*, and the city of Dharmâpura, Dharmavoḷal, or Ḍambaḷ. And I remarked that "The Eighteen *Agrahâras* appear to have been a group of towns somewhere in the north of Maisûr or in the south of the Dhârwâḍ District; but I think that they have not yet been actually identified."

An inscription of Śaka 1069 (A.D. 1147-8), the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, in the front of the temple of Jôḍa-Hanumanta at Nargund in the Nawalgund Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District, contains in ll. 13-15, the following verse:—

Transcription.

Vara-Jaṁbûdvîpadoḷ raṁjisuvudu Bharatakshêtram=â kshêtradoḷ*u* bandhuram=ant=â Kuntaḷaṁ tad-vishayadoḷ=atiśôbh-âspadaṁ Beḷvalaṁ chittaradiṁd=â nâḍoḷ=oppaṁbaḍedudu Padineṁṭ-Agrahâraṁ tad-abhyantaradoḷ Lakshmî-vihâraṁ negarddu-(rdu)du Naṟugund-âbhidhân-âgrahâra[ṁ*] ||

Translation.

"In the excellent Jambûdvîpa, the country of Bharata is charming; in that country there is the beautiful Kuntaḷa;[1] in that region there is Beḷvala,[2] the abode of extreme lustre; in that district the Eighteen *Agrahâras* have wonderfully acquired beauty; (*and*) among them there is the famous *agrahâra* that has the name of Naṟugunda, the pleasure-garden of (*the goddess*) Lakshmî."

And, in a slightly different form, *viz*:—

Vara-Jaṁbûdvîpadoḷ*u* raṁjisuvudu Bharatakshêtram=â kshêtradoḷ baṁdh[uram=a]ṁt=â Kuntaḷaṁ tad-vishayadoḷ=atiśôbh-âspadaṁ Beḷvalaṁ chittaram=aṁt=â [nâḍoḷ=oppaṁba]ḍeḍudu Padineṁṭ-Agrahârakkam=olpiṁ śira — — — — — — — — — — — — anupamaṁ Pûli-puṇy-âgrahâraṁ ||*

The same verse occurs in ll. 7-10 of a fragment of an inscription of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. at Hûli in the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District.

These two verses show that Naṟugund, the modern Nargund, and Pûli, the modern Hûli, were two of the *Padinenṭ-Agrahâra*, *Hadinenṭ-Agrahâra*, or Eighteen *Agrahâras*; and therefore that the Eighteen *Agrahâras* were not a collection of eighteen contiguous townships, but eighteen towns of importance in different parts of the Beḷvola Three-hundred district. Doubtless other inscriptions, as they come to notice, will give us the names of the remaining sixteen towns. Ḍambaḷ itself may perhaps be one of them; but the passage in the Buddhist inscription spoken of above is not quite clear on this point: it may mean "the Eighteen *Agrahâras* and (*also*) Dharmâpura"; or it may mean "the Eighteen *Agrahâras* and (*therefore*) Dharmâprau."

[1] See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 42, note 1.

[2] See *id.* p. 43, note 3.—The older and original form of the name was Beḷvola.

TABLES FOR THE CONVERSION OF MUHAMMADAN INTO EUROPEAN DATES, AND THE CONVERSE.

BY D. B. HUTCHEON, STONEHAVEN.

The examples given below will sufficiently explain the use of these tables. The column of Feriæ (F) indicates the day of the week, counting Sunday = 1, Monday = 2, &c. and Saturday = 7 or 0.

I. To find the Christian date corresponding to any given Muhammadan date.

Rule 1.—If Table I contains the given Hijra year, take from it the Hijra and Christian years, Feriæ, and days, and from Table III the Feriæ and days for the given month, and also the day of the month. The Feriæ for days are the days themselves, rejecting 'sevens.'

2.—If Table I does not contain the given year, take from that Table the year immediately less, and from Table II such a number of years as together with it will be equal to the given Hijra year, with the corresponding Christian years, Feriæ, and days. Proceed as in Rule 1 for months and days.

3.—Add together the years, &c., now found. When *one* is carried from the decimals to days, it must also be added to the Feriæ, and if the Feriæ in adding exceed 7, the 'sevens' are to be rejected.

4.—From the sum deduct the numbers in Table IV, adding to the Christian years, for the days deducted, their equivalent in years. The month and day of the month will now be readily found.

In the final result the decimals are to be cancelled. If they are ·63 or more the Hijra year is intercalary, or Zil-ḥijja has 30 days.

TABLE I.

Julian Calendar.				Gregorian Calendar.			
A.H.	A.D.	F.	Days.	A.H.	A.D.	F.	Days.
1	622	5	197·47	988	1580	3	57.37
2	623	2	186·83	1009	1600	4	194·07
3	624	7	175·20	1042	1632	1	200·17
11	632	7	88·13	1075	1664	5	206·27
44	664	4	94·23	1112	1700	5	169·83
81	700	4	56·80	1145	1732	2	175·93
114	732	1	62·90	1178	1764	7	182·03
147	764	6	69·00	1215	1800	7	145·60
184	800	6	31·57	1248	1832	4	151·70
217	832	3	37·67	1281	1864	1	157·80
250	864	7	43·77	1318	1900	2	121·37
287	900	1	6·33	1351	1932	6	127·47
320	932	5	12·43	1384	1964	3	133·57
353	964	2	18·53	1421	2000	4	96·13
391	1000	7	335·47	1454	2032	1	102·23
424	1032	4	341·57	1487	2064	5	108·33
457	1064	1	347·67	1524	2100	5	71·90
494	1100	2	310·23	1557	2132	3	78·00
527	1132	6	316·33	1590	2164	7	84·10
560	1164	3	322·43	1627	2200	7	47·67
597	1200	4	285·00				
630	1232	1	291·10				
663	1264	5	297·20				
700	1300	5	259·77				
733	1332	2	265·87				
766	1364	6	271·97				
803	1400	7	234·53				
836	1432	4	240·63				
869	1464	1	246·73				
906	1500	2	209·30				
939	1532	6	215·40				
972	1564	3	221·50				
1009	1600	4	184·07				
1042	1632	1	190·17				
1075	1664	5	196·27				
1112	1700	5	158·83				
1145	1732	2	164·93				

TABLE II.

Either Calendar.			
A.H.	A.D.	F.	Days.
1	0	4	354·37
2	1	1	343·73
3	2	6	333·10
4	3	3	322·47
5	4	0	310·83
6	5	5	300·20
7	6	2	289·57
8	7	6	278·93
9	8	4	267·30
10	9	1	256·67
11	10	6	246·03
12	11	3	235·40
13	12	0	223·77
14	13	5	213·13
15	14	2	202·50
16	15	6	191·87
17	16	4	180·23
18	17	1	169·60
19	18	5	158·97
20	19	3	148·33
21	20	0	136·70
22	21	5	126·07
23	22	2	115·43
24	23	6	104·80
25	24	4	93·17
26	25	1	82·53
27	26	5	71·90
28	27	3	61·27
29	28	0	49·63
30	29	5	39·00
31	30	2	28·37
32	31	6	17·73
33	32	4	6·10
34	32	1	360·47
35	33	5	349·83
36	34	3	339·20
37	35	0	328·57

TABLE III.

Months.	F.	D.
Muḥarram	0	0
Safar	2	30
Rabî I. ...	3	59
Rabî II ...	5	89
Jumâdâ I...	6	118
Jumâdâ II.	1	148
Rajab	2	177
Shâbân ...	4	207
Ramazân.	5	236
Shawwâl...	0	266
Zil ka'da...	1	295·
Zil ḥijja ...	3	325
1 year ...		354·36
2 years ...		708·73
3 „ ...		1063·10

TABLE IV.

Months.		D.
Jan.	Com.	1
	Bis.	0
Feb.	Com.	32
	Bis.	31
March		60
April		91
May...........		121
June		152
July		182
Aug.		213
Sept.		244
Oct...........		274
Nov.		305
Dec...........		335

1 year, 365, 366[1]
2 years, 730, 731[2]

Examples.

1. To find the Christian date corresponding to 29th Zilḥijja A.H. 492.

457	1064	1	347·67	Table	I.
35	33	5	349·83	„	II.
		3	325·	Zil-Hij. „	III.
A.H. 492	1097	1	29		
		4	1051·50		
	2.........		730	„	IV.
	A.D. 1099		321		
			305	„	IV.

A.D. 1099, Wed., Nov. 16

2. To find the European date (N.S.) corresponding to 1st Rabî I. A.H. 1190.

1178	1764	7	182·03	Table	I.
12	11	3	235·40	„	II.
		3	59	Rab. I. „	III.
A.H. 1190	1775	1	·1		
		7	477·43		
	1		366 (Bis.)	„	IV.
	A.D. 1776		111		
			91	„	IV.

A.D. 1776, Sat., April 20

[1] Use 366 when passing into a Bissextile year.

[2] Use 731 when passing over or into a Bissextile year.

3. Find the Christian date corresponding to 12 Safar, A.H. 1300.

	1281	1864	1	157·80	Table I.
	19	18	5	158·97	,, II.
			2	30	Safar ,, III.
A.H.	1300	A.D. 1882	5	12	
			7	358·77	
				335	,, IV.

1882, Sat., Dec. 23

II. To convert dates in the Christian Calendar into the corresponding Muhammadan dates,—

1. Find from Tables I. and II. the Christian year in the same way as the Hijra year was found. In addition to the columns in the Tables add a fifth for the Christian month and the day of the month.

2. If the integers in col. 4th be less than those in Col. 5th, subtract the former from the latter, the remainder will give the day of the Hijra year, from which the month and day may be easily found by Table III. The remainder, with the sevens in it rejected, is to be added to the Feriæ already found. Ex. 1, 2, 6, 7.

3. If the integers in col. 4th are not less than the number in col. 5th subtract 1 from col. 1st and add 2 to col. 3rd, 10·63 to col. 4th, and 365 to col. 5th and with the several sums proceed as before. Ex. 3, 4 and 8.

Sometimes it may be necessary to go back into the second Hijra year from the date given. In that case subtract 2 from col. 1st, and add 5, 21·27, and 730 to columns 3, 4, and 5 respectively. Ex. 5.

When *one* is carried from decimals to days, it must also be added to the Feriæ, the same as in expounding Hijra dates.

Examples.

1. Find the Hijra date corresponding to 5 Oct. 715 A.D.

Table I.	81	700	4	56·80	274 (Oct.)
II.	16	15	6	191·87	5
A.H.	97	715	4	248·67	279
					248
			3	…………	31
		Sat.	7		30

A.H. 97, Sat. Safar 1

2. Find the Hijra date = 22 Dec., 1882 A.D.

	1281	1864	1	157·80	335 (Dec.)
	19	18	5	158·97	22
A.H.	1300	1882	7	316·77	357
					316
			6	…………	41
			6		30

A.H. 1300, Fri., Safar 11

3. Find the Hijra date = 28 March 1822.

	1215	1800	7	145·60	60 (March).
	23	22	2	115·43	28
	—1		2	10·63	365
A.H.	1237	1822	5	271·66	453
					271
			0	…………	182
			5		177

A.H. 1237, Thur., Rajab 5

4. Find the Muhammadam date = 21 January 936 A.D.

320	932	5	12·43	0 (Jan. Bis.)
5	4	0	310·83	21
—1		2	10·63	365
324	936	1	333·89	386
				333
		4	…………	53
		5		30

A.H. 324, Thur., Safar. 23

5. Find the Hijra date = 16 Nov. 1099 A.D.

457	1064	1	347·67	305 (Nov.)
37	35	0	328·57	16
—2		5	21·27	730
492	1099	7	697·51	1051
				697
		4	…………	354
		4		325

A.H. 492, Wed., Zil Hijja 29

6. Find the Hijra date = 30 Jan. 931 A.D.

287	900	1	6·33	1 (Jan. com.)
32	31	6	17·73	30
319	931	1	24·06	31
				24
		0		

A.H. 319, Sun. (1) Muh. 7

7. Find the Hijra date = 30 Jan. 932 A.D.

320	932	5	12·43	0 (Jan. Bis.)
				30
				30
				12
		4		

A.H. 320, Mon. (2) Muh. 18

8. Find the Moslem date = Tues., 26 Sept. 1882 A.D.

1281	1864	1	157·80	244 (Sep.)
19	18	5	158·97	26
—1		2	10·63	365
1299	1882	3	327·40	635
				327
		0	…………	308
	Tues.	3		295

A.H. 1299, Tues., Zil-ka'da 13

Otherwise.

In converting Christian into Hijra dates we may also proceed as directed in the rules for the converse process, but use Tables V, VI, IV and III, instead of Tables I, II, III and IV.

TABLE V.

Julian Calendar.			Gregorian Calendar.		
A.D.	A.H.	Days.	A.D.	A.H.	Days.
622	0	157·87	1580	987	297·97
623	1	168·50	1600	1008	161·27
624	2	180·13	1620	1029	24·57
648	27	86·97	1640	1049	242·23
672	51	348·17	1660	1070	105·53
700	80	298·53	1680	1090	323·20
732	113	292·43	1700	1111	185·50
764	146	286·33	1720	1132	48·80
800	183	323·77	1740	1152	266·47
832	216	317·67	1760	1173	129·77
864	249	311·57	1780	1193	347·43
900	286	349·00	1800	1214	209·73
932	319	342·90	1820	1235	73·03
964	352	336·80	1840	1255	290·70
1000	390	19·87	1860	1276	154·00
1032	423	13·77	1880	1297	17·30
1064	456	7·67	1900	1317	233·97
1100	493	45·10	1920	1338	97·27
1132	526	39·00	1940	1358	314·93
1164	559	32·90	1960	1379	173·23
1200	596	70·33	1980	1400	41·53
1232	629	64·23	2000	1420	259·20
1264	662	58·13			
1300	699	95·57			
1332	732	89·47			
1364	765	83·37			
1400	802	120·80			
1432	835	114·70			
1464	868	108·60			
1500	905	146·03			
1532	938	139·93			
1564	971	133·83			
1600	1008	171·27			
1632	1041	165·17			
1634	1074	159·07			
1700	1111	196·50			
1720	1132	59·80			

TABLE VI.

A.D.	A.H.	Days.	A.D.	A.H.	Days.
1	1	10·63	19	19	206·03
2	2	21·27	20	20	217·67
3	3	31·90	21	21	228·30
4	4	43·53	22	22	238·93
5	5	54·17	23	23	249·57
6	6	64·80	24	24	261·20
7	7	75·43	25	25	271·83
8	8	87·07	26	26	282·47
9	9	97·70	27	27	293·10
10	10	108·33	28	28	304·73
11	11	118·97	29	29	315·37
12	12	130·60	30	30	326·00
13	13	141·23	31	31	336·63
14	14	151·87	32	32	348·27
15	15	162·50	33	34	4·53
16	16	174·13	34	35	15·17
17	17	184·77	35	36	25·80
18	18	195·40	36	37	37·43

Examples.

1. To find the Hijra date corresponding to Tuesday 1st August 1882.

A.D.	1880 =	A.H. 1297		17·30	Table V.
	2	2		21·27	,, VI.
	1882	1299	Aug.	213·	,, IV.
				1	
				252·57	
			Ramazân	236·	,, III.
	A.H. 1299 Ramazân			16th.	

2. To find the Hijra date corresponding to Monday 2nd March A.D. 996.

A.D.	964 =	A.H. 352		336·80	Table V.
	32	32		348·27	,, VI.
A.D.	996		March	60	,, IV.
				2	
				747·07	
		2		708·73	,, III.
		A.H. 386		38·34	
			Ṣafar	30	,, III.
		A.H. 386, Ṣafar		8th.	

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science had for many years ceased to exist; its old supporters had left India or died out, and the Madras members of the Society had added more novels to the old library than works on Oriental literature when—some five years ago—Dr. Oppert made an attempt to revive the old *Journal.* The first volume was almost entirely written by himself, and this failure to find contributors might have convinced him that his attempt was futile; but he had materials of his own to print and was not particular as to the character of the papers he got to insert.

The second volume (1879), of which Dr. Oppert wrote considerably more than half, contained a long paper of his own: "On the Weapons, Army Organization, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus," at which Orientalists were amused, for

the author had accepted as very ancient the *Śukranîti*—a work which is well known to be a very modern one.

The Editor was more fortunate in 1880, and was able to publish in vol. III. four papers. Of these, "Hindu Law in Madras in 1714," by J. H. Nelson, M.A., and "The predecessors of the High Court in Madras," by J. Shaw,—both interesting enough papers to legal and historical readers,—seem somehow out of place in the *Journal* of an Oriental Scientific Society, as was also the third article—"The Madras Harbour," by W. Parkes, C.E. The only paper in keeping with the name of the *Journal* was one by Lieut.-Col. Branfill—"Descriptive Remarks on the Seven Pagodas."

A fourth volume, for 1881, appeared late in 1882, and contains a 77 page continuation of Mr. Shaw's paper on "The predecessors of the Madras High Court," and a paper of 50 pages on the work of the Geological Survey in Southern India, by R. B. Foote,—neither paper being of the sort one expects. The volume, however, is redeemed by a very excellent article on *'Ilm-i-Tajwîd* (the rules and regulations to be observed by Muḥammadans in reading or reciting the Qurân) by the Rev. Edward Sell,—an article which ought to have appeared in better company.

The remaining three papers are Dr. Oppert's own. The first, which opens the volume, is on the *Nîtiprakâśikâ*, which ascribes itself, and Dr. Oppert believes rightly so, to Vaiśampâyana the pupil of Vyâsa. That passages in this work also occur in the *Harivaṁśa*, *Mânavadharmaśâstra*, and *Kâmandakîya*, is no proof in Dr. Oppert's opinion that they have been copied. As Vaiśampâyana is also the narrator of the *Mahâbhârata* and *Harivaṁśa*, the *Nîtiprakâśikâ* must belong to the same class; and Dr. Oppert informs us it "was till now *utterly unknown*," and indeed is perhaps never mentioned in any other Sanskrit work. The principal part of its contents consists of the *Dhanurvêda*, or science of weapons, of which he gives a translation with the text. Dr. Oppert believes on its evidence that the *śataghnî* and *sûrmî* of this work are the same as the *sûrmî* of the *Ṛig-veda* (vii. i. 3) and the *śataghnî* of the *Harivaṁśa* (227, 20) and therefore that guns and gunpowder were in use in Vedic times! The same work also mentions not only saddles, bridle-bits, and stirrups, but pensions of half former pay (!)—which are surely an invention much more modern even than guns and gunpowder.

The fourth paper in the volume is one of 74 pages, (205-278), also by the Editor, on Inscriptions,—the first being one on the inner wall of Raichur Fort, in ten long lines, but which he has transliterated in 30, and refers to his own lines rather than those of the original. The translation is followed by historical enquiries about Gôre Gaṅgaya Reḍḍivâru and king Viṭhâla, mentioned in the inscription, in which he adduces some extracts from the volumes of local records kept at Madras. In this paper Dr. Oppert has undertaken to bring to light for the first time a new line of Narapati princes of Vijayanagar, older than, and preceding, the well-known dynasty that sprung into existence at the end of the fourteenth century. In this we consider that he has not only signally failed, but that he has been guilty of most unscientific carelessness in the deductions he has drawn from the various writings and inscriptions he has consulted. So confused and bewildering are his statements, and so difficult to follow his reasoning, that it is hard to know how to analyse it. Appended to the paper is a "Genealogical Tree of the Narapatis." flourished before us as the final outcome of all the investigations which precede it, and as now for the first time showing—what has never been shown before,—the complete pedigree of the family. In this Dr. Oppert gives us, as the essence of his "discovery," the three well-known brothers, Râma, Tirumal (or Tirumala), and Veṅkaṭa, who fought the disastrous battle of Tâlikôṭa in 1564 A.D., preceded, four generations earlier, by another trio of brothers of the same name, each batch of three being in the same order, and the Râma in each case being son-in-law of Kṛishṇarâja. Dr. Oppert undertakes to prove that these are not one and the same, but quite different sections of the family, and that while it is well known that the latter flourished towards the close of the sixteenth century, the former lived at the close of the thirteenth.

If this is not of itself sufficient to condemn the theory as wholly unscientific, we turn to the text, pp. 229, &c. and find the origin of the Narapati family clearly and complacently stated. Tâtapinnamarâja was the great-grandson of Vijjala of Kalyâṇa, the Kalachuri, who was a descendant of the Châlukyas!! This man founded the Narapati family. His great-great-grandson was Bukka, who had a son Râma. Among this Râma's grandsons were, (1) Viṭhâla, who is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1294 at Raichur; and (2) the trio of brothers mentioned above, viz.—Râma, Tirumala, and Veṅkaṭa.

These three brothers then, flourished at the close of the thirteenth century. This very same Râma, Dr. Oppert gravely asserts, fought successfully against a number of Muḥammadan kings or chiefs. Luckily their names are given. This is interesting, because we had always believed the historians who say that the Muḥammadan armies had not

penetrated so far south as the Southern Dekhan at the period alluded to. The names, as no doubt rightly interpreted by Dr. Oppert, are "Fazl-Khân," "Adil Khân," "Nizâm-ul-mulk," "Imâd-ul-mulk," "Kutb-ul-mulk," "Vali-Khân," and "Barîd." Dr. Oppert himself quotes these names from the "*Narapativijayam*," which, (p. 243), he tells us, was composed "towards the end of the sixteenth century," at the special command of Râma Râja, who was killed at Tâlikôṭa. Can it be possible that Dr. Oppert does not recognize amongst those names the combination of Muḥammadan States of the Dekhan;—the 'Adil Shâhi, Nizâm Shâhi, Imâd Shâhi, Kutb Shâhi, and Barîd Shâhi dynasties—which overthrew the later Râma Râja of Vijayanagar and his brethren at Tâlikôṭa in A.D. 1564, and which dynasties were not in existence in the thirteenth century, a time when no Muḥammadan had set foot armed for battle on soil so far south as the territory of the Narapatis?

On p. 243 we have the Râmarâja of the *Narapativijayam* represented as "commander-in-chief of Pratâpa-Rudra's army," a difference, again, of three centuries. Even if we suppose that Dr. Oppert has carried us back to a former Râmarâja of the thirteenth century, he does not explain how this sovereign of Vijayanagar could be a commander-in-chief under Pratâpa-Rudra;—nor how his (Râma's) brother, Tirumala, could "in battles fought near Penugoṇḍa," defeat "the *Nizâm*" (!!) (p. 244).

All this being given with the most perfect belief in its authenticity, and a dogmatic assurance which does not hesitate to rebuke such writers as H. H. Wilson for "wrong assertions" (p. 245), we can only assume that Dr. Oppert is so completely ignorant of history as to believe, either that in the time of Pratâpa-Rudra "the Nizâm" was fighting battles near Penugoṇḍa against the kings of Vijayanagar; or that at the period of Tâlikôṭa (A.D. 1564) Pratâpa-Rudra of Orukalk was still fighting the Muḥammadans!! Nothing short of this will satisfy his text.

All this confusion arises apparently from the fact that Dr. Oppert assumes as sound basis for historical accuracy the rubbish written by a court-poet for the express purpose of bolstering up an usurping dynasty; for such undoubtedly was the dynasty of the "three brethren which were tyrants."[1]

Dr. Burnell, from whose excellent table of the Vijayanagar dynasty (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 55), the quotation just made is taken, never wrote truer words than when he issued this warning (*id. Introd.*, p. vii.):—"From the beginning of this century (when Buchanan executed the only archæological survey that has ever been done in even a part of the south of India) up to the present time, a number of well-meaning persons have gone about with much simplicity and faith, collecting a mass of rubbish which they term traditions and accept as history. There is some excuse for Buchanan, but none for his followers; the persistent retailing of this 'lying gabble' (as General Cunningham aptly terms it) has well-nigh ruined the progress of Indian research, and caused the utter neglect of a subject that evidently promises much." This scathing condemnation of Indian traditions is even more applicable to the "historical" (!) narratives of Brâhman court-poets than to the ordinary traditions of the country. In the latter there is often a germ of truth. In the former a studious avoidance thereof for the most part. Dr. Oppert has done nothing to assist us in the unravelment of the tangled skein of Vijayanagar genealogies, and those who wish to study the subject would do well to avoid altogether his confusing and uncritical essay.

To this long paper he adds an Appendix on Chronology, in which he promulgates opinions which, if adopted, would lead to much needless confusion. Every one knows that the Hindus are, and have been for a thousand years at least, in the habit of dating by the *elapsed* year, while in civil matters European nations date by the *current* year. Europeans, like Dr. Oppert, conclude that the Hindus are wrong in this, and ought to conform to their ideas of chronology, or if this cannot be secured, that at least writers like Col. Warren and J. Prinsep ought to represent the Hindu chronology in their Tables on the European system. But Europeans would only introduce confusion into Indian Chronology[2] were they to allow their habits and prepossessions so to influence them as to act differently in this respect from what the Hindus themselves do. Their system is really quite as rational as ours. Warren is censured by this would-be chronologist for his "injudicious caution" in stating that

[1] "Thirty yeares was this kingdome governed by three brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull King in prison, it was their use euery yeere once to show him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging to the father of the King they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they tooke the gouernment to themselves." (Cæsar Frederick in "*Purchas his Pilgrimes*" vol. II, p. 1704).

[2] In 1878, the Madras Government sanctioned a proposal from C. Raghunâth Achârya, Assistant in the Madras Observatory, to introduce into the Calendar a reformed system of dates based on European astronomical science, in supercession of that previously employed and founded on the "old false reckoning" of the Hindu astronomical works. This however seems to have had reference only to the commencement of the months, and perhaps the *tithis*. The interference of Government in matters of this kind is to be strongly deprecated. See Madras *Gov. Ord.* 26 March, 1878, No. 531.

the Hindu years were 'expired' ones, which, he says, "was to a certain extent the cause of all the inaccuracies to be met with in subsequent works on Indian chronology and history."—This we think needs some proof. Prinsep's note on the subject is condemned as "not accurate throughout," though the mistake seems to be in Dr. Oppert's mind rather than in the note, which means that for most ordinary calculations it matters not whether *e.g.* we call the present year Śaka 1804 *expired*, or treat it as if it were the numerical of the current year, if only we regard all the others in the same way.

Dr. Oppert then gives a table of the cycle of 60 years from 1867 to 1927 according to *his* notions, which table is wrong throughout in the numerals of the years for the Śaka and Kaliyuga dates, and is only correct in the *Saṁvatsara* names as compared with the European dates. These names he has collected from some ślokas in Kamalâkara's *Nirṇayasindhu* ascribed to Gargya, gratuitously informing the reader thrice in footnotes that "all the nouns in *in* take the nom. sing. in *î*."

The last paper in the volume is a List of Saura Words, collected by W. F. Grahame, C.S., and arranged by the editor. This volume has no index.

The papers with which Dr. Oppert has to such a large extent filled this and the preceding volumes of this revived *Journal*, show how unsafe it is for the reputation of a professedly scientific society,—one affiliated to the Royal Asiatic Society,—to leave its *Journal* entirely in the hands of a man who cannot command the help of scholars, and whose information and opinions are so inaccurate and uncritical. Is it not a waste of money too on the part of Government to subsidize this *Journal* under its present management?

The *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. VII, part ii. (for 1881) has been long in the press, but contrasts most favourably with its Madras contemporary. In the first paper Mr. Nevill, Ceylon Civil Service, contests the accuracy of Sir Emerson Tennant's identification of the ancient emporium of Kalah, which was under the kings of Zabej, the Sulṭâns of the Isles, with the port of Galle. He adduces several authorities and considerations that it was probably one of the islands along the north-east coast, perhaps near Kalaputti or Kalpiṭiya (Calpentyn). In the notes, we think, Mr. Nevill's reasoning and theories are sometimes a little fanciful, in support of hypotheses of his own. The second and fourth papers are by M. L. Nell,—one on the observance of *Kaldiwa*, a superstition among the Siṁhalese that certain parts of the body are peculiarly liable to accidents with very dangerous results on certain days of the lunar calendar; the other on a *Hûniyam* image used in sorcery. To the latter a long and interesting note is added by the Secretary, on the charms, &c., used in the superstitious practices of the Maldive islanders. The third paper is by Luis de Zoysa, Mahâ-mudaliyâr, on the origin of the Veddâs, with fourteen of their songs, charms, and lullabies. The author shows, by the Aryan character of the words in these, and the traditions still preserved respecting their origin, that there is every reason to believe they are of Indian descent. The fifth paper is on the *Mîrâ Kantiri* festival held by the Ceylon Muhammadans at Colombo during the month of Jumâd-al-âkhir, in memory of Mîrâ Sâheb, who is esteemed a *Walî* by them, and who is buried at Nâgûr near Nâgapaṭṭanam. To this the Secretary has also added valuable notes. Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten contributes a short paper on the rearing of silk-worms in Ceylon. And lastly, S. Jayatilaka, Mudaliyâr, contributes a paper on Siṁhalese omens or superstitious meanings attached to common appearances, such as meeting a cow or a peacock, &c. With this part is also issued the first fasciculus of an edition of Pâṇini, by Mr. W. Guṇatilaka, published with the assistance of the Society.

ON THE OLDEST ARYAN ELEMENT OF THE SINHALESE VOCABULARY.[1]

BY PROFESSOR E. KUHN.

Among the more prominent languages of India which have had a literary culture, the Sinhalese is the only one to which it has not yet been possible to assign a fixed place in one of the great families of language. While Rask, without adducing any reasons, assigns it a place in the Dravidian family (*Singalesisk Skriftlære*, Preface, p. 1), and F. Müller in the linguistic portion of the work of the *Novara*, p. 203, is inclined to assume a remote family relationship to the Dravidian idioms, and in the *Allgemeine Ethnographie*,[2] p. 466, even more decidedly indicates the basis of the Sinhalese as Dravidian, and Haas (*Z. d. M. G.* 30, p. 668) maintains at least an influence by the Tamil on the

[1] Translated from the *Munich Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. hist. Classe der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1879, vol. II. pt. iii, *pp.* 399-434.

[2] Cf. the same writer in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1875-6, Part i, p. 73:—"The Sinhalese language is based on the dialect spoken by the colony from Siṁhapura in Lâla, on the west coast of India, who drove into the remote parts of the island the former inhabitants, borrowing very little indeed from their language."

development of the language, any direct relation between Tamil and Sinhalese is brusquely set aside by such a scholar as Caldwell (*Comp. Gramm.*, (2d. ed.) p. 111 of the Preface). More recently the opinion that Sinhalese deserves a place among the Aryan dialects is that which has received most favour. This view, first propounded ably by Alwis (*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1865-6, p. 143-156; 1867-70, p. 1-86), has been scientifically established by Childers (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. VII, pp. 35-48;[3] VIII, p. 131-155), and has been accepted by the inquirers in the province of Sinhalese inscriptions, Rhys Davids,[4] P. Goldschmidt (especially in his first report on the subject, printed *int. al.* in *Trübner's Record*, X, pp. 21-22),[5] and Ed. Müller—the first mentioned with a wise caution, the other two not without allowing themselves to be led into hasty explanations of some words.[6] As a curiosity, which deserves mention only on account of the highly honoured name of its author, it may also be mentioned, that Lassen (*Ind. Alterthumsk.* (2d. ed.) vol. I, p. 557) considered the language as entirely a Malayo-Polynesian one; the Maldivian, which had its origin in Ceylon, and to which he appeals in support of this view, is however not at all Malayan, but an undoubted dialect of the current Sinhalese (though indeed perhaps mixed with foreign elements), which will probably throw more light on it than it is able of itself to do.[7]

Of the different views expressed only that relating to the Aryan character of the language can be subjected to a critical examination: for it alone can on satisfactory ground be brought forward; all the others rest upon bare assertions. Let us first examine the subject independently of all historical suppositions. Setting aside all Sanskrit tatsamas and casual loans from the Pâli for religious and suchlike ideas, there remains in the Sinhalese of all periods and classes of literature a remarkable stock of Aryan words, among them all the numerals and a good part of the pronouns and particles. If to this be added the fact that the declension is morphologically scarcely distinct from that of the modern Aryan languages of India, also that a paradigm like that given in Alwis's edition of the *Sidat Sañgará*, p. 191—

Sing. 1.	*karam*	Pl. 1.	*karamu*
	karami		*keremu*
	kerem		*karamô*
	keremí		*karamha*
			karamhu
2.	*kerehi*	2.	*karahu*
			karav
3.	*kerê*	3.	*karat*
			karati
			keret
			kereti

agrees closely enough with an Aryan

Sing. 1.	*karámi*	Pl. 1.	*karámas*
2.	*karasi*	2.	*karatha*
3.	*karati*	3.	*karanti*

—and finally that a whole number of derived verbal forms and participial formations have been traced back by Childers with undoubted correctness to Aryan sources, the view of a purely Aryan character of the language has certainly something uncommonly attractive about it. But the pleasing impression vanishes if we look closer into the language actually in use. Forms like those of the paradigm just quoted, while not over-abundant in the so-called Elu of the old poetry, disappear in the modern prose as good as entirely before *karanavá* for all persons alike, and the proper formation of tenses and moods shows only a distant connection with that to which we are accustomed in the modern Aryan languages.

Here we may appropriately consider more closely the historical argument of the view in question. Its supporters, Rhys Davids and Childers in *loc. cit. supra*, and P. Goldschmidt in his *Report on Inscriptions found in the North-Central Province and in the Hambantoṭa District*, 1876, p. 3, rightly take as their starting point the popular local tradition, that Vijaya, a king's son of Lâla, about the time of Buddha's death conquered Ceylon, and thus caused an extensive colonization of the island by Aryan settlers (cf. the succinct description in Lassen's *Ind. Alterthumsk*, (2d. ed.) vol. II, p. 103 ff.). This Lâla, Rhys Davids looks for on the west coast of India, evidently following Lassen, who wished to identify it with the province of Lâṭa or Lâṭika, the Λαρικὴ of the Greeks. According to the account given in the *Mahávaṁsa*, however, which must be here con-

[3] See note 2, p. 52.

[4] Cf. *loc. cit.* p. 35:—"The Sinhalese is one of the Aryan vernaculars of India, and is spoken by the descendants of a people who migrated from Magadha to Ceylon at a very remote period."

[5] Cf. *loc. cit.* p. 22:—"Sinhalese is now proved to be a thorough Aryan dialect, having its nearest relations in some of the dialects used in King Aśoka's inscriptions, as well as in the Mahârâshtrî Prâkrit of the Indian middle-age, while it differs from Pâli in very essential points."

[6] I refer particularly to the adoption by E. Müller (*Report on the Inscriptions in the Hambantota District*, 1878, p. 5; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 224), following the example of Goldschmidt, of the conjunctive *asati* from the root *as*.

[7] See *Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language*, compiled by W. Christopher, *Journal of the R. As. Soc*, VI, p. 42-76, and *Dictionaire de quelques mots de la Langue des Maldiues interpretez en François*: supplement to the *Seconde Partie de Voyage de François Pyrard*, Paris, 1669; cf. A. Gray in *loc. cit.*, N. S. X, pp. 173-209.—Alwis has also left an essay on this subject; see *Trübner's Record*, XI, p. 132.

sidered, and from the importance of which Lassen himself (*loc. cit.* vol. I, p. 679, note 2) could not detract, Lâla lies undoubtedly in the neighbourhood of Vanga and Magadha: hence Childers and P. Goldschmidt with much greater reason considered it as a division or a border state of Magadha. We may also with Kiepert (*Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, pp. 41-2) attribute the geographical homonyms to the fact of a direct intercourse between Ceylon and the Ganges region. At any rate there can be no good reason for casting doubt on the fact of such an Aryan immigration, in spite of the uncertainty of the Sinhalese chronology and the mythical colouring of the narrative in question.

However considerable may have been the number of these settlers, they are not to be compared with that immense stream of immigrants which at a former period brought the whole of the Ganges region under the power of the Aryan language. A mixed language is what might be expected at first in our case. We are at once reminded of the analogous example in Java, by which, through lexical influence of the Sanskrit on the Javanese, the oldest literary dialect of the island, the Kawi, was formed. But on a closer inspection matters will be found quite otherwise in Ceylon. The Kawi was indeed only the language of literature, which was first built up by the learned, to whom the Sanskrit, as the sacred language of their religious culture, was more or less familiar: characteristic of this is the mingling of Sanskrit words, so as to invest it with a peculiar dress. The Prâkṛit dialects, which the immigrants undoubtedly spoke among themselves, would soon be exchanged for the idiom of their new fellow-countrymen, which for its part could borrow Sanskrit words only from the literary dialect. The grammar of the Kawi, like that of the popular language, remained absolutely unaffected by Aryan influences.[8] In Ceylon, on the contrary, the true popular speech is, even in respect of the grammar itself, largely permeated by Aryan elements, and even if no certain conclusions can be drawn from these for a more exact determination of the origin, the oldest elements of the greatly preponderating Aryan vocabulary, through their phonetic relations, exhibit, as the only possible basis, an old Prâkṛit dialect, which must have passed wholly and entirely through similar phonetic changes to the Pâli. The immigrants were therefore numerous enough to use the language spoken by them, not simply in their intercourse among themselves, but also to ensure to it in the course of years an extension and acceptance among the natives as a common means of communication. The indigenous population gave up almost entirely their own stock of words, and accustomed themselves to the new Aryan appellations.[9] Only, however, so far as it was possible: the phonetic system of their own tongue had become much weaker than that of its penetrating victorious rival, and it is the after-effects of this that first gave to the Prâkṛit dialect its peculiar Sinhalese colouring. Such a thorough disorganization of the original phonetic system, such exceedingly strange changes of certain words,[10] are only possible where a language has been grafted on an entirely new stock, which is not in the least prepared for its reception. The heterogeneous elements in the composition of forms complete the characteristic. Sinhalese is therefore, in spite of its preponderating Aryan aspect, a mixed speech, whose deeper lying peculiarities remain inexplicable so long as its non-Aryan element is denied.

To what linguistic family this non-Aryan substratum of Sinhalese belongs, must for the present be left undecided. That the original population of Ceylon was of Dravidian race, as Caldwell indeed more than once maintains, certainly seems evident from anthropological and ethnological stand-points, as well as from the horrible demon worship (cf. on this subject Dandris de Silva Gooneratne, in the *Journ. of the Ceylon Branch of the R. As. Soc.* 1865-6, pp. 1-117) reminding one entirely of the Dekhan, and might find a sort of confirmation in many morphological and syntactical as well as various phonetic analogies of the languages. But, since in the word-forming elements themselves a closer relationship cannot be proved, a careful comparison of that portion of the vocabulary which cannot be explained from an Aryan stand-point with that of the Dravidian dialects is the only means of securing broader explanations in this direction. Moreover, the dialects of the wild races, or those that have become wild, in the interior, appear to have been partly influenced by the Aryan, in the same manner exactly as Sinhalese proper. Of the language of the Væddâ at least this may be considered certain, according to Max Müller's statement at the London Oriental Congress (*vide* Special Number to vol. IX, of *Trübner's Record*, p. 21, and the remarks of Bertram F. Hartshorne, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 320: according to the latter the language, in whose vocabulary decidedly Dravidian elements are entirely wanting, must be undoubtedly Aryan, and stand in even closer relationship to Elu[11]).

[8] Cf. Kern in Cust's *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, p. 18.

[9] Cf. Caldwell's *Comp. Gram.* (2nd ed.) p. 578.

[10] Cf. for the present Childers in *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VII, p. 37.

[11] Cf. also *Sidat Sañgarâ*, ed. Alwis, p. cclxi of the Introduction. Casie Chitty's Vocabulary of the, as it appears, very peculiar Rodiyâ dialect, quoted by Alwis, *Journ. of the Ceylon Branch R. A. Soc.* 1865-6, p. 149, is unfortunately not accessible to me.

The victory of the Aryan element had evidently taken place long before the island was won over to Buddhism by Mahendra's successful missionary labours. What influence Pâli may then have been able to have had on the language, can scarcely be ascertained, on account of their common Prâkṛit character. Further inquiry may perhaps succeed, by the fixing of certain peculiarities here and there, in defining the original Sinhalese Prâkṛit as distinguished from the Pâli—it shows us for example in the Sinhalese *aňga*, horn, for an original **saňga* = Skr. *śriṅga*, *a* as against *i* of the Pâli *siṅga* and corresponding forms of the modern Aryan dialects of the Indian Continent, including the Gipsy (Beames, *Comp. Gram.*, I, p. 161; Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, vol. VIII, p. 72; cf. Hemachandra, I, 130)—but that this will ever take place to any great extent cannot yet be maintained with any certainty.[12]

It is certainly not in the Buddhist circle of ideas and the language of the religio-philosophical works, the literature of the higher style, that we should now as a rule look for the proofs of the Aryan character of the oldest vocabulary. It is the common round of every-day life, as it finds expression in the present language of conversation, the modern prose, so far as it does not attempt to use Sanskṛit words in the place of pure Sinhalese ones, which give us the first certain standpoints in respect of the peculiarities of Indian literary languages in spite of their lesser antiquity. Afterwards, indeed, the inscriptions and the language of the old poetry, the so-called Elu, must also be brought forward and compared with great caution, and some more particular remarks on the character of these therefore will not be out of place.

The inscriptions, according to Goldschmidt's view, begin soon after the introduction of Buddhism. But their value for lexical investigations is not so great as could be wished just at the oldest period, on account of the small number of the remains and the frequent identity of the contents. Mistakes increase more and more from careless execution, fragmentary tradition, numerous difficulties in the details, and a deplorable lacuna between the fourth and ninth centuries. Only from the end of the tenth century is there available a material at the same time more extensive and more certain, and from amongst this the inscriptions of the end of the twelfth century published by Rhys Davids (*Journ. of the R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, pp. 152 ff., 353 ff.) are to be noted as specially useful.

The name Elu, older Helu, is nothing but a transformation of the Prâkṛit Sîhala (*Sidat Saňgará*, ed. Alwis, p. xxxii. of the Introduction; cf. the author of *Visuddhi Márga Sanne, ibid.* p. clxxi), and signifies therefore first Sinhalese in general, then old Sinhalese, and finally in a special manner the language of the old poetry (cf. Childers, *Journ. of the R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 36; Rhys Davids, *ibid.* p. 158) which is set forth grammatically in the *Sidat Saňgará*,[13] lexically in the *Nάmávaliya*,[14] and is used now-a-days solely for poetical works. True, this language, like all in India that fell into the hands of poets and scholars, is more or less an artificial production, and its artificial character is expressly shown with the greatest distinctness by Rhys Davids (*loc. cit.* and *Transactions of the Philol. Soc.* 1875-6, Part I, p. 74 f.). But the phonetic phenomena upon which he lays so much stress, the shortening of the vowels and the rejection of the consonantal groups, must from first to last be considered as a proof of artificiality. The principal changes caused by this and an allied tendency—as well as the reduction of polysyllabic words to a single syllable, of which Alwis (*SS.* p. xlvii) notes some characteristic examples,—is shared by the Elu with the popular speech, as is evidenced by an overwhelming number of the very commonest words. With much more reason Goldschmidt refers the artificial character of the later Elu—and it is to this alone almost that the available linguistic relics are to be ascribed—to the influence of the Sanskrit vocabulary, and the extremely heterogeneous adaptation of it to the Sinhalese phonetic laws. From the comparison of inscriptions of the kings Mahinda III (997-1013) and Parâkramabâhu I (1153-1186), he shows (*Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, p. 10) how, while in the time of the first the numerous though still limited Sanskṛit (and Pâli) loan words take a Sinhalese phonetic form, in the time of the latter they find an entrance into the language wholly unaltered, and he then continues:—"Shortly after that time Sinhalese literature, as far as it is now extant, must have commenced, its language carrying with it the spoils of many foregoing centuries. To these the poets and pandits added their own inventions: Sanskṛit (and Pâli) words artificially, but often with great skill, turned into Sinhalese, and modern Sinhalese words put back into what were supposed to be the ancient forms of them.

[12] Goldschmidt in his *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, has endeavoured to prove closer connections between the Sinhalese and the Mâgadhî dialect of the Açoka inscriptions. Rhys Davids (*Transactions of the Philol. Soc.* 1875-6, Part I, p. 75) is inclined to estimate the lexical influence of the Pâli as extremely small.

[13] Edited and translated with a lengthy introduction by James Alwis, Colombo, 1852—referred to hereafter as *SS.*

[14] Edited and translated by C. Alwis, Colombo, 1858—referred to hereafter as *N.* The use of this and of several other books which appeared serviceable for my task I owe to the kindness of Professor R. Rost, of London, who has placed at my disposal in the most generous manner the rich stores of works of reference from his library.

Hence the present Sinhalese style has come to be a strange medley of Sinhalese forms of almost all ages, of thoroughly Sinhalised Sanskṛit and Pâli words, of the same semi-Siṁhalized, of unchanged Sanskṛit and Pâli words, and of the random inventions of poets and paṇḍits. It is this variety of forms of the same words which Siṁhalese writers take advantage of to render their style elegant, although this custom very little accords with what European readers would consider good taste." In spite of this artificiality the Elu often enough makes use of the only possible true Sinhalese form, where the modern language of conversation favours exclusively the pure Sanskṛit form; in such cases, especially whenever the Maldive steps in in corroboration, we think we may regard the Elu form entirely without suspicion (cf. also Hartshorne's statement regarding the language of the Væddâ, *ante* p. 55*b*).

Let us now turn to a short sketch of the phonetic system.

That a Prakrit dialect of that older phonetic stage, represented substantially by the Pâli, really forms the basis of the Sinhalese, follows, as already remarked above, from the whole appearance of the genuine national words. We are constrained to refer them all back to a phonetic system in which the *r* vowel of the Sanskṛit found its representation in *a*, *i*, *u*, the diphthongs *ai*, *au*, in *e*, *o*, the sibilants *ç*, *sh*, in the dental *s*; in which moreover the assimilation of coincident heterogeneous consonants had the greatest latitude of power. Later loan words from the Sanskrit, even if they have undergone the above-mentioned phonetic changes, are at once to be recognized, especially by the presence of consonants assimilated according to Prakrit phonetic rules: thus *samudura* (Elu: modern tatsama *samudra-ya*) = Skr. *samudra* as contrasted with the pure Sinhalese *muhuda* (modern *mûda*) from **hamuda* = Prâkṛit *samudda*, or *miturá* (together with the tatsama *mitra-yá* in the modern language of conversation) = Skr. *mitra* as compared with the Elu *mit* = *mitta*, formed in a genuine Sinhalese manner.

After this preliminary observation on the Prakrit basis it is necessary first of all to determine the extent of the specific Sinhalese phonetic system.[15] The *Sidat Sañgará*—to quote first the chief native authority—in § 1 ascribes to the old Sinhalese ten
vowels:—*a*, *á*; *i*, *í*; *u*, *ú*; *e*, *é*; *o*, *ó*; and twenty
consonants:—*k*, *g*, *j*; *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*; *t*, *d*, *n*; *p*, *b*, *m*; *y*, *r*,
l, *v*, *s*, *h*, *ḷ*, *aṁ* (cf. the remarks of Alwis, *SS.* pp.
lviii-lxii, 142-146, and Table III), and this is
in fact, with the addition of *æ*, *ǽ* (considered by
the author as nothing but modifications of *a*, *á*),
and after deducting the (as we shall see) doubtful
j, the sum of the original phonetic system. Let
us now consider the vowels and consonants more
in detail.

In this department, so long as we look purely at the vowels by themselves in single syllables, the remarkable preference for short vowels strikes us as a special characteristic. We may with some reason compare it with the Dravidian custom of shortening the long vowels of Sanskrit words (Caldwell's *Comp. Gramm.* p. 87), but with still greater justice may we infer from it a condition of language in which just as in the Tibetan[16] a sharp distinction between short and long vowels had not generally taken place. This condition appears to have been universally carried out in radical syllables, so far as more encroaching changes did not step in: *ka-navá*, √*khád*, Prâkr. pres. *khái* (Hemachandra IV, 228; cf. Pâli *kháyita* = Skr. *kháḍita*, *et. al.* in Kuhn, *Beitr. z. Páli Gramm.* p. 56), *kanuva* = *khánu*; *kahinavá*, √*kás*; *gama* = *gáma*; *dana* = *jánu*; *nama* = *náma*; *ya-navá*, √*yá*; *rada*, *raja*, = *rájá*; *isa*, *hisa*, = *śisa*; *dum* = *dhúma*, &c; moreover the Sanskrit-Prâkṛit *e*, *o*, have in Sinhalese always the corresponding short sound. Secondarily, long vowels are developed through contraction after a preceding omission of consonants:—*amá* (Elu) = *amata*, Skr. *amṛita*;[17] *udá* = *udaya* (Rhys Davids, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 366); *ví* = *víhi*; *míyá* from **mihiyá* = *músika*; *múda* from *muhuda* = *samudda*; *bǽná* from *bæhæná* = *bhágineyya* (Rhys Davids, *loc. cit.*); *gé* from *geya* = *geha*, &c.[18]; but these lengthenings themselves not infrequently give place to still further contraction: *dola* from *dóla* = *dohala* (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 36); *il* for *hil(a)*, in the name of the month *ilmasa*, "cold month," from *hihila* (*vide* Goldschmidt's first *Report* in *Trübner's Record* X, p. 22) = *śiśira*. In suffixal syllables long vowels, hitherto inexplicable, are not infrequent, but even here, according to Childers' testimony (*loc. cit.*, VIII, p. 143), the

[15] In the following remarks, after the sign of equation is placed, except where something else is expressly indicated, the Prâkṛit original of the Sinhalese word in question, for which, on account of the similar phonetic basis, reference may generally be made to Childers' *Páli Dictionary*. Moreover, where only the phonetics have been considered, I have not hesitated to take casual words from the poetic dialect.

[16] According to Csoma (*Gram. of the Tibetan Language* § 2) the vowels in that tongue are spoken "without any distinction into short and long, but observing a middle sound."

[17] In connection with *vatura*, water, this forms the title of the well-known book *Amávatura*, which we cannot, with Jacobi (*Kalpasútra*, p. 6), Sanskritize as *Átmávatára*.

[18] By contraction are also produced in the modern pronunciation secondary diphthongs also: *auva*, *aurudda*, for *avuva*, *avurudda*, and many more.

long *á* of the animate masculine, as *minihá*, *putá*, = *manusa*, *puta*, points back to an older *a*, just as the *í* of the feminine does to an older *i*. In the Elu prosody the preponderating shortness of vowel appears also with the condition that every syllable ending in a consonant be considered as long (Alwis, *SS*. p. xci, xcii, cxx).

Very extensive and multiform is the vowel change produced by a following *i*, *í*, by virtue of which the *umlaut* vowels *æ*, *ǽ*; *i*, *í*; *e*, *é*; are produced from *a*, *á*; *u*, *ú*; *o*, *ó*; transitions which, in the formation of the feminine with *í*, of the passive with original *íya*, of the (participial) preterite with *ita*, have obtained a widespread grammatical acceptance. As Childers has (*loc. cit.* p. 143, 148 ff.) discussed exhaustively all three cases, I can refer generally to his examples, and wish only to call attention to the fact that in passive forms like *kerenavá*, from *karanavá*, *tibenavá* from *tabanavá*, as against the regularly formed *kæḍenavá* from *kaḍanavá*, greater transformations have taken place, the true cause of which has yet to be discovered. Of other cases of *umlaut* I would also especially mention the abstract suffix *íma* and the suffix of possession *i*: *devíma* from *dovinavá*, √*duh*; *gæmi* from *gama* = *gáma*. In words like *kili* = *kuṭí*; *pirisa* = *purisa*; *iru*, *hiru*, from **hiriyu* = *suriya*, the *umlaut* cannot with full certainty be separated from the complete vowel assimilation, which is well attested by such examples as *pili* = *paṭi*; *piri* = *pari*; *dunu* = *dhanu*; *lúnu* from *luhunu* for *lahuna* = *lasuna*; *muhuda* from **mahuda* for **hamuda* = *samudda*, and many others. The *i* also, which was produced first by the weakening of other vowels, can, it seems, be produced by *umlaut*: *mæḍiyá* = *manḍúka*; *bæma* from **bæmiya* = *bhamuka* (cf. *sæla* = Skr. *sárikd*); in the last example the *i* which gave rise to the *umlaut* has since disappeared, as it was removed by contraction in *lé* = *lohita* and the example quoted by Childers *ká* = *kháyita*, √*khád*.

A large number of remarkable vowel changes are closely connected with certain consonantial mutations. An *l*, which has been produced from a cerebral or a dental, appears to have often changed a neighbouring *a* into *o*: *ekolaha*, *dolaha*, *pahaloha* = *ekádasa*, *dvádasa*, *pañchadasa*; *polova* = *paṭhaví* or *pathaví*; *molova*, brain, perhaps = **mattha*, Skr. **masta*, in the sense of Skr. *mastishka* and *mastuluṅga* = Pali *matthaluṅga*. Instead of *ça* in Sanskrit tatsamas we find *sé* (Clough's *Singhalese and English Dictionary*, p. 686). Of the change of consonant produced by the dropping of vowels we shall have more to say further on.

The subject of the non-radical terminal vowels will render necessary in the future a more searching examination. In the oldest inscriptions the well-known peculiarly Magadhic nominative of the masculine and neuter in *e* appears to be pretty common (Goldschmidt's *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, p. 3); in Elu the *u* which recals the Prakrit *o* is much more frequent than in the modern language, which appears to make use more of the *a*. Of various exceptions, like *kiri* = *khíra*, *dana* = *jánu*, *væsi* = *vassa*, and many others, there is no lack. In the last part of a compound the non-radical terminal *a* is mostly dropped (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VII, pp. 45, 47); many forms of originally dissyllabic words contracted in this manner may then have been also employed independently, and would thus have not immaterially increased the number of monosyllables, especially numerous in Elu (*vide supra* p. 56*b*). We have already spoken above of the lengthening of non-radical terminal *a* and *i* in words denoting animate being.

In regard to the constitution of the consonant system the want of aspirates and the incompleteness of the palatal series are peculiarities which strike one immediately.

The representation of the former, whether in tenues or mediae aspiratae, by the corresponding unaspirated consonants is the rule; besides this we have the separation of the aspiration from the more permanent consonantal element, and transition into simple *h*. The former was a special peculiarity of the Elu, and is sufficiently supported in § 22 of the *Sidat Sañgará* by such characteristic examples as *sædæhæ*, also *sædǽ*, = *saddhá* (Skr. *çraddhá*), *sadaham*, also *sadam*, = *saddhamma*, &c. The latter is clearly proved in the case of the popular speech by such a form as *bihirá* = *badhira*, Mald. *bíru* (Ch.); for this reason also *luhu* = *laghu* (also *luhuñdu*) may with justice claim the privilege of nationality over the less disfigured *lagu*.

With the loss of the aspiration may well be classed the dropping of the *h* in nasal combinations: *bamunu* from the Prakrit form *bamhaṇa* for Skr. and Pali *bráhmaṇa* (Hemachandra I, 67; II, 74; cf. E. Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Páli-Gramm.* p. 5 f.); *gim* = *gimha* (Elu—in the modern language completely supplanted by the tatsamas from the Skr. and Pali *grishma-ya* and *gimhána-ya*); *unu*, hot, = *uṇha*, Mald. *húnu*; in the same manner *vh* to *v*: *diva* = *jivha*. Besides forms are freely found like *bam̆ba* for the name of the god *Brahmá* and the Pali adjective *brahma* (E. Kuhn, *loc. cit.* p. 18) on the one hand, and the derived *unuh-um*, *unuh-uma*, heat, on the other, which however appear to belong more to the literary dialect.

As to the palatal series, *c* and naturally *ch* appear only in later loan words. Their ordinary

substitute in pure Sinhalese words is *s*, which like the other *s* is subject to the change into *h*: *isinavá, ihinavá*, from **hisinavá*, √*sich* (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 147); *pisanavá, pihanavá*, √*pach*; *saka, haka*, = *chakka*; *sim̆binavá*, √*chumb*; *gasa, gaha*, tree, pl. *gas*, = *gachchha*; *gos, gohin, gihin*, to pres. *gachchhati*; *siñdinavá*, √*chhid*, pres. *chhindati*; &c. Moreover, compensation is found in *d*, which—in view of Sinhalese *d* for *j*, to be mentioned immediately—presupposes a transition into the media: *mudanavá*, √*much*; *da* = *cha* (Alwis, *SS.* p. liv); *yadinavá*, √*yách*; *æduru* = *áchariya* (*N.* v. 178, 278), which the Mald. *aydru* (P.), *eduru* (Ch.), shows to be a popular form. The retention of the media *j* amongst the Sinhalese vocables in opposition to this universal rejection of the palatal terms is extremely curious. It is true that *j* is found in the older inscriptions, but almost every really native word, as *diva* = *jivhá*; *dana* = *jánu*, *dinanavá*, √*ji*, pres. *jináti*; *dunudiya* = *dhanujiyá*: *vidinavá*, √*vyach*, pres. *vijjhati*, has *d* for *j*. Forms like the proper name *Bujas* = *Buddhadása*, or *vajeriyi*, which E. Müller (*Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1878, p. 6) following Goldschmidt rightly derives from *vadáranavá*, are correctly explained by the fact that original *j* was represented chiefly by *d* and was first restored anew as *j* by the gradual acquisition of later tatsamas: indeed, in the striving after exaggerated elegance of speech it would sometimes be appropriated in cases where *d* alone could be correct, just as the low Germans, when they wish to speak high German, substitute a *Trepfe* for *Treppe*. Words with *j* = Skr. and Pali *j* must also be considered as more or less remodelled tatsamas, and the *rada, radu*, of the Elu is indeed earlier than the *raja* = *rájá* of most of the inscriptions, as the analogous *rad*, fem. *rædna*, of the inscriptions (Goldschmidt, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, p. 10) and the *mahá radung* = *mahárája* in the title of the Sultan of the Maldives (*Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* vol. VI, p. 73) amply testify.

Of the cerebrals *ṭ* and *ḍ* alone appear to maintain inflexibly their peculiar character, *ṇ* on the other hand being in modern conversation as little distinguished from *n* as *ḷ* from *l* (*Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 4; Carter, *Singhalese Lesson Book*, Colombo, 1873, p. 8 f.). The Maldivian has distinct characters for *ṇ* and *ḷ*, and also distinguishes *l* and *ḷ* in conversation with great clearness; modern Sinhalese authors regulate the use of them in writing almost entirely by etymology. Moreover, *l* is in many cases to be traced back to older cerebrals or dental explosives: *kili* = *kuṭi*, *pili* = *paṭi*; for other examples, see above, p. 58*a*.

The nasals require a succinct investigation. And here in the first place we must mention as a special peculiarity a weak nasal sound before the explosives of all four classes, which, following the example of Childers, we represent by *ñ* before gutturals, cerebrals, and dentals, and by *m̆* before labials, and for further information respecting which Rask, *Singhalesisk Skriftlære* § 19; *Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 6; Alwis, *SS.* p. liv, lxi. f. 145-149 *passim*; Alwis, *Descriptive Catalogue of Literary Works of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1870, p. 235 f., may be consulted. Unfortunately all these authorities give little information as to the exact articulation, but we may infer from the plurals *aṁ, liṁ*, derived from *añga, liñga*, by Childers (*Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 45), that it is closely related to the anusvâra, *i. e.*, to the nasal vowel. In fact, this weak nasal sound takes the place of the original consonantal nasal before explosive sounds, exactly in the same manner as the anusvâra of the modern Aryan languages of the Continent (Kellogg, *Gramm. of the Hindi Language*, § 14; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.* vol. I, p. 296 f.). This explains the want, on which Alwis lays such particular stress, of a guttural nasal, which indeed is always conditional on a following guttural. The independent nasal palatal of the Prakrit becomes dental *n*: *panaha* = *paññása* (Skr. *pañchásat*), *næ* = *ñáti*; of those due to a following palatal the typical examples are *kasun* = *kañchana*, *añdun* (Elu) = *añjana*. Further weakenings of the nasal element leads to entire loss: *mas* = *maṁsa*, *vas* = *vaṁsa*, *mæḍiyá* = *maṇḍúka*, *sapayanavá* from *sampádayati* (Childers, *Journ. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 145), *sætapenavá*, to rest, sleep (in respectful language)—according to Goldschmidt from *sam* + *tapp* = Skr. *tarp*; particularly in Elu: *ak* = *aṅka* (*N.* v. 39), *laka* = *laṅká*, *lakara* (*N.* v. 168) = *alaṅkára*, *yatura* = Skr. *yantra*, and many more: we find also in the older inscriptions *saga* used throughout for *saṅgha* (Rhys Davids, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 140). The reverse of this in the nasalization of *añdunanavá* from pres. *ájánáti* (Childers, *Journ. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 145) is remarkable, while by an opposite process the nasal has been strengthened by an explosive in *vañdurá* = *vánara*, *kiñdurá* = *kinnara*, &c. It is also to be noticed that through phonetic strengthening a combination *nd* was developed at a later period from *ñd*; for example, from the old singular *hæñdi* (with short first syllable ?—see Alwis, *SS.* p. cxx), which is now used as plural, a new singular form *hænda* (with first syllable long from position) has sprung, and both stand in the same relation as *dunu* pl. to *dunna* sg. (see *Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 9; Childers, *Journ. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII., p. 46 f.).

The old *h* seems to have originally completely dropped off: *ata* = *hattha* and *œtá* = **hatthika*, *aran* past pret. (strictly pres.) act. from √*hṛi* (Childers, *Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 150); with a hiatus-destroying semivowel; *geya* = *geha*, *dovinavá* from √ *duh*, pres. *dohati*. In the oldest inscriptions two characters are found for the sibilant (Rhys Davids, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, p. 140; Goldschmidt, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c., 1876, p. 4); as however these interchange arbitrarily they soon became as at present a single letter in place of the Skr. *ś*, *sh*, *s*. Besides *s* interchanges often with *h* (Alwis, *SS.* § 22), and may like the latter be completely lost: *aṅga* with the Elu forms *saṅgu*, *haṅgu*, = **saṅga*, Skr. *śriṅga*; *isnavá* √*sich*; *hisa*, *isa*, *iha*, = *sísa*, Skr. *śírsha*; but *minihá* = *manussa*, pl. *minissu*, and similarly *gasa*, *gaha*, tree, = *gachchha*, pl. *gas* (cf. *Singhalese Grammar*, Cotta, 1825, p. 5, 8 f.).

There remain some more phonetic peculiarities, which could not be directly included in the review of the phonetic system.

Double consonants appear to be originally as foreign to the language as long vowels. The double consonance of the Prâkṛit, including the combinations of tenuis and media with their aspirates, is usually replaced by the simple consonants. Actual gemination is to be explained in most instances either by letter borrowing or as in the case of the plural forms already cited by special grammatical processes. Original simple explosives between vowels are on the other hand in the generality of cases dropped,[18] and are replaced by the hiatus-destroying *y*, *v*, whereby a contiguous *a* is exposed to the transition into *i* and *u*; a further step in the vowel change is not infrequently the contraction referred to above: *muva* = *mukha*, *lova* = *loka*, *liyanavá*, √ *likh*, *kevili*, *kevillá*, and **kovulu*, *kovullá*, = *kokili*, *nayá* = *nága*, *avuvá* = *átapa*, *nuvara* = *nagara*, with the derived *niyari*, towns, *siyalu* = *sakala* *siyuru* (Elu) = *chakora*, *giya* = *gata*, *riya* = *ratha*, *kiyanavá* to *kathayati*, *miyuru* = *madhura*, with *mihi* = *madhu* (cf. above p. 58*b*) and thence *mí* in *mí-mæssá* (bee, lit. honey-fly), *mí-pæni* (honey, lit. honey-water). So also the *-ya*, *-va*, characterizing the later tatsamas—*samudra-ya*, *vastru-va*—originally arose from *-ka*, cf. *taruva* = *táraká*, &c.; in the same manner also are to be explained many old tadbhavas like *oṭuvá* = *oṭṭha-ka*, *hává* for **hahavá* = *sasa-ka*, *væya*, axe, = **vási-ká* for *vási*. As opposed to the dropping of *h* referred to above, it is noteworthy that in cases like *ahasa* = *ákása*, *bœhœná*, *bœná*, = *bhágineyya*, *h* also appears as a hiatus-destroyer.

In analogous manner the substitution of *v* for radical *p* is to be explained, in case the transition of *p* into *b* and of *b* into *v* is not preferred; cf. *tabanavá* to **thapayati*, Pali *thapeti*; *kasubuvá* = *kachchhapa-ka*; *bonavá*, part. pret. act. *bí*, to √ *pá*; *venavá*; old part. pres. act. *vú*, to √*bhú*; possibly also *vadanavá*, if this is connected with *pajá*, *pajáyate*, and *væṭenavá*, if with Goldschmidt in opposition to Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 148) we venture to trace it to √ *pat* (on *ṭ* for *t*, cf. Hindi *paḍná* &c. Beames, *Comp. Gramm.* vol. I, p. 225). The opposite to this transition of the tenuis into the media is seen in **kurulu*, *kurullá*, which has been rightly identified by Goldschmidt with *garuḍa* (other examples of *k* for *g* in E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1878, p. 6).

Finally the not infrequent metathesis is to be noted: *mahaná* = *samaṇa*, *muhuda* for **hamuda* = *samudda* (cf. Alwis, *SS.* § 14).

Into the disturbing operations which are the cause of a number of coincident phonetic laws we cannot enter further in this short sketch.

There follow now a number of Sinhalese substantives, arranged in natural order, whose Aryan etymology does not readily yield to the developed principles of well-matured inquiry. In considering these we shall make use of the list of words of the modern tongue in S. Lambrick's *Vocabulary of the Singhalese Language*, Fourth Edition, Cotta, 1840 (L.), as compared with B. Clough's *Dictionary of the English and Singhalese, and Singhalese and English Languages*, Two Volumes, Colombo, 1821–1830 (C.). For the Elu, besides the *Námávaliya* (*N.*, see above p. 58*b*), W. C. Macready's Glossary to his edition of the *Sælalihiṇi Sandeśaya* (MR.) has been utilized. The Maldivian words I give as far as possible in their original spelling according to Pyrard (P.) and Christopher (Ch.)[19]

Living existence in general: *satá* = *sattá*, Skr. *sattva*.

Man: *minihá* = *manussa*, pl. *minissu*; Mald. with greater contraction *mihung* (Ch.), in P. *miou*, "personne." The words for man, manly: *pirimiyá*, Mald. *pyrienne* (P.), *firihenung* (Ch.), are closely related to *purisa*, as proved by the Mald. *piris* (P.), *firimiha* (Ch.), husband, and Elu *pirisa*, "a train, retinue." For women the modern language has not infrequently according to Rhys Davids (*Transactions of the Philol. Soc.* 1875-6, Part I,

[18] That this dropping must have belonged to the Prâkṛit dialect which lies at its basis does not on account of the early period of its introduction into Ceylon, seem to me quite probable. The occurrence of a word like *bati* in the oldest inscription, supposing that it really means brother (vide E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1878, p. 3), would also decide against it.

[19] I have replaced the italics with which Ch. represents the cerebrals by the transliteration now commonly adopted. It is far from my present purpose to go further into the phonetic relations of the Maldivian: I only remark of it that Ch. has replaced the old *p* throughout by *f*.

p. 74) the little altered tatsama *istrî* (in Elu modelled into *itiri*, *N.* v. 151), by the side of the more usual *gœni*, which must be derived from **gahiṇî*=Skr. *gṛhiṇî* (on the forms of the Pali and Prakrit cf. E. Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Pâli-Gramm.* p. 16); Mald. *anghaine* (P.), *anghenung* (Ch.), is clearly identical with *aṅganâ* (cf. *aṅgana* *N.* v. 151).

Among terms of relationship we meet with some which like *appâ* for father and *ammâ* for mother recal the Dravidian, but possibly are only borrowed from languages of this family; besides these there are good Aryan words in living use. A relation in general is *nœ* = *ñâti*, besides the further developed *nœyâ*, with which is to be connected perhaps also *nœnâ*, female cousin, cousin german. For father and mother the Aryan terms are *piyâ* = *pitâ*, and *mavu*, *mav*, Elu *mava*, = *mâtâ*. For son and daughter we have *putâ* = *putta* and *duva*, *dû*, = *duhitâ* (cf. Mald. *mapoutte*, "mon fils," and *mandié*, "ma fille," in P., *futu*, "boy," in Ch.). A more general word for child is *daruvâ* = *dâraka* (Mald. *dary* P., *daring* Ch.) For brother and sister the modern speech simply (without difference of age) knows of the tatsamas *sahôdara-yâ* and *sahôdarî*; the *bœ*, brother, quoted by Rhys Davids (*Journ. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 366), goes back to the *bati* of the inscriptions, and is identical with the Mald. *bê* (*bee* P., *bêbe* Ch.) for elder brother. *Bœhœnâ*, *bœnâ*, nephew (said to be originally also elder brother: cf. Rhys Davids *loc. cit.*), is from *bhâgineyya*. To *munuburâ*, grandson, with the fem. *minibirî*, we find neither in Skr. nor in Pali or Prakrit anything exactly corresponding, but it is identified by P. Goldschmidt (*Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1876, p. 4) with the *manumaraka* of the inscriptions, and, by a comparison with the well-known example of *nandana*, son, is derived by him from *manorama*, which is certainly not absolutely impossible. For father-in-law and mother-in-law the Mald. has according to Pyrard *hours* and *housse*, which are of course identical with Pali *sasura* and *sassû*. The modern Sinhalese employs *mâmâ* and *nœndâ* (older *nœñdi*), also *nœdi*, which signify strictly avunculus and amita; *nœndâ* is, like Skr. *nanândṛ*=Pali *nanandâ*, to be traced to √ *nand*. The Elu has besides *nœñdi* the word *suhul*, related to *sassura*, *sassû*, and for father-in-law, with the like transference of meaning, *mayil* beside the tatsama *mâtula* (*N.* v. 154); cf. *nœdimayilô* as the explanation of the plural *sasurâ* in Subhûti, *Abhidhânappadîpikâ* v. 250. For son-in-law Pyrard gives *damy*, which is manifestly to be identified with *jâmâtâ*.

Castes, classes, &c.—We have already spoken of the terms for king, *raja*, *rada*, = *râjâ*. Besides we have *radala* ("gentleman," L., "husband," "headman," "chief," C.), and its contraction *râla* ("yeoman," L., "husband," "master," "lord," "a term affixed to names or titles, implying respect," C.), which appear to be connected. *Biso*, *bisava*, queen, is according to Clough to be derived from *abhiseka*. The oft-recurring *œpâ* of the inscriptions as a designation of a high officer of state is from *adhipa* (*vide* Rhys Davids, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 248; *Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 365). *Kaṁburâ*, smith ("iron-smith"), = Pali *kammâra*, and is used to explain this word by Subhûti in *Abhidh.* v. 509. *Kuṁbalâ*, potter, = *kumbhakâra*, and similarly *sommaru* tanner, doubtless assimilated from the Elu *samvaru* with *samkaru* = *chammakâra*, cf. Hindi *chamâr*; in *lôkuruvâ*, smith (brazier, L., *N.*), = *lohakâraka*, which as a compound is much more intelligible, *k* has been preserved. *Radavâ*, washerman, = *rajaka*. *Vaḍuvâ*, carpenter, = *vaḍḍhaki*. *Vedâ*. doctor, = *vejja*, Skr. *vaidya*. *Vœddâ* (older *vœdi*) = *vyâdha* (Childers, *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VIII, p. 131). *Horâ*, thief = *cora*. *Æduru*, teacher, = *âcariya*, *mahanâ* = *samaṇa*, *bamunu* to Skr. and Pali *brâhmaṇa*, have already been mentioned above.

On *mit*, *miturâ*, *mitra-yâ*, friend, see *ante* p. 57*a*. The word is the same in Mald., as is seen from *demitourou*, "compagnons" P. (*i. e.*, *de mitourou*, two friends), and *rahumaiteri*, "friend," (Ch.); another popular word is *yahalu-vâ*, *yâlu-vâ*, in Elu (*N.* v. 189) without diminutive ending *yahala*, *yahalu*, which may be a somewhat irregular form of a theme identical with Pâli *sakhâra*.[30] For enemy the little altered tatsama *saturâ* = Skr. *çatru* is in use.

The words of Aryan origin for animals are tolerably numerous. Among cattle we have first *gonâ*, bull, ox, = *goṇa*, and with the same meaning *geriyâ* (cf. Mald. *guery* P., *geri* Ch. ox), a diminutive of Hindi *gorû* and its allies, which like *goṇa* itself are, as Pischel says (Bezzenberger's *Beiträgenz. Kunde der indogerm. Sprachen*, III, p. 237), to be derived from a root *gur*. *Vassâ*, calf, older *vasu*, is of course = *vachchha*, Skr. *vatsa*. On *dena* = *dhenu*, which figures directly as a feminine suffix, Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 144) may be consulted. The monosyllable *mî* in the compounds *mî-haraka* (Mald. *mígunu*, Ch.), buffalo, and *mî-dena*, buffalo cow, is, as Childers has already rightly stated, to be identified with *mahisa*; the Elu has besides a fuller *mivu*, which however may also possibly be identical with the diminutive amplified modern *mî-vâ*. *Eluvâ*, sheep, goat, = *eḷaka*. *Ûrâ*, pig (Mald. *oure* P. *úru* Ch.), for **hûrâ*, = *sûkara*. *Oṭuvâ*, camel (cf. Mald. *ol*,

[30] The forms *sakhi* and *sakhâ* answer to the Elu words *saki* and *saha* given in *loc. cit.*

P. *óg*, Ch. with the peculiar final *g* sound), = *oṭṭha-ka*. For horse the Skr. tatsama *asvayá*, *aspayá*, is now-a-days used; the popular form is in Elu *as* (Mald. *asse*, P. *as*, Ch.) and is retained in the compound *asvælem̃bá*, mare, the second part of which Childers rightly traces to *vaḍavá*. *Balala*, cat (Mald. *boulau*, P. *buḷau*, Ch.), = *biḷála*. *Míyá* rat, = *músika*. *Ætá*, elephant, =**hatthika* (cf. above p. 58*a*), fem. *ætinní* from older *ætini*; we also find *aliyá* with noteworthy *a* (Mald. however *el* P., *eg*. Ch., beside *mátang* = *mátaṅga*), which is possibly also derived from **hatthika*. Of the terms for ravening beast the Skr. tatsamas *sim̃ha-yá* (also Mald. *siṅga* P.) and *vyághra-yá* have entirely superseded the popular appellations; for the latter a form more consonant with the original phonetic rules is the Elu *vaga*, which is clearly established by the Mald. *vagou* (P.), "leopart"; another word for panther, leopard, is *diviyá*, Elu *divi*, = *dípí*, Skr. *dvípin*. *Valaha*, *valasa*, bear, has been aptly explained by Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 144) as a compound of *vana* + *accha* = Skr. *ṛiksha*, thus literally forest bear. The jackal is called *int. al. hivalá* = *sigála* (Mald. *hiyaḷu* Ch.); with this is perhaps connected *kænahil* (*N.* v. 141) or *kænahilá* (Subhûti, *Abhidh.* v. 615). The two varieties of apes indigenous to Ceylon are distinguished by the obscure *rilavá* and by *vam̃durá* = *vánara*. For the deer and antelope family we have *muvá* = *miga* and *góná*, a very contracted form of *gokaṇṇa*. Hare: *hává* = *sasa-ka*.

Birds in general, *kurullá*, older **kurulu*, = *garuḍa* (see above p. 58*b*); the mythical bird king is called in Elu *gurulu* (*N.* v. 14). Cock: *kukulá* = *kukkuṭa*, fem. *kikilí*; in Mald. we find *coucoulou* (P.), *kukuḷu* (Ch.), curiously enough for the fem., while for the masc. a puzzling *aule* (P.), *hau* (Ch.), is used. *Monará*, peacock, may be connected in some way with *mora* = Skr. *mayúra*; for the Mald. Ch. gives *nímeri*. Dove: *paraviyá* = Skr. *párávata*, Pali *párápata*. From *kokila* come *kovullá*, older **kovulu*, and *kevillá*, older *kevili* (cf. Mald. *koweli*), fem. *kevillí*. The word for parrot, *giravá*, Mald. *gouray* (P.), may be an irregular form of *kíra-ka*. From *kapuṭá*, *kapuṭuvá*, crow, also *kavuḍá*, *kavuḍuvá*, with which perhaps Mald. *caule* (P.), *kaḷu* (Ch.), is to be connected, we might perhaps, taking *balipushṭa*, *balibhuj*, as a parallel case, draw the inference of the existence of a somewhat irregular *ka-pushṭa(ka)*. Hawk: *ukussá*, older **ukusu*, still further contracted to *ussá*, = *ukkusa*, Skr. *utkrośa*. That the old *ham̃sa* was transferred to the Sinhalese as **asa* is clearly enough proved by the Elu *hasa*, Mald. *rádaas*, goose (Ch.), = Elu *radahasa* (*N.* v. 144), and Mald. *asduni*, duck, Ch. (compounded with *donny* P., *dúni* Ch., bird). For *koká*, crane, the phonetic equivalent is Skr. *koka*, which indeed means a bird of the duck or goose family.

From D. H. Pereira's treatise on the snakes of Ceylon in the *Ceylon Friend* (see ser. II, p. 81 ff), it seems that *nayá* and *polam̃gá* are the common terms for cobra and viper respectively. The former is clearly = *nága*. In the latter I conjecture the Skr. *paṭaṅga*, Pali *pataṅga* or *paṭaṅga*, with special modification of meaning (with respect to the phonetic relations cf. *supra* p. 58*a*, and the word to be noticed soon, *polam̃gæṭiyá*): the word in itself means only an animal darting hither and thither with great swiftness.[21] The female cobra is now called, according to Pereira (*loc. cit.* p. 85, 86) *hæpinna*, in Elu *sæpini*, = *sappiní*; the tatsama *sarpa-yá* is also found as *harufa* (Ch.) in Mald. For other reptiles I only mention *kim̃bulá*, alligator, = *kumbhíla* (with evident metathesis of the vowels), *goyá*, iguana, = *godhá*, *mæḍiyá*, frog, = *maṇḍúka*, and *kæsbá*, *kasubuvá*, tortoise, = *kachchhapa(ka)* (Mald. *kahabu* Ch.).

Fish was originally *mas* = *machchha*, as the Elu *mas* (*N.* v. 83), Mald. *masse* (P.), *mas* (Ch.), show; to avoid confusion with *mas*, flesh, the modern language makes use of the Sanskrit tatsama *matsya-yá*; there is also a more elaborated word *málu* from **mahalu* = **machchhala* (cf. Hindi *machhlí*).

Of other animals we may also mention *kakuluvá*, crab, = *kakkaṭaka*. For spider we have *makuluvá* = *makkaṭaka* and *makuna* = **makkuna* or Pâli *maṅkuna*, Skr. *matkuna* (Mald. *makunu* Ch.). *Ukuná* and *ikiní*, louse, to Pali *úka*, Skr. *yúka*; cf. Childers *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VIII, p. 143. *Polam̃gæṭiyá*, grasshopper, is undoubtedly connected with Pali *paṭaṅga*, Skr. *pataṅga*; the last part is however not clear to me. *Bam̃bará*, wasp, = *bhamara*. *Massá*, fly, older **mæsi*, **mæhi* (Mald. *mehi* Ch.), with its compound *mi-mæssá*, honey-fly, *i. e.* bee, may be connected either with **machchhiká* for Pali *makkhiká*, Skr. *makshiká*, or with Skr. *maśaka*, Pali *makasa*.

The names of parts of the body yield an important contingent of Aryan words. Head is *iha*, *isa*, Elu *hisa* (*N.* v. 199, MR.), = *śísa*; I do not know how to treat *oluva*, which is also in use, any more than I do Mald. *bolle* (P.), *bó* (Ch.). Skull: *kabala* = *kapála*. For the hair of the head L. gives *iskê*, in which *kê* for **keha* = *kesa*. From *mukha* (= Elu *muva*) comes *mú-na*, face, Elu *muhu-nu* (Mald. *múnu*). *Nalala*, forehead, = *naláṭa* Skr. *laláṭa* (Mald. *ní* Ch.?): cf. Pischel's Hemachandra I47. For eye *æsa* = *achchhi-ka* (cf. *supra*

[21] According to Subhûti in *Abhidh.* v. 651 it meant the same as *tilichchha* in Pali; therefore the latter may be traced to the Skr. *tiraścha* and the Skr. form *tilitsa* may rest upon a mistaken Sanskritization.

p. 58*b*) is the popular word, Mald. in *esfiya* (Ch.), eyelid, = Sinh. *æspihâṭṭa*; Mald. *lols* (P.), *ló* (Ch.), is to be connected with √*loch*, *lochana*. Brow: *bæma* = *bhamuka* (Mald. *bouman* P., *buma* Ch.). Ear. *kana* = *kaṇṇa* (Mald. *campat* P., *kangfaĭ* Ch., strictly ear-hole, ear-cavity). That the Elu for nose *næhæ* = *násiká* is the genuine Sinhalese word may be inferred from the allied Mald. *neput* (P.), *néfaĭ* (Ch.) (cf. Sinh. *násputaya*, *násputuvá*, nostril?); new Sinh. *náhe*, *náse*, is nothing but the tatsama *násа-ya*. Tooth: *data* = *danta* (Mald. *dat* P., *daĭ* Ch.). Tongue: *diva* = *jivhá* (Mald. *douls* P., *dú* Ch.?). An interesting word is *ugura* for throat, which in contrast with the Skr.-Pali *gala* presupposes a form with *r*: Prakr. **uggura* or **uggara* from *ava* + √*gar* (in Mald. *karu* Ch. the old prefix may possibly have fallen off at a later period). Arm and hand: *ata* = *hattha* (Mald. *at* P., *aĭtila* Ch.). Fist: *miṭa* = *mutthika* (cf. *supra* p. 58*a*). Finger: *æñgilla*, older *æñgili* (*N.* v. 163), = *añguli* (Mald. *inguily* P., *agili* Ch.). Nail: *niya* = *nakha*, new Sinh. usually *niyapotta* = Mald. *niapaty* P., *niafati* Ch. (is the second part of the compound *potta*, husk, scale?). Back: *piṭa* = *piṭṭha*. The Elu *kañda*, shoulder (*N.* v. 162), = *khandha*, Skr. *skandha*, receives a welcome confirmation in the Mald. *condou* (P.), *koḍu* (Ch.). Foot, leg: *paya* = *páda*, in Elu also contracted to *pá* (*N.* v. 158) (Mald. *paĭ* P., *fá*, "leg," *fiyolu*, "foot," Ch.). Knee: *dana* = *jánu*; the Mald. uses *cacoulou* (P.), *kaku* (Ch.), for this, whilst in Sinh. *kakula* is synonymous with *paya*.

Of parts of the body peculiar to beasts I only mention *añga*, Elu *sañgu*, *hañgu*, = **sañga*, Skr. *śriñga* (Ch. has for this *tung*, which may be derived from the well-known adjective *tuñga*, high), and *naguṭa*, or with true Sinh. hardening *nakuṭa*, as one of the common words for tail = Pali *nañguṭṭha* as compared with Skr. *lañgúla*. Skin, leather: *hama*, *sama*, = *camma* (Mald. *ans* P., *hang* Ch.). Flesh: *mas* = *maṁsa* (Mald. the same Ch.). Bone: *æṭaya* to *aṭṭhi*, Skr. *asthi*; *æṭa-mola*, marrow. Muscle, sinew: *naharaya* to Pali *naháru*, Skr. *snáyu* (Mald. *nare* P., *náru* Ch.). Brain: *mola*, no doubt going back to an old **mattha*, **masta* (cf. *supra* p. 58*a*). Heart, *hada* to *hadaya*, Skr. *hṛd*, *hṛdaya*, in Elu also *hida* (*N.* v. 161) (Mald. *il* P., *hing* Ch.?). Blood: *lé* = *lohita* (Mald. *lets* P., *le* Ch.). Tears: *kañdulu* to √*kand*, Skr. *krand* in the sense of weep. Milk: *kiri* = *khíra*, Skr. *kshíra* (Mald. *kiru* Ch.).

In the two terms *gaha*, *gasa*, = *gachchha* (Mald. *gats* P., *gas* Ch.), and *væla* = *valliká* (cf. *supra* p. 58*b*), the whole vegetable kingdom is according to L. included. Root: *mula* = *múla* (Mald. *mou* P.). Stem: *kañda*=*khandha*, Skr. *skandha* (Mald. *tandi* Ch.?). *Atta*, branch, with its double *t* may be differentiated from *ata*, hand. For small twigs *ipala* is *int. al.* used, which may have been derived from *uppala* = Skr. *utpala* and then have acquired a more general meaning of this word. Leaf: *pata* = *patta*, Skr. *pattra* (Mald. *faĭ* Ch.); the popular use of *pan* or *paṁ* = *paṇṇa* is shown by *pansala* or *paṁsala*, leaf hut, ascetic's abode, and Mald. *pan* (P.). Flower: *mala* = *málá* (Mald. *maoë* P., *mau* Ch.). *ṁada*, kernel, inside of a fruit, may be derived from *majjha* (cf. Skr. *madhyamá* for the seed capsule of the lotus flower). I shall not at present enter further into the names of particular plants, though there is here no lack of Aryan terms like *ví*, rice, = *víhi*; *miris*, pepper, = *marica* (Mald. *mirus* Ch.); *lúnu*, onion, garlic, from *luhunu* (cf. Subhûti in *Abhidh.* v. 595), = *lasuna* (Mald. in *lonumedu* Ch., garlic).

World: *lova* = *loka*, in Elu often contracted to *ló* (cf. the Index to *N.* and MR. p. 75). Heaven: *ahasa* = *ákása*. Sun: *ira*, *iru*, in Elu also *hiru* (MR. p. 100), *hiri* (*N.* v. 280), = *suriya* (Mald. *yrous* P., *iru* Ch.); sunshine *avuva* = *átapa*. Moon: *hañda*, *sañda*, = *canda* (Mald. *haḍu* Ch.; as regards the phonetic relation cf. Mald. *condou*, *koḍu*, = Sinh. *kanda*, see *supra* p. 63*a*). Star: *taruva*=*táraká* (Mald. *tary* P., *tari* Ch). Ray: *ræsa*, generally pl. *ræs*, to Skr. *raśmi*, Pali *raṁsi*, *rasmi*. *Eliya*, light, brightness, is, according to Childers (*Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VIII, p. 145), together with the tatsama *álóka-ya* having the same meaning, to be connected with Skr.-Pali *áloka* (Mald. *aly*, P. *ali* Ch.). Darkness, obscurity: *añdura* (Mald. *endiry* P., *andiri* Ch.) doubtless = *andhakára*; cf. also Prakr. *aṁdhala*, Marâṭhî *aṁdhalá*, Pischel in Hemacandra II, 173, and the Hindi forms *andhalá*, *andhárá*, &c., in Bate's *Dictionary of the Hindi Language*, p. 22.

Rain: *vassa*, older *væsi* (*N.* v. 34), from *vassa*, Skr. *varsha*; Mald. *varé* (P.), *wáre* (Ch.), belong probably rather to *vári*, water. The old word for lightning must be retained in the Elu *vidu* (*N.* v. 34), Mald. *vidi* P. (*widani* Ch.). For the only word at present in use, as it appears, viz., *viduliya*, is according to Clough's explanation *s. v.* = Skr. *vidyullatá* or more correctly = Pali *vijjullatá*, consequently probably a word belonging originally to the poetic dialect, and which at any rate has no closer connection with Prakr. *vijjulí* and its new Indian cognates like *bijlí*, &c. (cf. Pischel in Hemacandra I, 15, Bate, *loc. cit.* p. 521). *Giguruma*, also *giguru*, *gigiru*, *gigiri*, thunder (Mald. *gougourou* P., *guguri* Ch.), belongs to the √*gur*, mentioned by Pischel in the *Beitr. z. Kunde d. indo-germ. Spr.* III, p. 237; cf. the Sinh. verb. *guguranavá* and *goravanavá*, to thunder. Rainbow: *dedunna* = *devadhanu* (but Mald. *wáredúni* in Ch.).

Fire: *ginna*, older *gini* (*N.* v. 22), = *giṇi*; also connected *gindara*, originally perhaps fire-pos-

sessor or the like, so that the second part would be derived from √*dhar* (cf. also *gedara* with *gê*, house).

The current words for water are *diya* = *daka* for *udaka* (Mald. *diya*, "juice or sap," Ch.), *pæni* = *pâníya* (Mald. *penne* P., *feng* Ch.), and *vatura*, whose Aryan origin appears to me by no means impossible, in spite of an etymology being still wanting. Bubble: *bubula* = *bubbuḷa*. Foam: *pena* = *phena*. Sea: *múda*, *muhuda*, for **hamuda* = *samudda* (Mald. entirely different *candoue* P., *kaḍu* Ch.). Here the following marine products naturally arrange themselves:—*hak*, *sak*, *chhank*, = *saṅkha*; *mutu*, pearl, = *muttá*; *pabalu*, *pavalu*, coral, = Pali *pavâḷa*, Skr. *prabâla*. Lake and pond *væva*, in inscriptions *vaviya* = *vâpiká* (Mald. *weu* Ch.), and *pokuna*, in inscriptions *pukaṇa*, to *pokkharini*, Skr. *pushkariṇí* (E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c., 1879, pp. 5-6). That *gaṅga* is the common appellation for river is in the highest degree characteristic, and Kiepert has rightly given prominence to it, *loc. cit. supra*, 55*a*. For smaller rivers and streams I find *oya*, which in spite of Elu *hoya* (MR.), *hó* (*N.* v. 88 pond, 90 river), I would identify with *ogha*.

Earth, ground, land: *bima* = *bhumiká* (Mald. *bin* P., *bing* Ch., = Elu *bim*, *N.* v. 35), and *polava* related to *paṭhaví*, *pathaví*. Island was originally *diva*, as the name *Maldiva*, &c., and Elu *divu* (*N.* v. 282) show clearly enough; the modern language appears to prefer the longer *divayina*, and I find also noted *duva*, *dúva*. For mountain, hill, the authorities give besides *kaṅda* more especially *hela*, *sel*, = *sela*, Skr. *śaila*; Skr. *parvata* (modern tatsama *parvata-ya*) appears (*N.* v. 107) as *paruvata* (Mald. *farubada* Ch.), Pali *pabbata* (in the same place) as *pavu*. Sand: *væla* = *váluká*, *váliká* (Mald. *vely* P., *weli* Ch.). Salt: *lunu* = *loṇa*, Skr. *lavaṇa* (Mald. *lone* P., *lonu* Ch.). For gem L. gives *mænika*, which is met with in this sense as *mænik* in inscriptions as early as the end of the twelfth century (*Journ. of the R. As. Soc.* N. S. VII, p. 161, 165) and must be looked upon as a remodelling of Skr. *máṇikya*; the Elu word *ruvan*, gold, gem (*N.* v. 219, 221), in inscriptions gem, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. VII, p. 166), = *ratana*, was however apparently at one time not unknown to the popular speech. The general name for ore, metal, is *ló* = *loha*: *vide* Clough *s. v.* and cf. Mald. *loë*, "cuivre," P., *ratulo*, copper, Ch. (*i. e.* red ore, *ratu* = *ratta*), *ramvanloë*, "airain," P., = *rangwanló*, "brass," Ch. (*i. e.* gold-colored ore, *van* = *vaṇṇa*). Gold was originally *ran*, thus in inscriptions in *loc. cit. supra* and Elu *raṁ*, *ran*, *rana* (*N.* v. 219), (Mald. *rhan*, P. *rang* Ch.), a greatly contracted form of *hiraññа* = Skr. *hiraṇya*; at the present time, it seems, *ratran*, *i. e.* red gold, is mostly spoken of. Silver: *ridi*, in Elu also *ridiya* = *rajata* (*N.* v. 219), (Mald. *rihy*, P. *rihi* Ch.). The Pâli words *káḷatipu* and *sísa* are explained by Subhûti in *Abhidh.* v. 493 by English "tin and lead" and Sinh. *kalutumba*; for *tumba* Clough gives the meaning "lead." Now as *tipu* is clearly Skr. *trapu*,[22] and Sinh. *kalu* like Pali *káḷa* means black, it necessarily follows that *tumba* = *tipu* is the name for lead and tin alike, and the kind characterized by the epithet "black" can only be lead. This assumption is entirely borne out by the Mald., for according to P. *callothimara* is lead, *oudutimara* tin (Sinh. *hudu*, *sudu*, = *saddha*, white). The resemblance of *timara* to *tumba* is strange. Perhaps a confusion with Skr. *támra*, Pali and Sinh. *tamba*, copper, has taken place. Or should the reading *trapra* in *Amarak.* II. 9, 106, gain credence from this? The word also given for lead, *íyaṁ* or *íyam*, might very plausibly be connected with *sísaka*, but in that case I should at present not know how to explain the *m*. Non-Aryan certainly is the word for iron *yakaḍa* = Mald. *dagande* (P.), *dagaḍu* (Ch.). The name for quicksilver is Aryan however: Mald. *ráha* (P., Ch.) = *rasa*, Sinh. mostly united with *diya* water: *rahadiya*, *rasadiya*.

Human settlements, &c., village: *gama* = *gáma*; town: *nuvara* = *nagara*; both of frequent occurrence in names of places. For road, street, we have: *maga* = *magga* (Mald. *magu*) and *mávata mahavata*, = *mahápatha* (Childers, *Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 43). *Vítiya* (also in Elu, *N.* v. 106) and *vídiya* are only remodelling, of the tatsama *víthiya*. House: *gé*, *geya*, = *geha* (Mald. *gué* P., *gé* Ch.), and in the compound already mentioned above *gedara*. Gate, door: *dora* = *dvára* (Mald. *dore* P., *doru* Ch.); bolt: *agula* = *aggala*. Post, pillar: *kanuva* = *khánuka* (Mald. *kani* Ch.) Field: *ketæ* = *khetta*.

Of implements, useful articles, &c., with Aryan appellations I mention only the following:—Ship: *næva* = **náviká* for *nává* (Mald. *nau* Ch.). Raft, boat: *oruva* = Skr. *uḍupa*, Pali *uḷumpa* (Mald. *ody*, P. *oḍi* Ch.) (Childers, *Journ. R. A. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 45). Mast: *kumbaya* = *kumbhaka* cf. *kúpaka* (Mald. *kubu* Ch.). Net: *dæla* = **jalika* for *jála* (cf. Mald. *dae* Ch.?). For the cart and its parts *riya*, cart, = *ratha*, *haka*, *saka*, wheel, = *cakka*; *næba*, nave, = *nábhiká* for *nábhi*; *nim*, felloe, = *nemi*, are the forms of the respective words which conform to phonetic laws; although at present I am only able to give them on the authority of the Elu of the Sinhalese-English volume of

[22] *Káḷatipu*, which has been overlooked by Childers, also confirms the correctness of the reading, doubted by him, *tipu* in *Abhidh.* v. 1046.

Clough, and of Subhûti's notes to *Abhid.* v. 373 f., yet I consider it in every way probable that they belonged at one time to the popular speech. Instead of the first two now-a-days the tatsamas *rathaya* (besides *gæla*) and *chakraya* are current. Plough; *nagula*=*naṅgala*, Skr. *lâṅgala*. Axe: *væya* = **vâsikâ* for *vâsî*. Hammer: *miṭiya* = **muṭṭhika* for *muṭṭhi* (cf. Mald. *muri* Ch.). as the Elu form C. gives also *mugura* = *muggara*. Bow: *dunna*, older *dunu*, = *dhanu*; with *diya*, bowstring, = *jiya*, and the compound *dunudiya* which appears to be no longer used in the modern everyday language, cf. Mald. *dâ*, "string" (Ch.). *Îya*, arrow, I would, in spite of the secondary form given by C. *hîya*, derive from **ihiya* = **isuka* for Skr. *ishu*, Pali *usu*. Of articles of clothing I may mention only *pili*, *pilî*, = *paṭî* (cf. Mald. *pellê*, "de la toile," P., *feli*, "cotton cloth," = *fêli* "waist-cloths of native manufacture," Ch.), and *kapu*, cotton, probably for **kapahu* = *kappâsa* (cf. Mald. *capa* P., *kafa* Ch.). Boiled rice: *bat* = *bhatta* (Mald. *baé* Ch., cf. also perhaps Mald, *bate* "meal," Ch. ?) Flour: *piṭi* = *piṭṭha* (cf. Mald *fû*, "flour," Ch. ?). Book: *pota* to *potthaka* = Skr. *pustaka* (Mald. *foï* Ch.).

Time. The word for year, *avurudda*, older *avurudu*, Goldschmidt would derive from Skr. *saṁvatsara*; if this is correct we must go back to an older **havaradu* = **sa(ṁ)varachchha* for *saṁvachchhara* (cf. the examples given above, p. 59*a* of *d* from *ch*); the Mald. *aharu* (Ch.) is possibly a still further contraction. For month the old form is *maha*, *masa*, = *mâsa*, which is also used in compounds like *ilmasa*, the cold month (*vide supra* p. 57*b*) (Mald. *masse* P., *hadumas*, "lunar month, Ch.); in the modern speech the tatsama *mâsa-ya* prevails. Day: *davaha*, *davasa*, = *divasa* (Mald. *duas* Ch., cf. in P. *eyouduas*, "le temps passé," and *paon duas* "le temps auenir"), and derived from this *davâla*, *davala*, daytime (L.), from **davahala*; cf. *davahal* (Ch.), Elu *daval* (*N.* v. 45), and Mald. *duale* (P.). Night: *ræ*, which must be derived from a **râti* for Pali *ratti*, Skr. *râtri* (Mald. *rê* Ch., *regande*, "nuict," *reuegué*, "il est nuict" P.). To this I add the adverbs of time: day-before-yesterday *perêdâ*, from *pera*, before, earlier, which is connected in some way with Skr. *prûva* (cf. Skr. *pûrvedyus*); *iyiyê*, *iyê*, yesterday, to *hiyyo* Skr. *hyas* (Mald. *yê* P., *íyye* Ch.); *ada*, to-day, = *ajja* (Mald. *adu* P.); *heṭa*, *seṭa*, to-morrow, which I would derive from a *se* answering to the Pali *sve*, *suve*, the *ṭâ* reminds one of the homologous dative ending; *anikdâ* and assimilated *aniddâ*, day-after-tomorrow, from *anika*, the other, an extension of *añña*, Skr. *anya* (cf. Skr. *anyedyus*).

The foregoing comparison may give a fair idea as to how largely diffused is the Aryan element among the most essential words of the language. In the case of the pronouns, numerals, particles, and verbs Childers has pointed out a like preponderance of this element.[23] In his full treatise on this subject the author of this sketch will compare the undoubtedly Aryan element of the entire ancient vocabulary as fully as possible, at the same time, however, seeking to approach closer to the subject of the non-Aryan remainder.

Notes by the Translator.

The above paper was read by Dr. Kuhn at the session of the Philos.-Philol. class of Munich on 5th July 1879. As far as I am aware he has not yet read or published the fuller essay to which this is only preliminary: the delay is fortunate, as Dr. Kuhn will thereby be enabled to make use of the valuable paper by Dr. Ed. Müller, entitled "Contributions to Siṁhalese Grammar," published by the Ceylon Government in 1880.[24] I shall proceed to notice a few instances where Dr. Müller's conclusions agree with Prof. Kuhn's and *vice versâ.* With regard to the colonization of Ceylon Dr. Müller accepts the Sinhalese traditions respecting Lâla, "not," he says, "because I am of opinion that more faith ought to be placed in the legends of the Sinhalese than other Hindus, but because I see no reason whatever why they should choose a small and insignificant kingdom as the native country of their ancestors." To this he appends the following note:—"Lassen (*Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 105) identifies Lâla with Lâṭa (Greek Larike —Gujarât). The whole context of the *Mâhâv.* however shows that this cannot be meant. King Niśśanka Malla, a prince of the Kâliṅga, who has left many inscriptions in different parts of Ceylon, was born in a city called Siṁhapura, which he maintains to be the same as Siṁhapura where Wijaya was born. If so Lâla was part of the later kingdom Kâlinga, a not unlikely place to suppose the Âryan conquerors of Ceylon to have started from. This seems also to be the opinion of Burnouf (*Recherches sur la Géographie Ancienne de Ceylan*, p. 61), as he identifies Lâla with Râḍhâ—'la partie basse du Bengale actuel,

[23] In certain particulars his first sketches can now be considerably amplified and corrected. His derivation of the pronoun *mé*, this, from the stem *ima* is supported by the nom. *ima* of the inscriptions (*e. g.* E. Müller, *Report on Inscriptions*, &c. 1879, p. 4). *Api*, we, and *topi*, you, are according to P. Goldschmidt (*Report*, &c. 1876, p. 4) and E. Müller (*Report*, &c. 1878, p. 6) to be traced to the Prâkṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*. *Siṭinavâ*, stand, be, must be derived not from Pali *saṇṭhâna* but from the well-known Prâkṛit present *chiṭṭhati*. It may here be incidentally mentioned that the root *sthâ* has produced another derivative as a verb substantive, namely *tibenavâ*, strictly passive of *tabanavâ*, "to put, to place," which we have above (p. 60*b*) derived from a *thapayati* = Skr. *sthâpayati*.

[24] And since reprinted, with correction of misprints, &c., in the *Ind. Ant.* July-August 1882.—D. F.

qui s'étend sur la rive droite de la rivière Hougli, et comprend les districts de Tamlouk et de Midnapour.' This country then must have been thoroughly Âryan at so remote a time as the 5th century B. C. at the latest, for not only is the Siṁhalese language Sanskṛit but the vast majority of the higher castes of the Siṁhalese have unmistakeably the Âryaṅ type of faces, and; as for the lower castes, they neither look like Dravidians, but resemble the V e d d a s."[25] It would seem from this last sentence that Dr. Müller does not believe the original inhabitants of Ceylon to have been Dravidian, though he does not propose any other theory of their origin. With regard to the V æ d d ô (not Væddâ, as Prof. Kuhn has it), from the scanty materials available it would appear that their language is a dialect of Sinhalese: Maha Mudaliyar Louis De Zoysa has informed me that the V æ d d ô use words of Sanskrit origin which are not to be found in Sinhalese literature for many centuries back. It is much to be regretted that the ill-health of this able scholar prevents his accomplishing the task which he had in view of a monograph on the V æ d d ô and their language.[26] As to the R o d i y a s, Alwis in the paper referred to in note 8 says that from amongst 128 words given by Casie Chitty he could only identify 6 Siṁhalese words, but even of these six more than one of his identifications is erroneous. As Casie Chitty's list is not generally available to scholars, I give it here, in the hope that Dr. Kuhn and other orientalists may succeed in clearing up the mystery which enshrouds the origin of some of the words. I have in the third column given some suggestions as to the derivation of the words: these in many instances will no doubt be proved to be wrong. The Dravidian and Malayan words I owe to my brother, Mr. A. M. Ferguson, Jr.

(1) God	bakurô	cf. *batâra*, used by all the Malayan dialects for "God," from *avatâra*.
(2) heaven	teriyangê	*teri* v. 104; *angê* appears to be a general affix, meaning "thing," = *aṅga*?
(3) earth	bintalavuva	S. *bin* = *bhûmi*; *talâva* = *tala*. (Identified by Alwis.)
(4) sun	îlayata teriyangê	*îlayata*, cf. S. *eliya* = *âloka*; cf. Punan Dayak*elo*; *teriyange* v. 2.
(5) moon	hâpateriyangê	*hâpa* (?); *teriyange* v. 2.
(6) stars	hâpangaval	*hâpa* v. 5; *anga* v. 2; *val*=S. *val*, plur. termination?; cf. Bukutan Dayak *apai-andar*.
(7) light	gigiri	cf. S. *gigiri*, thunder.
(8) darkness	kaluvælla	Identified by Alwis as = S. *kaluvara*.
(9) fire	dulumû	cf. S. *dala* = *jâlâ*.
(10) water	nîlatu (?-lâ-)	cf. Tamil *nîr*, Telugu *nîḷḷu*, water; cf. Malay *laut*, sea.
(11) sea	terilâtu	v. 104, 10.
(12) river	nîlâtuva	v. 10.
(13) tank	nîlâtukaṭṭinna	*nilâtu*, v. 10; *kaṭṭinna*, cf. Tamil *aneikkaṭṭu*, dam, anicut.
(14) mountain	teriboraluvangê	v. 104, 18, 2.
(15) village	dumûna	
(16) field	paṅgurulla (?-ræ-)	S. *paṅguva*, a division (from Tamil *paṅgu*), = *bhâga*; *rælla*, a fold, yard.
(17) jungle	raluva	
(18) sand, dust, mud, stone	boraluva	S. *boraḷu*, gravel. (Identified by Alwis.)
(19) man	gævâ	
(20) woman	gævî	cf. S. *gæni*.
(21) boy	bîlændâ	S. *biliṅdâ*. (Identified by Alwis.)
(22) girl	bîlændî	v. 21.
(23) body	muruti	S. *mûrtti*.
(24) hair	kaluvæli	S. *kalu*, black; *væli*, cf. S. *væla*, creeper, *vælape*, the hair of the head; cf. Bugis *veluak*, hair; cf. 8.
(25) head	keraḍiya	

[25] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 198, note [2].

[26] Since this was written a paper has been published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch R. A. S.*, vol. VII, part II, by Mr. De Zoysa, "On the Origin of the Veddás," which contains interesting specimens of their language. A notable feature is the retention of the palatal *c* which the Sinhalese has changed to *s* or *h*. The same issue of the *C. B. R. A. S. Journal* contains some valuable notes on the Maldive language, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, whose report to the Ceylon Government, now passing through the press, will form a welcome addition to the meagre information existing concerning the inhabitants of the Maldives. Prof. Virchow has also recently published a most valuable essay on the Væddô (Berlin, 1881), dealing with their origin from an ethnological rather than a philological stand-point, his conclusion being that they are the aborigines of Ceylon and of non-Aryan race.—D. F.

(26) eye	lâvaṭê	
(27) face	iravuva	
(28) ears	iravuvê angaval	v. 27, 2, 6.
(29) nose	iravuva	v. 27.
(30) mouth	galla	cf. S. *kaṭa*; cf. Ruinga *gall*.
(31) tongue	galagevunu	v. 30.
(32) hand	dagula	cf. Pali *aṅguti*, finger, *aṅguṭṭha*, thumb.
(33) breast	hidulu	cf. S. *hida*, heart.
(34) belly	pekaritta	cf. S. *pekaniya*, navel; *rikta*, *rit*, vacuity.
(35) flesh	murutum̆	v. 33. (Alwis identifies with S. *mulutan*, which he says means "that which is cooked": this is clearly untenable.)
(36) milk	hiduluañgaval	v. 33, 2, 6.
(37) blood	latu	cf. S. *latu*, lac dye, *lé*, blood, = *lohita*.
(38) spittle	gallê latu	v. 30, 37.
(39) husband	gâḍiyâ	
(40) wife	gâḍi kevenni	v. 39; *kevenni*, cf. S. *gæni*.
(41) father	hidulu gævâ	v. 33, 19.
(42) mother	hidulu gævî	v. 33, 20.
(43) grandfather	îlayak hidulu gævâ	
(44) grandmother	îlayak hidulu gævî	
(45) brother	eka am̆gê gâḍiyâ	
(46) sister	eka am̆gê gâḍi	
(47) son	gâḍi bîlændâ	v. 39, 21.
(48) daughter	gâḍi bîlændî	v. 39, 22.
(49) priest	navatâ	
(50) elephant	palânuvâ	cf. Tamil *pal*, tooth; *ânei*, elephant.
(51) cheetah	raluvabussâ	v. 117, 56.
(52) bear	mratimiganañgayâ	v. 53, 118, 2.
(53) wild hog	gal mratayâ	
(54) domestic pig	hâpa mratayâ	
(55) deer, elk	raluvaluḍḍâ	v. 117, 62.
(56) dog	bussâ	cf. Müller's derivation of. S. *ballâ* from Skr. *bhâsha* and affix *la*.
(57) bitch	bissî	v. 56.
(58) cat	buhâkavannâ	v. 56.
(59) jackal	pañgurulla bussâ	v. 116, 56.
(60) vañdurâ	bûlævâ	
(61) rilavâ	nâtuvâ	
(62) bull	luddâ	
(63) cow	liddî	
(64) calf	ludubîlændâ	v. 62, 21.
(65) bull buffalo	pañguru luddâ	v. 106, 62.
(66) cow buffalo	pañguru liddî	v. 106, 63.
(67) iguana	bimpallô	S. *bim* = *bhûmi*; *pallô*, cf. S. *palli*, "a small house lizard" (Cl.) Tamil *paḷḷi*.
(68) alligator	nîlâtu terihâpayâ	v. 10, 104, 105.
(69) tortoise	pêlâvâ	
(70) lizard	ahâru buluvâ.	
(71) snake	ilayâ	cf. Tamil *iḻu*, to drag.
(72) cock	patîlayâ	
(73) hen	patili keta	
(74) chicken	patili bilændâ	v. 73, 21.
(75) fish	nîlâtuvam̆	v. 10.
(76) tree	uhælla	cf. S. *uha*, high.
(77) flower	uhulilangê	v. 76, 2.
(78) fruit	lâunâ	cf. Tagbenua *laun*.
(79) cocoanut	maṭu lâ unâ	cf. Tamil *maṭṭu*, toddy, *maṭṭei*, husk; v. 78.
(80) jak	veṭṭi am̆gaval	

(81) plantain	pabburukan	cf. S. *puvâlu*, plantain, *ruk*, a tree.
(82) areka nut	pongalaṁ	cf. S. *puvak* = *pûga*.
(83) betel	tebalâ (? tobala)	cf. Pali *tambûlî*.
(84) tobacco	rebut	
(85) paddy	atumadu	*atu* (?); *madu*, v. 86.
(86) rice	madu	
(87) kurakkan	hînkevuna	S. *hîn*, small, used as prefix to many names of plants.
(88) straw	pangaran	
(89) temple	bakuruangê	v. 1, 2.
(90) house	dumuna	v. 15.
(91) door	matilla	
(92) cloth	potiya	cf. Tamil *potti*.
(93) mat	piṭavânna	
(94) pot	vâmê	
(95) water pot	nîlâṭu vâmê	v. 10, 94.
(96) rice pot	migiṭi vâmê	v. 118, 94.
(97) mortar and pestle	lukkana angaval	v. 119, 2, 6.
(98) knife	nâduva	
(99) honey	uhælla latu	v. 76, 37.
(100) jaggery	gal miri	cf. S. *gula*, jaggery; *ŝmihiri*, sweet.
(101) salt	hurubu	
(102) lime	aharu bulu	
(103) oil	maṭubu	*maṭu*, cf. 79.
(104) good	teri	(This must also mean "great," v. 2, 11, 14. &c.) cf. Tamil *tiri*, holy, *teri*, to select. Also Tamil *perïya*, great?
(105) bad	hâpayi	cf. Pali *pâpa*.
(106) no	navati	cf. S. *næta*.
(107) to go, walk	dissenavâ	
(108) to come	tevinavâ	cf. Kian Dayak *tevah*.
(109) to sit	yæpinnavâ	
(110) to sleep	lâvaṭanâtvenavâ	v. 16; cf. S. *navatvanavâ*, to cease, to stop, to hinder.
(111) to dance	kuttandupanavâ	cf. Tamil *kûttâḍu*, to dance, *paṇṇi*, to make.
(112) to sing	kællani igilenavâ	cf. S. *kælum*, gladness, *Kælani*=*Kâlyâṇi*, *kelinavâ*, to sport; *gîta*, song, Gipsy *gili*.
(113) to laugh	galu pâhinavâ	v. 30:
(114) to weep	iraval lukkanavâ	v. 27; 119.
(115) to see	pekanavâ	Pali *pekkhati*. (Alwis identifies with S. *penenavâ*, to appear.)
(116) to open	hâpakaranavâ	
(117) to cook	navatkaranavâ	
(118) to eat	migannavâ	cf. Malay *mâkan*.
(119) to beat	lukkanavâ	
(120) to kill	ralukaranavâ	
(121) to die	likkenavâ	
(122) to bury	tâvanavâ	
(123) to give	yappanavâ	

In a letter to the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. I, p. 258), Dr. Hyde Clarke states that the Rodiya "belongs to the same general family as the Kajunah." He further says:—"There is little direct resemblance between the Kajunah and the Abkhass, or between the Kajunah and the Rodiya, but the relationship of each is rather with the Abyssinian class." This Abyssinian class, he says, comprises the languages of the Agaws, Waags, Falashas (Black Jews), Fertits, Dizzelas and Shankalis; and with these he connects, besides the Rodiya, the Abkhass of Caucasia, and the Galela of the Eastern Archipelago, a Siberian class and two American classes being also related. Dr. Clarke concludes his letter by saying:—"The group which I have named at present—the Siberio-Nubian—must have had possession of the whole of India before the Dravidians." Unfortunately, Dr. Hyde Clarke gives no proofs for his statements, and, as I have no vocabularies of the languages mentioned, I am unable to compare them with the Rodiya. The

Treasury of Languages (1873) pronounces Rodiya to be allied to Hindi, but this book, though it has the authority of some eminent names, is not altogether reliable, *e. g.* its statement that "Elu or high Sinhalese is Dravidian and closely resembles Tamil." With reference to note [9] I may mention that Dr. Müller (*loc. cit.*) gives a number of comparisons of Sinhalese words with the corresponding forms in the Aśoka, Dramatic and Jaina Magadhi, the resemblances being sometimes very close. The word *hamuda* should have no asterisk: it is found in several inscriptions. With regard to the Sinhalese phonetic system, Dr. Müller states that the original Sinhalese alphabet had only the three short vowels *a, i, u,* besides *e* and *o*, the original quantity of which is still uncertain. The oldest Sinhalese also possessed the consonant *c*, of which Dr. Müller says:—"*c* I have met with in inscriptions till the fourth century, afterwards it immigrated into *s*, and in the ninth century has quite disappeared." On the other hand, the original alphabet lacked the cerebral *ḷ* and anusvâra. With reference to the latter Dr. Müller says:—"Although the anusvâra does not appear in Sinhalese words up to the fourth century A. D., it is doubtful whether it was not pronounced; for we later find many words written with anusvâra or a nasal before a consonant which had the same in Skt. but not in ancient Sinhalese, while it would be difficult to consider them all as tatsamas; for instance Skt. *chandra.* A. S. *chada*, modern Sinhalese *handa*, Maldivian *hadu* (*haḍu* is a mistake), besides Skt. *añga* mod. Sin. *anga*, Skt. *maṇḍala*, M. S. *manḍul*, 'etc." He says further:—"It is true the Sinhalese in ancient times wrote the anusvâra and nasal, before strong consonants in Pâli words, and besides without assuming the questionable words to be tatsamas' they might have been altered by the influence of the priesthood, the powerful instructors of the people. And on the other hand there are instances where the nasal has been lost for ever. I therefore consider it best to assume that the Sinhalese had lost anusvâra and the nasal before other consonants." According to Dr. Müller, vowel lengthening is due to (1) contraction and (2) accent. As instances of the latter he mentions *bohô(ma)* = *bahu*, *asûva* 80, *anûva* 90, and verbal forms like *gœlîma* (from *gala-navá*, √*gal*) &c., as against older *senim*, *sitim* (10th century), and still older *paḷisatarikama* for *pratisaṁskârita-karma.* Childers' theory to account for the terminal *á* of animate nouns is shown by Dr. Müller to be incorrect. He says:—"The lengthening of the final vowel in animates as *á* in *minisá*, I believe is due to a former termination in *ak*, affix *ka*, now used to indicate indefinition in inanimates. In modern Indian vernaculars, too, we find *á* as a masculine termination, comp. Beames vol. II, p. 160." He also says:—"Originally every Sinhalese word terminated in a vowel: between the 7th and 9th century the tendency of the language was so much changed that most nouns came to terminate in a consonant; later, a short *a* was appended to inanimates, animate males partly contracted the syll. *ak* to *á* (so at least I comprehend this process at present), and if they ended in *u* or *i*, this had been changed into *wak* and *yak*. *W* and *y* assimilated with the preceding consonants, and we thus find double consonants with *á* in the nominative singular (for instance *kuruḷu, kuruḷwak, kurullá*)." On the subject of the vowel sound *œ* (long *œ̂*) Dr. Müller says:—"A further important addition to the vowel system was made by the two characters peculiar to Sinhalese *œ* and its lengthening *œ̂*. They are not found yet in the 4th century but are firmly established in the 9th (about the interval I am unable to judge) yet, though not written they may have been pronounced long ago." He then quotes from Beames' *Comp. Gram.* vol. I, p. 141 ff, the following (as he justly terms it) "interesting note":—"The Bengali language, as actually spoken by all classes, from the highest to the lowest, differs in many respects from the language as written in books. Especially is this noticeable in the treatment of the vowel *á*, which in colloquial usage is frequently, in fact almost universally, corrupted into *e*." But, curiously enough, the latter part of Mr. Beames' note, which is the most interesting with reference to the point under discussion, Dr. Müller omits, but, as his remarks refer to this very part, I think the omission must be due to the printer. Mr. Beames says:—"This Bengali *e* is pronounced more like the English *a* in *mat, rat,* etc., than like the full Italian *e* in *veno, avete,* etc., and seems to be a lineal descendant of the short *ĕ* of Prakrit." "Now," Dr. Müller says, "this is exactly the sound of the Sinhalese *œ*, and as the Sinhalese probably came from a part of Bengal, they might have brought this sound with them. There is another reason to suppose that these sounds are older than the invention of characters proper to them. The Sinhalese *vaddranavá* is a corrupted tats. from Pâli *avadhâreti*; the verbal noun at present is *vœdœ̂ruma*, older *vœjœ̂ruma*. Now, in an inscription of the second or third century A. D. at Baḍagiriya we find *vajeriyi* 'he declares,' *i.e., e* used to express the sound *œ̂* which is a modification of *á*." I may just remark in passing that the representation of this sound by the Roman diphthong *œ* may be considered very fairly satis-

factory, the *æ* having the same sound in Anglo-Saxon, and the Sinhalese character itself being a modification of the symbol for *a*. Prof. Kuhn's remarks on the palatals need some modification, owing to the fact which I have already mentioned of *c* being found in the oldest Sinhalese. With reference to the weak nasal sounds before the explosives *g, ḍ, d,* and *b,* it is certainly curious that writers on the Sinhalese language have said so little on the subject. Even Childers has not, so far as I am aware, described the exact pronunciation of these sounds. In fact, Alwis, in the places referred to by Dr. Kuhn (*SS.* p. lxi, and *Descript. Cat.* p. 236), is the only one who gives any sort of explanation of these nasals. He says they are "very soft," "very faint," and, "metrically, one syllabic instant." But, according to him, this weak nasal is also found before *j* in Sinhalese. This I very much doubt: I believe the *ñ* has its full sound before *j* in Sinhalese as in Sanskrit or Pali. Childers' representation of this weak nasal sound by *ṅ* before *g, ḍ, d,* and by *ṁ* before *b* is very satisfactory. In Alwis' *Descript. Cat.* the combined nasal and explosives are represented by (*ṇ*)*g*, (*n*)*j*, (*ṇ*)*ḍ*, (*n*)*d*, (*m*)*b*—a very awkward method certainly; and in the Rev. C. Alwis' *Sinhalese Handbook* they are printed *n-g, ṇ-ḍ, n-d, m-b.* In a review of this latter book in the *Ceylon Observer* of 14th July 1880 Dr. Müller made some remarks on the representation of these combinations which led me to think that he had failed to notice this peculiarity of the Sinhalese language, but from a passage in his *Contributions to Siṁhalese Grammar* I find I did him injustice. He there says:—"At present there is a difference in pronunciation between the real bindu and those weak nasals before other consonants. I doubt whether any two kinds of nasals existed in the twelfth century, for we find the bindu used with *k* and ligatures with all the other nasalized consonants." The real sound of such words as *aṅga, haṇḍa, haṅda, aṁba,* may be learnt by pronouncing them as *aga, hada, haḍa, aba,* but in each case interjecting a slight nasal before the explosive. I may mention that though in Ceylon manuscripts the compound characters which in the Sinhalese alphabet are used to represent the above sounds are made to represent the Pali *ṅg, ṇḍ,* and *mb* (*ṅd* is never so used), the best native scholars at present carefully distinguish them in writing, the letters being joined in Pali words but never combined. The anusvâra in the north Indian dialects is spoken with a strong nasal, whereas in Sinhalese it is very slightly nasal. When final or preceding a sibilant, the *ṁ,* as Childers has remarked, is pronounced like *ng* in German *gang.* (I would in passing raise a protest against the introduction by Rhys Davids in his translation of the *Jâtaka* of the unsightly symbol invented by Pitman for the *ng* sound. The *ṁ* or *ṃ* has now obtained a recognised standing as the Roman equivalent of the *anusvâra.*[a]) Prof. Kuhn does not speak of the pronunciation given to *jñ* in modern Sinhalese, but Dr. Müller says:—"The oldest form of this combination is *ny* in *savanyutopete* (inscription at Kirinde) where the *y* is marked by a separate sign below the line. The group is still pronounced though not written in this way in Ceylon." Now this is certainly wrong: *jñ* is always pronounced by the Sinhalese as *gñ,* just as it is pronounced *gy* in Hindi, &c. The asterisk before *kurulu* should be omitted, the word being genuine. According to Müller *yahala* = *sahâya.* The reason why *val* = *vana* was prefixed to *asa*=*achchha* was, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, to distinguish it from *as* = *assa.* The origin of *rilavâ* is certainly obscure. Can it be a contraction from *ræli-muva,* wrinkled-face? Cf. *væli-mukha* with the same meaning as a name for the white-faced monkey (Clough). Müller explains *monarâ* as being for *morana, i.e., mora* + *na,* and this *na* he believes to be due (as well as the *nâ* in *ukunâ* = *ûkâ* and in *gônâ* = *go*) to a feminine in *nî*: the *nîmeri* of the Maldive he thinks confirms this. Müller's derivation of *oya* from Skr. *srotas,* Pali *sotto,* is I think the right one, and not *ogha.* The word for hill is *kanda,* not *kaṅda,* and is, as Müller shows, from Skr. *skhanna*: the older form is *kana.* Sand is *væli,* not *væla.* The word for iron, *yakaḍa,* which Prof. Kuhn says is certainly non-Aryan, is as Aryan as it can be: it is a compound, (*a*)*ya-kaḍa* = *ayo-kaṇḍaṁ*; cf. in Clough *yakula, yagula, yadaṅda, yadâma, yapata, yapaluva, yabora, yavula, yahaṅduva, yahada, yahala,* all compounds from *ya* = *aya.* Müller says that it is doubtful if *oruva* is derived from *uḍapa* or direct from the Tamil. He derives *îya,* older *hîya,* from *çita,* and explains the *î* by the following transitions: *sita, hiya, hî, hîya.* The origin of *oluva* is certainly puzzling: cf. Javanese *ulu* with the synonymous *mastika.* Can it be that *oluva* = *matthaka* with loss of initial? Perhaps the Maldive *bolle, bô,* supports this. With the word for leg, *kakula,* cf. Malay *kaki* and Tamil *kâl.*

Colombo, Ceylon. DONALD FERGUSON.

[a] I am glad to learn from Prof. Fausböll that he and Dr. Trenckner at least intend to adhere to the signs *ṅ* and *ṁ*.—D. F.

THE COLUMN INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY M. ÉMILE SENART.

Abstract.[1]

Till the present we know of five columns or *lâṭs* inscribed with edicts of Piyadasi. The most important and oldest known is the Dehli column, commonly known as "the *lâṭ* of Firuz Shah" (D), because it was that prince who caused it to be brought to Dehli from its original position. It is the one which embraces the most complete series. I think it most convenient for the present to arrange them in the way General Cunningham has done. This pillar, then, contains seven edicts, inscribed in four groups, one on each of its sides, and an eighth, below, occupies several lines round the shaft.

There is another pillar at Dehli which was also transported thither by Firuz (D[2]); this is the one that General Cunningham calls the pillar of Mirat, from the name of its original position. It contains only a short fragment of the 1st edict, edicts II and III entire; edicts IV and V are only in part preserved, and edicts VI and VII are wanting on it.

The Allahabad column (A) contains edicts I to IV; the two first are alone intact; there remains only a line of the IIIrd; of the others longer or shorter portions. It is characterised by the presence of two additional fragments which we do not find elsewhere, and which are unfortunately spoilt. The one, already known from Prinsep, has been named by General Cunningham "the Queen's edict"; the other, which appeared for the first time in the *Corpus*, is addressed to the officers of Kauśâmbi. They form a necessary addition in our revision of this class of edicts.

The two last columns have been found again in positions not far distant from one another; both contain the first six tablets. One is that of Radhiah (R), which General Cunningham prefers to call that of Lauriya Ararâj; the other, the column of Mathiah (M), which receives in the *Corpus* the name of Lauriya Navandgarh.

I need not enlarge on the description and history of these monuments; It will be sufficient to remind the reader that the different texts are, in all the parts in common, essentially identical. I therefore take for a basis the longest version, the only complete one, that of the pillar of Firuz Shah. The text of it I transcribe and give in the notes all the different readings of the other versions, where they exist.

The orthographical or palæographical peculiarities which this series presents are not such as to offer peculiar difficulties to the translation.

First Edict.

Prinsep, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Beng.* vol. VI, 1837, p. 581 (conf. p. 965); Burnouf, *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 654 ff.

(1) Devânampiye piyadasi lâja[1] hevam âhâ[2][.] saḍvîsati

(2) vasaabhisitena[3] me[4] iyam dhammalipi likhâpitâ[5] [.]

(3) hidatapâlate dusampaṭipâdaye[6] amnata agâyâ[7] dhammakâmatâyâ[8]

(4) agâya palîkhâyâ[9] agâya[10] susûsâyâ[11] agena[12] bhayenâ

(5) agena usâhenâ [.] esa chu kho mama anusathiyâ[13]

(6) dhammâpekhâ[14] dhammakâmatâ châ[15] suve suve vaḍhitâ vaḍhîsati[16] chevâ [.]

(7) pulisâ pi cha me[17] ukasâ châ gevaya châ majhimâ châ anuvidhiyamti

(8) sampaṭipâdayamti châ[18] alam chapalam samadapayitave[19] hemevâ[20] amta

(9) mahâmâtâ[21] pi [.] esa hi[22] vidhi yâ iyam dhammena[23] pâlanâ[24] dhammena vidhâne[25]

(10) dhammena sukhiyanâ[26] dhâmmena gotîti[27] [.]

Translation.

"King Piyadasi, dear to the gods, says thus: In the twenty-seventh year of my anointing I caused this edict to be inscribed. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to procure, without (on the part of my officers) extreme zeal for religion, rigorous supervision, extreme obedience, a very lively sense of respon-

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, Septième sér. tome XIX, pp. 395-460. For the other edicts, see vol. X, p. 273.

[1] A.°dasî lâjâ he°. [2] RM.°âha sa°.
[3] ARM.°vasâbhi°. [4] A.°na ma i°.
[5] RM.°pita hi°. [6] A.°dasampaṭipâdâye.°
[7] RM.°gâya dha° [8] ARM.°matâya a°
[9] M. gâyam palîkhâya°, A.°palikhâya a°, R.° palikhâye a°
[10] A.°agaya°. [11] RM.sûsâya°. [12] R.°ya âge.°
[13] A.°sa cha kho° °thinâ dha°, RM.°thiya dha°
[14] RM.°pekha dha°. [15] A.°kâmata cha su°.
[16] RM.°ḍhita vaḍhisati cha va pu°, A.°vaḍhisaṭi cha vâ.
[17] ARM.°sâ pi me°.
[18] ARM.°vidhîyamti.yamti cha a°.
[19] ARM.°samâda°.
[20] A.°hemmeva a°, RM.° hemeva a°.
[21] D.°amgamahamâ°. [22] AR.°esâ hi°, M.°esâpi vi°.
[23] A.°menâ pâ°. [24] A.°lana dha°.
[25] A.°na madhane dha°, M.°vidhane°.
[26] A.°menam sukhîya°, R.°yana dha°, M.°sukhîyana dha°.
[27] A.°dhammana ganitechi°, R.°getîti.

sibility, and extreme activity. But, thanks to my instructions, this care for religion, the zeal for religion grows and will grow (*among them*) from day to day. And my officers, superiors, subalterns and those of middle rank, conform to it and guide (*the people*) in the good way, the way so as to keep light spirits; the overseers of the frontier countries, the same. Because the rule is: government by religion, law by religion, progress by religion, security by religion.

Second Edict.

Prinsep, *ut sup.* p. 582 ff., Burnouf, *ut sup.* p. 666 ff.

(10) Devânampiye piyadasi[1] lâja[2]
(11) hevaṁ âhâ[3][.] dhaṁme sâdhû[4][.] kâyaṁ chu[5] dhaṁme ti[6][.] apâsinave bahukayâne
(12) dayâ[7] dâne[8] sache sochaye[9] cha khu[.] dâne pi me bahuvidhe diṁne[10] dupada
(13) chatupadesu[11] pakhivâlichalesu vividhe[12] me anugahe kaṭe âpâna
(14) dâkhinâye[13] aṁnâni[14] pi cha me bahûni[15] kayânâni kaṭâni[.] etâye me
(15) athâye[16] iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi[17] likhâpitâ[18] hevaṁ anupaṭipajaṁtu chilaṁ
(16) thitika[19] cha potûti ti[20] [.] ye cha hevaṁ saṁpaṭipajîsati[21] se[22] sukaṭaṁ kachhatîti[23] [.]

"King Piyadasi, dear to the gods, speaks thus: Religion is excellent. But, one will say, what is that religion? [*It consists in committing*] the least evil possible, [*in doing*] much good, [*in practising*] pity, charity, veracity and also purity of life. Therefore I have given alms of all kinds; to men and quadrupeds, birds and aquatic animals, I have distributed diverse favours, even to securing drinkable water for them; I have besides done good in other meritorious actions. It is for this that I have caused this edict to be inscribed,—in order that, conforming to it, they may walk in the same good way, and my word may endure. Whoever acts thus, he will do well.

Third Edict.

Prinsep, *ut sup.* p. 584; Burnouf, *ut sup.* p. 669ff.

(17) Devânaṁpiye piyadasi lâja hevaṁ ahâ[2][.] kayanaṁmeva[3] dekhati[4] iyaṁ me
(18) kayâne kaṭeti nomine pâpaṁ[5] dakhati[6] iyaṁ me pâpa[7] kaṭeti iyaṁ vâ[8] âsinave
(19) nâmâti[9][.] dupaṭivekhe chu kho esâ hevaṁ[10] chu kho esa dekhiye imâni
(20) âsinavagâmini[11] nâma[12] atha chaṁḍiye niṭhûliye[13] kodhe mâne[.] isyâ
(21) kâlalena[14] va[15] hakaṁ mâ palibhasayisaṁ[16] esa bâḍha[17] dekhiye iyâṁ me
(22) hidatikâye iyaṁ ma name[18] pâlatikâye[19][.]

"King Piyadasi, dear to the gods, speaks thus: We see only our good actions; we say, I have done such a good action. In return we do not see the evil that we commit, we do not say, I have committed such a bad action, such an action is a sin. It is true that this examination is hard; nevertheless, it is necessary to watch ourselves, and to say: such and such actions constitute sins, as passion, cruelty, anger, pride. It is necessary to watch ourselves with care and say: I will not yield to envy and calumniate; that will be for my greater good here below; that will be for my greater good in the future."

Fourth Edict.

Prinsep, *ut sup.* p. 585 ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* bd. II, p. 258, n. 2; p. 272, n. 1; p. 274 n. 1; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 740 ff.; Kern *Jaartelling der zuydelijke Buddhisten*, p. 94 ff.

(1) Devânaṁpiye piyadasi lâja hevaṁ âhâ [.] saḍvîsativasa
(2) abhisitena[2] me iyaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhâpitâ[3][.] lajûkâ me
(3) bahûsu pânasatasahasesu janasi âyatâ[4] tesaṁ ye abhihâle[6] va
(4) daṁḍe vâ atapatiye me kaṭe kiṁti lajûkâ[7] asvatha abhîtâ[8]

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[1] D[2].°dasâ°, A.°dasî°. [2] AR.°lâjâ°.
[3] RM.°âha°. [4] ARM.°sâdhu°.
[5] D[2]. °kâyâṁ cha dha°, A.°kiyaṁ°, RM.°kiyaṁ cha°.
[6] A.°ma ti°. [7] M.°daya°.
[8] A.°dane°. [9] A.°sâchaye°, RM.°socheye ti cha°.
[10] RM.°dine°. [11] D[2]. °dupâda°, A.°padaṁcha°.
[12] D[2]R.°vidha me°.
[13] D[2].° pâneṁdâkhanâyo°, ARM. °dakhi°.
[14] D[2].° ânâni pi che me°. [15] R.°bahuni°.
[16] AR.°aṭhâye°,M.°aṭhâya°. [17] R.° dhama°.
[18] RM.°pita°.
[19] D[2]. °chilâthî°, A.°chîlaṭhitîṁkâ°. R.°ṭhitîkâ°, M.°thitîkâ°.
[20] D[2]. °pota sâye°, ARM.° cha hotûti ye°.
[21] D[2]. °cha—tipajisa°, ARM.° pajisa°. [22] A.°sa su°.

[23] D[2]. °katha kachhati ti°, R. °kachha ti°, M. °kachhati°.
[1] A.°dasî lâjâ°. [2] D[2]AM. °âhâ°, R.°âha°.
[3] A.°nameva°. [4] A.°khavi i°, RM,°dekhaṁti i°.
[5] A.°pâpakaṁ°. [6] RM,°dekhaṁti°.
[7] D[2].RM.°pâpe°, A.°pâpake°. [8] D[2]. °va°.
[9] The lacuna in A. commences here and extends into the following edict.
[10] R.°esa havaṁ°. [11] D[2]M.°gâmini°.
[12] RM.°nâmâti a°. [13] RM.°niṭhûli°.
[14] RM.°isyakâ°. [15] D.[2] °vâ°.
[16] RM.°yisaṁti e.° [17] M.°sa thadhaṁ de°, R. °ḍhaṁ de°.
[18] D[2]. °iyaṁ me pâ°. [19] RM.°kâye ti°.
[1] R.°âha°. [2] R°sada°. [3] RM.°pita°.
[4] RM.°yata°. [5] RM.°tesâṁ°.
[6] M.°bhipâle. [7] RM.°jûka°. [8] RM.°bhita°.

(5) kammâni pavatayevû[9] janasa jânapadasâ[10] hitasukam upadahevû[11]
(6) anugahinevu châ[.] sukhîyanadukhîyanam[12] jânisamti dhammayutena[13] cha
(7) viyovadisamti janam jânapadam kimti hidatam cha pâlatam cha
(8) âlâdhayevû[14] ti[.] lajûkâ pi laghamti[15] patichalitave mam pulisâni pi me
(9) chhadamnâni[16] patichalisamti tepi cha kânî viyovadisamti[17] yena mam lajûkâ[18]
(10) chaghamti[19] âlâdhayitave[20][.] athâ[21] hi pajam[22] viyatâye[23] dhâtiye nisijitu[24]
(11) asvathe hoti viyatadhâti chaghati[25] me pajam sukham palihatave[26]
(12) hevam[27] mamâ[28] lajûkâ[29] katâ[30] jânapadasa[31] hitasukhâye[32][.] yena[33] etâ[34] abhitâ[35]
(13) asvatha samtam avimanâ[36] kammâni[37] pavatayevûti etena me lâjûkâna[38]
(14) abhihâle[39] ve dâmde[40] va[41] atapatiye[42] kate [.] ichhitaviye[43] hi esâ[44] kimti
(15) viyohâlasamatâ[45] cha siya damdasamatâ[46] cha [.] ava [47] ite pi cha[48] me[49] âvuti[50]
(16) bamdhanabadhânam[51] munisânam tîlitadamdânam[52] patavadhânam[53] timni divasâni[54] me
(17) yote dimne nâtikâvakâni[55] nijhapayisamti[56] jîvitâye[57] tânam [.]
(18) nâsamtam vâ[58] nijhapayitâ[59] dânam dâhamti[60] pâlatikam upavâsam[61] va[62] kachhamti[63] [.]
(19) ichhâ hi me hevam niludhasi pi kâlasi pâlatam[64] âlâdhayevûti[65] janasa cha
(20) vadhati[66] vividhadhammachalane sayame dânasavibhâge ti[67] [.]

King Piyadasi, dear to the gods, speaks thus:—In the twenty-seventh year of my anointing I caused this edict to be inscribed. Among many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, I instituted *râjukas* over the people. I reserved to myself personally all proceedings or all chastisement against them, in order that these *râjukas* may with entire confidence and security attend to their duties, to establish and develop the welfare and usefulness of the population of my states. They will observe the progress or the sufferings, and together with the faithful they will exhort the (*entire*) population of my states, in view of assuring to them happiness here below and salvation in the future. The *râjukas* apply themselves to obey me; the *purushas* too will follow my wishes and orders, and they will spread the exhortations so that the *râjukas* may apply themselves to satisfying me. Just as after having confided your child to a skilful nurse you feel secure, saying to yourself: a skilful nurse cares well for my child, even so I have created *râjukas* for the good and utility of my subjects. So that they may with confidence and security, free from pre-occupation, attend to their duties, I have reserved to myself personally all proceedings and chastisements against them. It is, in fact, desirable that there should obtain perfect equality in proceedings and penalties. Dating from this day (*I introduce*) the (*following*) rule: to the prisoners who have been judged and condemned to death, I grant a reprieve of three days (*before execution*). They will be warned that they have no longer or shorter to live. Thus warned of the term of their existence, they will give alms in view of the future life, or will practice fasting. I desire in fact that, even shut up in prison, they may make themselves sure of the other world. I desire the various practices of religion, the dominion over the senses, the distribution of alms, to spread more and more among the people.

Fifth Edict.

Prinsep, p. 590 ff. (cf p. 965)

(1) Devânampiye piyadasi[1] lâja[2] hevam ahâ[3][.] sadvîsativasa

9 RM.°yevûti ja°. 10 M.°âdasa°, R.°dasa°.
11 R.°hevu°, M.°dapevû°.
12 R.°neva cha sukhiya°, M.°yanadakhî°.
13 M.°mayate°. 14 R.°yevu la°. 15 RM.°pi chagham°.
16 D[2]. °chamdamna°, RM. °chhamdamnâ,°.
17 D[2]. °yovadasam°. 18 RM.°jûka°.
19 D[2]. °ghamtî°. 20 D[2]. °lâdha. yi°, R.°lâdheyâtave°.
21 D.[2] °atha hi°. 22 D.[2] °paja°.
23 R. °viyâmtâ°. 24 D.[2] °nisajîtu°.
25 D[2]R.°chaghamti°, M.°chaghatim me°.
26 D.[2] °paja sukhâhâlîhamtave°, M.°taveti he°.
27 D.[2] °heva°. 28 D[2]RM.°mama°.
29 RM.°jûka°. 30 D[2]RM.°kate°.
31 D.[2] °jana°. 32 D[2].°tasakhaye°, RM.°sukkhaye°.
33 D[2]. yana°. 34 D[2]R.°ete°, M.°eta°.
35 D[2]R.°abhitâ°. 36 D[2]RM.°mana ka°.
37 D[2]. °kamâ.° 38 D[2]RM.°kânam°, A.—nam a°.
39 D[2]. °abhâhâla°, A.°abhi. la°. 40 D[2] °dada°, A. °dadda°.
41 D.[2] °ve°, ARM,°va°. 42 RM.°amtapa°.
43 D[2] °chitamviye°. 44 D[2] °sâ ti°, RM.°esa°.
45 D.[2] °viyahâ°, A.°patiye aji chachhatavaya ha lesikitam châ vîyahâ°, A.°samanâ châ siyâ°.
46 D[2]. °mata cha°. 47 A.°amva°, M.°âvâ°.
48 D.[2] °va°. 49 A.°ma° 50 A.°âvati°.
51 R.°nabamdhâ°, M.°nâbamdhâ°.
52 D[2]ARM.°tîlita°, D[2]. °damdâna°.
53 D.[2] °vadhanam°. 54 A.°tini divasini°.
55 A.°kâvamkâni°. 56 A.°nisapayi°.
57 A.°javi°, M.°jivi°, R.°vitaye°. 58 M.°va°.
59 R.°yitave°. 60 D.[2] °daham°.
61 D.[2] °vâsa°, A.°pavasam°, R.°vâsum°. 62 A,°vâ°.
63 A.°kachhati°. 64 M.°pala°.
65 D.[2] °yevati°, A.°lâdhayathâti°, M.°yevûtâ°.
66 A.°vadhatâ°. 67 A.°dâne savibhigeti, D.[2] °savabhâ°.
1 M.°piya°, A °dasî°. 2 A.°lâjâ°.
3 A.°âhâ°. R.°âha°, M.°heva âha°.

(2) abhisitena[4] me imâni[5] jâtâni avadhiyâni[6] kaṭâni seyatha[7]
(3) suke sâlike[8] alune chakavâke haṁse naṁdîmukhe[10] gelâṭe
(4) jatûkâ[11] aṁbâkapilike daḍî[12] anaṭhikamachhe[13] vedaveyake[14]
(5) gaṁgâpupuṭake[15] saṁkujamachhe kaphaṭasayake[16] paṁnasase simale[17]
(6) saṁḍake okapiṁḍe palasate setakapote gâmakapote[18]
(7) save chatupade ye[19] paṭibhogaṁ[20] no eti na cha khâdiyatî[21] [.] ajakanâ. â. î[22]
(8) eḍakâ[23] cha sûkali[24] châ[25] gabhinî[26] va pâyaminâ[27] va[28] avadhâya[29] pâtake[30]
(9) pi cha[31] kâni âsaṁmâsike[32] [.] vadhikukuṭe no kataviye[.] tase[33] sajîve
(10) no jhâpetavye[34][.]dâve anaṭhâye[35] vâ vihisâye[36] vâ no jhâpetaviye[37] [.]
(11) jîvena jîve no[38] pusitaviye [.] tîsu châtuṁmâsîsu tisâyaṁ[39] puṁnamâsiyaṁ[40]
(12) tiṁni divasâni châvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ[41] paṭipadâye dhavâye[42] châ[43]
(13) anuposatha[44] mache[45] avadhiye[46] no pi viketaviye [.] etâni[47] yevâ[48] divasâni
(14) nâgavanasi kevaṭabhogasi yâni[49] aṁnâni pi jîvanikâyâni
(15) no haṁtaviyâni[.] aṭhamîpakhâye[50] châvudasâye paṁnaḍasâye tisâye
(16) panâvasune tâsu[51] châtuṁmâsîsu[52] sudivasâye gone no nîlakhitaviye[53]
(17) ajake eḍake[54] sûkale e vâpi aṁne nîlakhiyati [55]no nîlakhitaviye[56] [.]
(18) tisâye punâvasune châtuṁmâsiye châtuṁmâsipakhâye[57] asvasâ gonasâ[58]
(19) lakhune[59] no kaṭaviye[60] [.] yâva saḍviṁsativasaabhisitena[61] me etâye
(20) aṁtalikâye paṁnavîsati baṁdhanamokhâni kaṭâni [.]

Translation.

King Piyadasi, dear to the gods, speaks thus:—In the twenty-seventh year of my anointing I forbade the killing of animals belonging to the following species, namely: parrots, śârikas, aruṇas, chakravâkas, flamingos, nandîmukhas, gairâṭas, bats, water-ants(?) tortoises called *duḍi*, the fishes named *anasthikas*, vaidarveyakas, the pupputas of the Ganges, the fish called *śaṁkuja*, tortoises and porcupines, parṇasasas, (?) simalas, (?) the bulls that wander at liberty, foxes, (?) turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons and all quadrupeds which are not used or eaten; as for she-goats, sheep and swine, they are not to be killed whilst suckling, nor when with young, nor their young whilst under six months; capons must not be made, no creature must be burned alive, a wood must not be fired either for mischief or to kill the animals which dwell in it. Living creatures must not be made use of to feed living creatures. On the three full moons of the châturmâsyas, on the full moon which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya, on that which is in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Punarvasû, the 14th, 15th and the day which follows the full moon, and, in general, each day of *uposatha*, fish must not be caught nor offered for sale. In these same days animals shut up in parks for game must not be destroyed, nor those in the reservoirs for fishing, nor any other class of living creatures. The 8th, 14th and 15th of each half-moon, and the day which follows the full moon of Tishya, of Punarvasû and of the three châturmâsyas, oxen, goats, rams or swine, must not be mutilated, nor any other animal that it is usual to mutilate. The day of the full moon of Tishya, of Punarvasû, and of the châturmâsyas, and the first day of the fortnight that follows a full moon of châturmâsya, neither oxen nor horses must be marked. In the course of the twenty-six years since my anointing I have set at liberty twenty-six (*condemned to death*).—(*To be continued.*)

4 A.°vîsativasâbhi°, R. M.° vasabhisitasa°.
5 RM.°mâni pi jâ°. 6 RM.°vadhyâni°. 7 A.°saya°.
8 A.°likâ°, RM.°lika°. 9 A.°kachâke haṁsa°.
10 A. naṁdîmu°. 11 A.°jitûke°, RM.°tûka°.
12 A.°kîpilikâ dubhî°. RM. pilika dadi°.
13 A.°anathika°. 14 A.davayakâ°. 15 A.°papaṭa°.
16 A.°kapaṭa. . ka°, R.°ṭaseya pa°.
17 A.°panasase pimale (*a blank to* [seta]ka°).
18 A.—kapova gamaka°. 19 A.°sava chatapada ya°.
20 A.°bhoga (*a blank of thirteen characters*) nâ (*blank to* sajîve), R.°tipogaṁ°.
21 RM.°yati°. 22 D^2—ajakanâni e°, RM.°ajakâkâni e°.
23 D.^{2} °daka°. 24 D.^{2} °kali°. 25 M.°cha°.
26 D^2 °bhina°. M.°gaṁbhi°. 27 D^2 °payamena°.
28 D^2 °vâ°. 29 D^2 °vadhisâ°, RM °vadhya°.
30 RM.°pata°. 31 RM.°ke cha kâ.
32 D^2 °saṁmânike°. 33 R.°tuse°.
34 A.°jhâ (*blank to* châvuda°), RM.°jhâpayita°.
35 D^2. °âna°. 36 D.^{2} °vipisâ°. 37 RM.°jhâpayita°.
38 D^2. °jîveṁ no°. 39 R.°tisya°, M.°tisiyaṁ.
40 R.°pûnava°. 41 A.°paṁchada (*blank to* tâni yâva).
42 RM.°padaṁ dhuvâ°. 43 D^2. °cha°.
44 D^2. °sathaṁ°, R.°sathâṁ°. 45 D^2. °meche°.
46 D^2. °avâdhi°, RM.°vadhye°. 47 D^2. °tânâ°.
48 R.°yeva, A.°yâva (*blank to* sudivasâ)
49 D^2. °yâni°. 50 D^2RM.ṭhamipa°.
51 D^2RM.°punâ° tîsu°. 52 M.°mâsîsa°.
53 A.°nilakhitâvi°. 54 A.°eda (*blank to* lakhane).
55 D^2. °khiyâti°. 56 D.^{2} °khitaṁvi°.
57 D^2RM.°châtuṁmâ°. 58 R.°svasa gonaṁsa°, M.°svasa gonasa°.
59 A.—lakhane°, R.M.°lakhane°. 60 D^2. °no khata°.
61 D^2 ° visati°, M.°vasâbhi°, R.°vasâbhisitasa° A.°vîsativa°. (*The remainder is wanting to the end*).

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 47.*)

XIX.

Gmelin tells us that when at Udinskoiostrog he sent for three Shamans. They were dressed differently to any Siberian Shamans he had hitherto seen. They wore a leathern dress strewn with iron trinkets, and with the claws of eagles and owls. These ornaments made the dress very heavy, and made a great noise when its wearer moved, "much to the distress of the evil spirits." The cap was pointed at the top like that of the old grenadiers, and was also covered with the claws of eagles and owls. The three Shamans went to visit our traveller at night, since they declared that they could not perform their sorceries in the daylight. They chose the open place where Gmelin was for their performance, and there made a fire. Our traveller wished them all to do their hocus pocus together, but they said this could not be. One of them accordingly took his drum. The drumstick was made like a brush, a squirrel's skin being substituted for the bristles. The performance was the usual one. Gmelin tried to test them by asking if a man whom he knew at Moscow was still living. After making several contortions the Shaman replied that the devil could not travel as far as Moscow, an answer which again recalls some of those of the Western Mediums. The Shamans distorted their faces, writhed and threw about their bodies, screamed as if raving, and generally excited themselves until under the load of their heavy dress they perspired profusely. Their compatriots, says Gmelin, paid handsomely for their performances, but we had them gratis, and had the comedy repeated more than once. The one who had been consulted about the man at Moscow offered to inquire again, and after more contortions asked if the man in question had grey hair. Gmelin having replied in the affirmative the Shaman again beat his drum, and jumped about vigorously, and eventually replied that the man was dead. He had in fact been dead for 50 years, says Gmelin.[1] On the Serednaia Borsa, Gmelin met three Shamans and a Shamaness. The Shamans were apparently Tungusian, but the Shamaness claimed to be a Mongol. The former had on each shoulder two pointed iron horns. To their dress were hung two iron rings, one under the other, to each of which was fastened a leather strap, and to each of these a piece of thin iron eight inches long and one broad, having teeth like a saw on one side; at the end of the leather strap which reached to the bottom of the dress was a bell without a clapper. Here and there hung small iron rings, and below all two Chinese locks. The Shamaness had no horns on her shoulders. Her dress was hung with a number of discs which Gmelin says were like the so-called mirrors which are found in the graves; they had Chinese characters on one side. Behind her hung several long bands and a great rusty iron lock. She also had a Shaman's drum or tambourine, which the men had not. It was made as usual of leather or parchment stretched over a wooden frame. The drumstick was made of a crooked piece of wood, on one side of which was fastened a squirrel's skin. Instead of caps all four had a head ornament made of a number of bands fastened together crosswise, forming a kind of bridle. One of the Shamans, who was 70 years old, and who had practised his art for over 50 years, professed to be able to pass arrows through his body. A Saissan or prince urged Gmelin that he should see the Shamans perform. He, wishing to test them, persuaded one of his companions to feign that he was sometimes attacked with sudden faintness. The Shamans requested him to sit down with his friends, and then began their usual dancing and screaming, while the Shamaness beat her tambourine. The performers pretended that a whole army of devils were among the strangers, and this byplay, it was said, was to see whose particular devils were the strongest. The lot fell upon the old Shaman already mentioned. He said that when he was in the bloom of his strength he controlled a body of 120 devils, but now that he had grown old he could no longer bear their caresses, and had lost his power accordingly. He was now asked to try and diagnose the disease of the man who was feigning illness, and after jumping and screaming for a while he

[1] *Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 397-400.

placed one of his hands above the other and pointed at him. He presently declared that the disease came from that locality, and said that it might be cured by the use of certain herbs. The Shamaness followed with her performances, and after similarly jumping and screaming for a while, she stretched her right hand towards the left of the patient and felt it above the place where the pulse is generally felt. She declared, however, she could see no disease. Another of the Shamans also felt him with both hands, after a similar performance "and smiled," says Gmelin, "as if he knew he was an impostor." He ended by giving a similar opinion to the Shamaness. Gmelin was asked to see the performance of the passage of the arrow, whereupon the old Shaman confessed before a number of Tunguses that he had in fact duped them, and had not passed it through his flesh but only through his robe, colouring it with blood he kept in a bladder, and that he could not have misled them if they had not been so credulous and stupid, and he repeated the performance before Gmelin himself.[2] Similar performances were witnessed by our traveller, whose humour never deserts him, on the Unga river, where he met with a Shamaness who professed to thrust a knife into her flesh and to draw it out again, without leaving a wound, but she did her work so clumsily that the trick was patent enough save to the wondering Buriats. Here he was also introduced to a famous Shaman, who *inter alia* claimed to be able to move his body instantaneously to another place. This he did not see done, but he saw him walk about a fire on his bare feet which he explains by the fact that through their habitual dancing and going barefoot the Shamans' feet become very hard. He also saw him take up live coals and apparently wash himself with them, but he remarked the dexterity with which he surrounded the living coal with ashes as he did this.[3]

When Gmelin visited the Buriats, near Udinsk, an old Shamaness, the grand-mother of one of their chiefs, had become paralysed, and could no longer perform her sorceries. This was deemed a great loss by them, as she used to discover thieves and to recover lost herds, and she not only claimed to have intercourse with the god of the nether regions, but also with the Infinite Being. On one occasion he informed her that he meant to descend to the earth on a certain mountain. She told her compatriots, and on the day appointed they assembled before day-break, and she marched at their head, addressing them in language likely to arouse their piety. When the first rays of the sun gilded the mountain top she said that the critical moment was at hand, that she felt a divine afflatus, and that those who wished to share her vision must keep close to her. The sun rose higher and higher, and presently some flashes of light came from the mountain top such as the Buriats had never before seen. They fell on the ground on their faces, and the old woman raised a cry of joy. She received a number of sables, pieces of cloth and silk, as presents, and she returned to her yurt amid the shouts and acclamations of the crowd. It was afterwards discovered that she had placed an image of polished metal on the mountain which had reflected the unusual light. This destroyed her credit with some, but not with the majority of her people.[58] He describes the sacrifices made by the Shamans, much as Giorgi does, and tells us they offered such sacrifices to the god of the sky and to the devil. To the former in his honour; to the latter to appease his wrath. He says the Buriats were in great fear of their Shamans, and believed that they could, with the help of the devil, do them infinite harm, that when dead they returned to torment them in their sleep and threatened them with a violent death. When they had terrible dreams of this kind they repaired to the place where the Shaman had been buried with all his panoply, and tried to appease him by some sacrifice prescribed by a living Shaman. The sacrificed animal having been eaten, the skeleton was laid on the grave.[59]

Pallas has described for us the traces of Shamanism that still remained among the Kalmuks when he wrote. He tells us their Shamans are despised and punished when discovered by the Lamas performing their hocus pocus. The male Shamans are called **B o h** and the female **U d u g u n**. When the Lamas failed to bring relief in trouble or danger, the common people still have recourse to them.

[2] Gmelin, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 82-87.
[3] *Ib.* vol. III, pp. 70-73.

[58] *Op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 136-137.
[59] *Id.*, vol. II, pp. 182-4.

They belong for the most part to the poorest class of the community. They offer sacrifices (*galtaikho*) according to the old practice, a custom which the Lamas, to conciliate the people, have adopted. This is a concession of principle, since the Buddhists object altogether to taking away life. The consecration of animals is also a custom which passed from the old Shamanism into the form of Lamaism adopted by the Kalmuks.[61] Pallas mentions the custom of consecrating a sheep which was part of the heritage from the Shamans as still prevailing when he wrote. He tells us that the rich Kalmuks were in the habit of choosing out a ram from their flock, which must be white with a yellow head. This was called *Tengeri Tokkho*, *i. e.* Heaven's or the Spirit's ram. It was not to be shorn or sold, but when it grew old, and it was thought proper to consecrate a fresh ram, then the old one was to be sacrificed. This was to be in autumn when the sheep were fat. The neighbours were summoned to such a sacrifice, which was accompanied by cries of the sorcerer directed towards the sunrise, and by the sprinkling of milk to feed the spirits of the air. It was carried out on a lucky day. The flesh was eaten, and the skeleton with a portion of the fat was burnt on a kind of altar raised on four posts, an ell and a half high, while the skin, the head and feet were hung up in the manner usual with the Buriats.[62] Marco Polo long ago referred to these sacrifices as prevailing among the Buddhists of Tangut, shewing how early Northern Buddhism adopted the previous practices into its own. He tells us that such of the Tangutans as had children used to feed up a sheep in honour of their idol, which they sacrificed at the new year or on the idol's feast day, when they took the sheep and their children with great ceremony before the idol. Having killed and cooked the sheep and placed it before the idol while they said their prayers, they afterwards carried it home, called their relatives together, and ate it. The head, feet, entrails and skin, with some of the meat, were reserved for the priests. When the flesh had been eaten the bones were collected and stored carefully in a hutch.[63]

Pallas, in his travels had an opportunity of closely inspecting the performances of a female Shaman among the Buriats. While at the Stanitza of Sharantzkoi one of these ladies, named Labantsiksa, belonging to the Khorintzi tribe, was introduced to him. She was accompanied by her husband and two other Buriats. Each one had a magical drum. She told him the number of her companions was not complete. There ought to be nine drums in order that the ceremony should have its proper solemnity. She bore two *sorbis* or batons which were covered like a horseman's sword sheath and ornamented at the top with a horse's head, a little bell and a number of small metal plates (*kholbuga*, a word meaning really a spoon). Her leather dress was also decorated with three pieces of metal. There hung down behind her from her shoulders, and reaching to the ground about 30 interlaced so called serpents (*nuchal*). They were made of pieces of black and white fur and of strips of the skins of the polecat and the red weasel. One of these serpents was split into three at its extremity. She called it *mogoi*. Without this she declared that a Buriattan Shamaness's dress was incomplete. Her cap was covered with an iron helmet armed with three pointed horns resembling the horns of a roebuck.

She did not hesitate to go through her performance although it was broad daylight, and moved and jumped about in a violent way until she got excited, at the same time singing and reciting various curses and making noises, the drums accompanying her. These curses were repeated by the Buriats who formed a circle round her. She resumed and completed her formula amidst convulsive transports and fainting and passing her hands over her face. After the first songs she began to run as if she wished to escape from the tent. Two Buriats having planted themselves at the door to prevent her, she, among other contortions, rushed with her head at the three Buriats who played the drums, and who were seated on the left of the yurt, like a bull charging. She took her two batons in her hand, and jumped several times in the chimney or smoke-hole as if she wished to catch the spirits of the air and to bring them into the tent. She then adopted a cheerful manner, and requested that questions might be put to her. She replied while singing

[61] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.* vol. II, pp. 341-342.
[62] Pallas, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 345-346.
[63] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 207.

and swaying to and fro. She asked Pallas for some alcohol, telling him he was a fortunate person, and that he would make some long journeys by sea. This concluded the spectacle. Pallas remarks upon the extraordinary generic resemblance pervading the Shamanism all over Siberia.[64] The great annual religious feasts form a notable part of the Shaman polity. Marco Polo describes the new year's feast held by Khubilai in February. On this occasion the Khân and all his people were dressed in white, for they deemed that white clothing was lucky, a custom which, as Colonel Yule says, seems to be distinctly attributable to the Mongols with whom the first month of the year is still called Chaghan Sara or the white month. White was a sacred colour with the Mongols, while among the Chinese it was the colour of mourning. On the great feast day the Khân was presented with rich and costly gifts. The people also gave one another white things, and Polo declares that over 100,000 white horses, richly caparisoned, were presented to the Khân from various quarters on this occasion.[65] White horses were deemed especially sacred, and Polo speaks thus of them: "Now when these mares are passing across the country, and any one falls in with them, be he the greatest lord in the land, he must not presume to pass until the mares have gone by; he must either tarry where he is, or go a half-day's journey round if need be, so as not to come nigh them; for they are to be treated with the greatest respect. Well, when the lord sets out from the Park on the 28th of August, the milk of all those is taken and sprinkled on the ground. And this is done on the injunction of the idolaters and idol priests, who say that it is an excellent thing to sprinkle that milk on the ground every 28th of August, so that the earth and the air and the false gods shall have their share of it, and the spirits likewise that inhabit the air and the earth. And that those beings will protect and bless the Khân and his children and his wives and his folk, his gear and his cattle and his horses, his corn and all that is his. After this is done, the Emperor is off and away."[66] The Buriats have, according to Giorgi, two great annual feasts. One in the autumn when their new year commences. This they called Sanga haara, or White Moon, and also Shorogi Gudur. Giorgi describes at length one of these feasts, in which he took part. Such a feast, he says, was not necessarily held every year, and it was deemed enough in fact if it was held every second, third or fourth year. All the heads of families who attended either brought offerings with them or devoutly shared in eating those brought by others. The length of the feast depended on the number joining in it, etc. etc., sometimes one day, sometimes more. On the occasion referred to six sheep and one goat were offered, and it lasted two days. As a mountain was preferred for such feasts, accordingly in the one witnessed by Giorgi, the Saissan or prince with his family which lived in three yurts, repaired to a mountain whence there was a good view. The feast was meant to be confined to the God of Heaven, and to the sun, earth, mountains and rivers, but in the accompanying songs the whole of the Shaman gods were named.

Before the yurts towards the south a rope made of white hair from the mane of a consecrated horse (vide *infra*) was hung out from east to west, one end of it was fastened to a stake on which was a sacrificed animal, and the other to a birch tree. From the rope hung many rags of different colours, little banners and tufts of hawks' feathers, and a great number of objects used in tethering the foals in summer. On another small birch tree was a piece of wood like a rake with seven projecting teeth, and on each tooth a small three-pointed flag. These various rags and banners were supposed to assist by their waving the prayers of the assembly. The feathers were consecrated, so that they might afterwards be used to feather lucky arrows, and the pieces of wood so that they might be of greater benefit when used in the future. Further to the south there burnt a sacrificial fire (*arelukhu*). To the west of it stood a yurt built of rods covered with *voilok* or felted cloth and open to the fire. It was in the shape of a bowl. In it was placed a *nogit* or god made of rags. It represented in silken stuff four outlines of naked men drawn in red chalk; all had leaden eyes, and on their heads were tufts of feathers. Near the rope was a *shire* (*i. e.* a small round spot), surrounded with a ring of dried dung.

[64] Pallas, *Voyages*, vol. IV, pp. 254-256.
[65] *Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 376-377.
[66] Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 291.

Here the refuse from the sacrificed animals was burnt. The Shaman, an intelligent man, was dressed in Chinese silver tissue and without the paraphernalia with which Shamans generally deck themselves. He wore a cap of sable fur. His assistant was dressed in the old-fashioned Buriat costume. On a coverlet made of *voilok* were placed four wooden bowls containing the milk of different kinds of domestic animals, and before the fire and on its north side was a stage four feet high standing on four posts with its boards covered with faggots. The people formed a ring enclosing the small yurt containing the god (*Urustu*), the fire and the stage. With his assistant the Shaman planted himself with the sheep to be sacrificed (*sukhuli*) before the Urustu. He turned his face towards the south, while the sheep had its head turned towards the nogit or god, and the assistant held a bowl of sour milk. The Shaman began his prayer, and also to wave about the small prayer flag (*yodo*). The people sometimes sang with him, and sometimes called out *khaierlish, i.e.* "Have mercy." Meanwhile the assistant sprinkled the milk from the bowls in the air with a ladle, all except the last ladleful from each bowl, which was thrown into the fire by the Shaman. As soon as a bowl was empty, the assistant took up a little fat and put it, while murmuring a formula, between his girdle and his coat. One bowl was offered to the God of heaven and to the sun, the second to the earth, the third to the mountains, and the fourth to the rivers. The Shaman now took the sheep, and let its forehead touch the *nogit*. He then cut off a little wool from its back. Whenever in his song he mentioned the deity, he bowed and touched the ground with his hands, the bystanders also bowing. The sheep was then put to death by some of the common people. A slit was made in the breast, and the heart was pulled out until it lay on the breast, when the animal died.[67] The Shaman now thrust the bits of wool he had cut off through the slit into the lungs of the sheep. This was supposed to protect all other sheep from the staggers and the dropsy, and to be otherwise beneficial. During the killing of the sheep the Shaman had nothing to do. Each one conversed as he pleased, and smoked tobacco. They now cut the flesh from the bones and boiled it. This was also done with the entrails, the refuse being thrown upon the *shire*. The boiled flesh was placed upon the platform or altar as an offering. As long as the Shaman's song, which was now renewed, continued, a boy held the boiled pluck of the sheep towards the south. The Shaman threw four bits of flesh and fat and as many pieces of the entrails into the fire. Prayers, bowings and wavings of prayer-banners were gone through as in the previous offering of milk. Four ladles full of broth from the meat were also thrown into the fire. The meat was now eaten without any ceremony. The skeleton was impaled upon a birch pole, and over it was stretched the skin of the sheep, the whole was then set up in a row with previous similar monuments, a row extending from east to west. The people then re-formed the ring, into which the Shaman entered with his Shaman's staff (*horbu*). He again struck up his song, but so wildly and with such shrieking and with so many frantic leaps, shiverings and roarings, that he might well be taken to be mad. He mentioned the Okodil and several evil spirits very often. The Buriats said that he was cursing them, and interdicting them from doing them or their flocks the smallest harm. Lastly, the *shire* was set on fire and burnt without any further ceremony.[68] In such a sacrificial feast it was essential that the animal which was to be sacrificed was healthy. It did not matter what its breed, age, or colour were. The feast here described was the great autumn feast.

The other great feast, *Saiga*, was held in the spring, and was chiefly characterized by the offering of the first milk; several families joined together in making their offerings; after which the Shaman took the bowl and threw it towards the south. In throwing it, he made it turn like a wheel. If, when it reached the ground, it stood upright the gift was deemed to have been accepted; if, on the other hand, it fell over, the contrary, and a sheep or a foal had to be brought in its place. Giorgi tells us that when he was at Olkhon, the Shaman made three throws, all of which turned out

[67] It will be remembered that Chinghiz Khân prescribed that all animals must be put to death in this way, a regulation in which he, no doubt, merely stamped with fresh authority an old practice enjoined by the Shamans.

[68] *Id.* pp. 316-319.

fortunately, and were the cause of much rejoicing.

Such offerings were also made in times of sickness and misfortune. Thank-offerings were apparently not known. When they were travelling on important business or on a dangerous journey, the Buriats took with them a live sheep and killed it at the close of the first day's journey, on a mountain, said prayers, and made many prostrations to the sun, laid it on a platform of dry wood and burnt it. The fat and blood which flowed from it were caught up and eaten with a show of devotion. They did not hang up the skin of every animal sacrifice. Sometimes, when the Shamans decided that the animal should be eaten, they collected the bones, and bound them on to a pole covered with larch twigs. Such a pole was called *Gur*, and stood behind the yurt towards the north. When they moved on they left all the offerings (*tirgans*) standing until the wind blew them down.[69] The consecration of a horse is called *Kukumurin Sulbundu ongulbulde, i. e.* the "dedication of a horse to the god Sulbundu," and the horse itself is styled *Ongon murin, i. e.*, the god's horse. It is done partly from piety, partly from fear and precaution, partly on account of distress, when the flocks no longer increase, because of sickness, frost, or robbers; at such times, as among the Tunguses, it is customary sometimes to dedicate all the cattle or horses for a while to the gods. The breed, age, or colour of dedicated horses are indifferent; but they must be healthy in every way. The Buriats believe the gods, especially Sulbundu (the herdsman's god, the Pan of the Greeks ?) rides on three horses in the night-time, while protecting the other horses, and they profess to find them covered with perspiration in the morning. The gods, they said, would not ride on sick horses. Only men (not women) were allowed to ride on dedicated horses, which were marked by a red patch on their manes, and they were to be ridden with a new saddle and bridle. Generally stallions of the famous Tabun breed were selected to be thus dedicated as guardians of the flocks. When so dedicated, it was deemed wrong to sell, give, or kill them. If one died, its skin was hung up amidst many ceremonies, and its flesh was eaten.

In dedicating a horse a sacrificial fire (*arelukhu*) is made, a piece of felt is spread out on the south on which are placed four bowls, one with milk, a second with airak, a third with cheese, while the fourth is empty. The coverlet with the offerings is called *turge*. Before the *turge* and also towards the south stands the horse with its head towards the south, held by two men. Before the horse there is planted a small birch tree with a small banner on it. The Shaman goes in his ordinary dress, and carrying his prayer flags called *yodo*; these he puts in the fire, and lets the smoke from them rise into the horse's nostrils, while he murmurs a formula. He then cuts off some of the hairs from its forehead and its tail, and throws the bits towards the south, the bystanders meanwhile forming a ring and joining with him in a chaunt. While singing, he pours some of the milk, airak, and cheese successively towards the south. The portions of these still remaining in the three bowls he pours into the fourth and empty one, and taking a portion rubs the horse from its ears along the mane and down the back as far as the tail, murmuring softly all the while, then fastens a patch hardly a span in size in its mane. Lastly, he removes the bridle and places the bowl containing the remnants of the offering on the horse's crupper. When it falls off, if it falls behind it is deemed that the horse is acceptable to the gods. It is also important to note whether the bowl falls towards the East or South, when it is deemed more fortunate than if it fall towards the West or North.[70] The herdsmen are accustomed also to erect on various hills an *obo*, which is a small empty hut, in which it is supposed the god who protects the cattle and cattle-breeding may shelter in the night or in bad weather.[71]

Gmelin was also present at one of the Buriat New Year's feasts. The ceremony, he says, commenced at sunrise. Behind a row of birch trees about two fathoms long there were, a little to the left, two other trees of the same kind, and behind these were three Buriats, one of whom, a little in front of the others, was kneeling down. He held a branch of a birch tree horizontally, and pointing towards the rising sun spoke in a loud voice. Gmelin was told he was summoning the gods. The other two were standing, and each held a wooden cup filled with *kumiz* and spirit distilled from it in equal parts.

[69] *Id.* pp. 320 and 321.

[70] Georgi, pp. 321-322.

[71] Giorgi, *op. cit.* p. 322.

They advanced for some distance, threw their cups in the air, and spoke certain words, while the one on his knees continued to pray. Having repeated the ceremony three times, they refilled their cups, and this time threw them in front of them. Gmelin was told that, having saluted the god three times, he had been pleased to accept their civility, and to show how pleased they were that he had deigned to visit the Buriats they had thrown their cups towards him. Meanwhile a man on the left of the trees held a sheep which was to be sacrificed. In order to make it more acceptable some spirit and milk mixed together were poured over its head. Two men then threw it down, a third made an incision some fingers below its midriff through which he thrust his hand and broke the aorta, taking care none of the blood fell on the ground. When the animal was cold its intestines were taken out, its blood was carefully collected on a wooden plate, its skin was taken off and its left forefoot and right hind foot were broken at the joint and the two others were cut off. A small triangular piece of the sternum was detached with some of the flesh on it and covered with skin. The flesh was now all taken off, and put in a cauldron with the intestines, the latter having been first a little washed. The bones and blood were thrown into a pit, and the cauldron was put on the fire. The small piece of breast-bone was roasted on the ashes, and divided among those officiating at the sacrifice, and two other considerable people from the guests, and eaten. The meat and intestines when cooked were eaten with great speed, wood was put on the pit which was set fire to in order to burn the bones. The skin was suspended as a memorial of the sacrifice.[72] Kumiz and spirit were freely drunk during the feast. Gmelin also describes the consecration of a horse which he witnessed. He says that he did not arrive until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, while the Buriats firmly believed that the consecration would not be effective if performed after mid-day, "but what will not faith do among simple souls," says our traveller. The Shaman declared it was not noon; they thereupon met solemnly, and no longer doubted the validity of the ceremony. The horse was a grey one. The Shaman pronounced some words over it, and then gave it a gentle stroke with his hand, and the man who held it made it run. Such a consecrated horse, he says, was never mounted nor employed in any kind of work. When its master died it was sacrificed, and it was then eaten by the Shamans and others.[73] Pallas gives us an account of a sacrifice which he witnessed among the Derbet Kalmuks and which was made for the recovery of a sick woman and for the good fortune of her husband, the officiating person being a Shamaness (*Udugun*). A lucky day having been selected, a sheep was taken into the hut and was put to death in the prescribed fashion, the breast-bone was then taken out with the skin upon it, the blood and fat were collected together and the lower jaw with the tongue, wind-pipe, gullet, lungs and heart all in one piece, together with the liver, were then placed in a cauldron. The sheep was then cut across into halves, the fore-half was again split in two, the piece between the legs with the fat tail being detached as a tid-bit. The whole of the flesh was then removed from the bones, and was put into the cauldron and boiled, the right shoulder-blade with meat upon it being alone left uncooked. The breast-bone with the skin on it cut into strips was made into the shape of a triangle, and laid on the top of the other ingredients in the cauldron. Meanwhile night approached, which was the time specially chosen for their practices by the Shamans. An astragalus bone of a sheep (called *shagai* by the Kalmuks) was fastened to a red silken cord; one end of this was to be held by the host, while the other was thrown over the smoke-hole at the top of the yurt. The kettle was now removed from the fire, and standing opposite the door the Shamaness took a figure of Buddha which had been taken from a little box, made a lamp out of dough, and put it before the figure. The boiled flesh was now taken in a great bowl by two men, who first put it near the door, and then held it over the fire. The ears were detached from the head of the sheep and the hoofs from its feet. Then, with some of the skin and all the pluck they were put into a sack, in which and over the rest the heart was placed, and the whole was put down near the sorceress. At the same time some of the fat of the sacrificed animal, which was near the sick hostess, was put on the trivet or tripod over the fire. While the host

[72] *Op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 22-25.

[73] *Op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 32-33.

distributed airak, the head and bones were stripped of the coarser flesh, and the brain was also taken out. The best part of the flesh, together with the tid-bit above mentioned, were now eaten by the sorceress, the host and the more distinguished people present. The rest was given to the ordinary Kalmuks, who were also allowed to drink of the broth mixed with blood from the great mug, partly with their hands, partly with bowls. Two of the relatives were allowed to take bones with flesh upon them. When the greater part was consumed and some more fat had been put on the fire, preparations were made for the burnt offering. The wood on the fire-place was ranged in the shape of a four-sided funeral pile. Three lamps made of dough were arranged round this in the form of a triangle. A loose cord was twisted out of fine wool from the sheep, this was wound about the boiled breast-bone. The fat about the kidneys which still remained over was put upon the fire, then the head, which had been well cleaned, then the lower jaw bones, then the breast-bone, then the still connected knuckle-bones of the legs, and lastly the ribs, upon which some flesh still remained, and upon the whole were strewn some portions of broken fat. The sick woman then poured some airak over the fire, then some milk, then some sugar and raisins, and lastly two large lumps of mingled butter and fat, while her husband covered the whole with a branch, and a piece of wood from the trunk of the tree called Arza by the Mongols.[74] The sorceress now placed the host opposite the door, gave him a bowl with flesh and broth in his right hand, and in the left the above-mentioned shoulder-blade and one end of the cord which was hung across the smoke-hole of the yurt. Then taking up the sack with its contents as above described, she took it to each of the three lamps, and waved it over the fire, as if she meant thus to shew it to the spirits of the air whom she summoned by repeatedly calling out *Khurn Khurn* ! She then went up to the host laughing, and offered him the heart out of the bag, of which he bit off the point, and she also let his son and his sick wife taste. As she repeated the invocation a second and third time, the host again ate a portion of the heart until hardly any of it remained. The sorceress now put aside her sack and the host the shoulder-blade. The sick woman gave the sheep's caul, with a copper coin attached to it, to the assistant who put it on the fire. The Shamaness took a bell in her left hand and an arrow in her right one, and began to reel to and fro before the gods, to scream out invocations, to make gestures with her body, head and arms, so that her cap fell off. It was picked up by her assistant, who hardly refrained from laughing at this performance. She held it under her right arm, and marked it with a burning piece of the Arza wood. In the course of a quarter of an hour she had worked herself into a profuse perspiration, and felt herself sufficiently inspired to prophesy. She first announced to the host his future fortune. Thereupon several of the other Kalmuks asked her through her assistant to tell them of their affairs also, and they also screamed out to her their wants in person. She in turn replied. She continued to rave thus for an hour, when she laid aside the arrow, and continued her magical performance with two bells, and pretended to see two goddesses, one of whom she called Dai Khattun, the sea wife, and the other Okin Tenggeri (the young wife of the sky). She at length finished her performance. The flesh in the sack was now consumed in common, and about midnight the company separated. The sorceress retained as her reward two pieces of white cloth in each of which nine pieces of money were wrapped, nine having, as we have seen, been held a sacred number among the Mongols from an early period. The details here related, which seem so childish, are all doubtless of very ancient origin, and all have a symbolical meaning. Pallas adds that some of the Shamans were accustomed in their juggling to use a large kind of Jew's harp called *Tümmer khur*.

On such occasions as the one above described the bones were to remain on the hearth until quite burnt. The flesh on the prepared shoulder-blade was to be consumed on the third day following. The pieces of copper money put in the fire were sought for the next morning by the invalid, and kept as sacred. Of the bones of the animal sacrificed the shoulder-blades were alone preserved, these being used in subsequent necromancy.[75] Erdmann tells us that among the Buriats who are still Shamanists, the soothsayers or conjurors are called *bugoi*, or *udagan*, accord-

[74] *i. e.* the Savin.

[75] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.*, vol. II, pp. 342-345.

ing as the sacred office is filled by men or women. The *bugoi* maintain that they know better than other people how to deal with certain mischievous spirits, named by them Ongotui, at the head of which is a spirit named Begdse, which dwells on the Mondorgon-ola, or the volcanic mountain near the Irkut. The promontory at the place where the Angara issues from Lake Baikal and the Island of Olkhon are also sacred places, where sacrifices are made to conciliate these spirits, and as proof of their acceptance are carried off secretly by the *bugoi*. The Buriats have been accustomed, from the oldest times, to celebrate yearly festivals for the good spirits. Naked mountain-tops are selected for that purpose, and the spots so chosen are marked by an *obo*, as it is called, or rude heap of stones. About midsummer, when the cattle of the steppes are in the best condition, offerings are brought to these altars, and the solemn rites are followed by wrestling matches and other popular amusements. The Buddhist Lamas, we are further told, have recognized and sanctioned all these ancient usages in order that the Buriats may regard the new religion only as an extension or completing of the old. They have declared the Begdse to be a true Burkhan, and in honour of him they allow their followers to celebrate a great popular festival every three years near the temple of the Kutukhta at Urga, on the mountain of Khan-ola.[76]

Pallas describes the *obos* as erected both by the Mongols and Kalmuks, and as being, like many Lamaist ceremonies, relics of the old Shamanism. They are erected with considerable ceremony, are repaired to by people to say their prayers, and are also the rendezvous where the smaller feasts are held. They are generally erected in very fertile places and on mountains, and are made of sand, earth, stones or wood, raised into a mound, upon which are hung prayer-banners, prayer-wheels and ribbons, and, among the Mongols, shoulder-blades of sheep with Tibetan prayers upon them. They are generally consecrated to the protecting spirit of the earth. Each passer-by, who goes there to pray, leaves some offering in the shape of a piece of his clothing, some hair from his horse's mane, &c. In addition to these *obos*, the Siberian tribes, including the Mongols, erect heaps of stones on passes where a road goes, and each traveller takes a stone or piece of wood from the foot of the mountain and throws it on the heap, so that the mountain shall not be lessened in bulk by the wear and tear. The Lamas also hang their shoulder-blades of sheep with prayers upon them near mineral springs and baths, and they also hang rags, horse-hair or pieces of skin on bushes.[77]

Timkofski tells us how near the river Iro, on the east of the road, there rises a perpendicular rock, forming the extremity of a chain of mountains that stretches along the right bank of the river. On the top of this mountain is an *obo*: the native raises such *obos* with solemn ceremonies, according to the directions of a Lama, before which he prostrates himself in devotion to the Almighty spirit. In time of war, he implores his succour to conquer his enemy, and to defend his country; when diseases afflict his family or his cattle, and under all his other misfortunes he begs mercy of the spirit of the mountains and the valleys. Every Mongol who rides past an *obo* alights from his horse, places himself to the south of the *obo*, with his face to the north, makes several prostrations, and lays something upon the altar. "I most frequently," says our traveller, "observed on the *obos* tufts of horse-hair, which are pledges of the prayers of the Nomads for the preservation of their animals, their inseparable companions." The *obos* serve also to point out the road, and to designate the frontiers.[78]

In regard to the practice of fastening rags, &c. to bushes and trees, which prevails so widely in Northern Asia, it is curious to turn to the history of the famous Ilkhan, of Persia, Ghazan, and to read how, in 1302, when at Bendlejin, he went to pay a visit to a tree under which he had sheltered when hard pressed by the rebel Nuruz. He now visited it with his amirs and wives, and like a good Musalman thanked heaven for his good fortune in a *namaz* of two *rekats*. After exhorting his followers, we are told, they proceeded to attach ribbons to the tree, around which the amirs danced. Pulad Ching-sang, the Mongol prince to whom Rashidu'd-dîn confesses his indebtedness for much information, then went on to relate a story how Chinghiz

[76] Erdmann, vol. II, pp. 306-307.

[77] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.* vol. II, p. 336.

[78] Timkofski, vol. I, pp. 25-26.

Khâṇ's uncle Khubilai,[79] whose bravery was so famous, when marching once against the Merkit alighted before a tree which was on his route, and having prayed there made a vow if he returned victorious to go and hang ribbons upon it. Having secured a victory he in fact returned and danced round the tree with his troops. Ghazan, we are told, was much pleased with this anecdote, and said if his ancestors had not been so pious, God would not have made them kings of the earth, and he proceeded to dance himself.[80]

One of the oldest practices prevalent in the East, and which is closely bound up with Shamanism, is that of weather conjuring. Marco Polo says that during the three months of every year that the Khân resided at Shangtu; if it happened to be bad weather there were certain crafty enchanters and astrologers in his train, who were such adepts in necromancy and the diabolic arts, that they were able to prevent any cloud or storm from passing over the spot on which the Emperor's palace stood.[81] This practice of weather-conjuring, Pallas says, is called *Sadda Barina* among the Kalmuks. The weather doctors not only profess to foretell the kind of weather which is impending, but also to control rain or clouds, fog or wind. They also profess to be able to counteract the effects of similar conjuring. The chief mode of weather-conjuring is by means of mystical formulæ (*tarni*) which are to be addressed with a believing heart and deep devotion by the weather conjuror (*saaduchi*) to certain gods. To bring rain the formula must be addressed to the god Ochirbani. The following is the formula for this purpose :—

Um khum sungni nagarasa gangpuk tsookha.

To cause clouds to rise the address must be to Mansushiri Burkhan with the formula :—

Um sarva gharma karem laalik tsookha.

To bring fog the following formula is addressed to the Burkhan Nagansana :—

Um zarchu ningwo rūh rewok.

To create a cool breeze recourse is had to the Burkhan Radnasambova[82] with the phrase :—

Um naga yoh yagi sookha.

To drive away clouds recourse is had to the above-named gods and also to Khonjin boddissado, with the formula :—

Um yada nagara chilchil polpol tsookha.

Khorijin Boddissado is also appealed to to cause storm winds with the phrase :—

Um ghom ghom daṃ dam pat pat pungh pungh tsookha.

These appeals and formulæ are doubtless largely inspired by Lamaism. They are accompanied by ceremonies which are much more clearly Shamanistic. We are told the *Tarnis*[83] or prayers are accompanied by the dipping of certain stones in water in a bowl, the water and the stones being thrown in the direction of the quarter of the sky whence the rain is to come. If a storm of wind is required then sand or dust is similarly thrown.[84] The stone used in weather-conjuring is jade, called *yĕda* or *jeda* by the Kalmuks, and the weather-conjuring itself is called *jedamishi*, the Kalmuks call the conjurors *jidaji*. Bergmann tells us they generally practise their art when it is clear that rain is coming. If they fail they declare that their efforts are counteracted by those of other magicians, or that the heat is too great for the rain to overcome it.[85] Pallas says they also make much of a stone sometimes found in the ground and at other times in animals.[86] This when put in the water causes it to bubble and boil, and being accompanied by certain *tarni* or formulæ cause rain to fall.[87] The chief method used in their ordinary prognostications by the Shamans is the famous one of prophesying from the marks upon the burnt shoulder-blades of sheep. The process was described long ago by Rubruquis, who tells us that when on one occasion he went to Mangu Khân's palace he met coming away a servant (quidam famulus) bearing some shoulder-blades of sheep burnt as black as charcoal, and when he inquired what this meant he was told that Mangu never did anything without consulting such bones, nor did he even allow any

[79] Really his great uncle Kutluk Khan, who is called Kubilai by the Persian writers.
[80] D'Ohsson, vol. IV, pp. 313-314.
[81] *Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 291-292.
[82] The Jñâni Buddha Ratnasambhava; so, Mansushiri is Mañjuśrî; and Nagasana is Nâgâsêna.—Ed. *I.A.*

[83] Dharaṇis.
[84] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.* vol. II, pp. 348-349.
[85] D'Ohsson, vol. II, pp. 615-616. Bergmann, *Nom. Streif.*, vol. III, p. 183.
[86] *i. e.* the bezoar.
[87] Pallas, *Op. cit.* vol. II, p. 439.

one to be admitted to his presence until he had thus decided whether it would be lucky to do so. This form of divination was thus carried out:—Three shoulder-blades having been procured, the Khân held them in his hand, and turned over in his mind whether some course was to be carried out or not. The servant then took the bones and burnt them in a hut close by, of which there were two close to the Khân's sleeping-quarters. When they were burnt black they were taken to him, and then carefully inspected. If the cracks caused by the fire occurred longitudinally, then it was deemed prudent to carry out whatever was proposed or intended; if on the other hand they occurred transversely, or if a bone broke into round pieces, then it was deemed inexpedient to carry out the plan.[88] Pallas has given an account of this kind of divination as still practised among the Kalmuks. He tells as that among the various kinds of divination which have been apparently practised among the credulous Mongols, and which have widely prevailed in Asia wherever Shamanism has existed, perhaps the most famous is that of prophesying what will take place to-morrow or a few days hence, by an inspection of the fissures made in burnt shoulder-blades by the fire. These are interpreted according to certain systematic rules. This mode of prophesying is known to the Kalmuks as *dalla tullike*, and those who practise it are called *Dallâji*. These people are not Shamans but laymen, who have acquired by long practice great skill in the art. Among the Kalmuks there is a work entitled *Dalla* containing rules for the interpretation of the different cracks, transverse and straight, which occur in a burnt shoulder-blade, and the Lamaists employ a special prayer addressed to the god of medicine, O t a c h i, while the bones are on the fire. The best bones for the purpose are those of sheep, of the larger antelope, of the roe and reindeer. A hare's shoulder-blade is only good for one day's prophecy, while that of the wild boar can only be used to foretell the issue of a boar hunt. The process of preparation is to take a shoulder-blade with its flesh upon it and to boil it. The flesh must then be removed with a knife and not with the teeth. When the bone is being burnt for some person not present, a piece of his clothing or of his goods must be present as an emblem (*ghai*) of himself. The bone must remain on the fire until the Dallaji deems there are a sufficient number of fissures, when he prophesies according to their situation, proportions and relation to one another, whether there will be ill-fortune or good, life or death, or whether some purpose will have a fortunate termination or no. Pallas says that it is strange how frequently these prophesies turn out right, thus increasing the reputation of this method of divining. Notwithstanding the variety there is in the disposal of the fissures according to the heat of the fire, the position of the bone, etc. etc., there are certain principal lines which are tolerably constant, and to which the Kalmuks attach certain names and virtues. Pallas has given a detailed list of these which however require his plate to understand them.[89] In the earliest times of Chinese history we read of divination by means of the Tortoise (*kuei*). This was practised by burning certain herbs in the carapace of a tortoise until certain fissures appeared in it.[90] Pallas tells us that in the work *Belgen Bichik*, a special kind of divination is described, consisting in the selection of nine long threads or strings, to the end of one of which a bead is attached. These are held between the thumb and index finger of the left hand, and are plaited together with the fingers of the other hand during the reading of certain mystical formulæ, the performer not looking at them. They are then wound once round the index finger, and one being taken at random is drawn out. The event is foretold according as the beaded thread comes out first, second, third, etc. etc.[91]

The Shamans also prophesy from the cries of ravens and of magpies, the flight of birds, etc. The cry of the owl and the howling of dogs are deemed unlucky.[92] The various prohibitions embodied in the code of Chinghiz and which were, as we argued, due to fear of insulting the elements, were no doubt drawn directly from the teaching of Shamanism. Carpini's list of such prohibitions is more extensive than that we gave. Thus he says it was forbidden to put a knife into the fire or in any way to touch

[88] Rubruquis, pp. 318-319.
[89] *Saml. Hist. Nach.* vol. II, pp. 350-354; see also D'Ohsson, vol. II, pp. 616-617.
[90] De Mailla, vol. I, p. 104, note 1.
[91] Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.* vol. II, p. 354.
[92] Gomboyef, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. II, p. 655.

fire with a knife, to take meat out of a cauldron with a knife or to trim a fire with an axe. It was deemed that by these acts the fire might be decapitated. Similarly it was forbidden to support oneself against the whip with which a horse was beaten (the Mongols, adds Carpini, used no spurs), also to touch arrows with a whip, to take or kill young birds, to hit a horse with its bridle, to strike a bone with another bone, to spill milk or other drink or food on the ground or to micturate in the house. Anyone committing such an offence wilfully was put to death, if involuntarily a large fine had to be paid, and the tent and its contents had to be carefully purified, before which nothing was to pass in or out of it. Again, if anyone took a bite of some food, and it choked him so that he spat it out again, a hole was dug under the tent, and he was dragged through it, and was put to death without mercy; and in the same way if any one stepped on the threshold of the house. Carpini remarks that the Mongols had many such customs, but to kill men, to invade the territory of others, to take the property of another, to fornicate, etc. etc., were not deemed sins among them.[93] Gomboyef, in commenting on some of these prohibitions says they are for the most part still in force. It is still held to be a sin to take anything from a fire or a kettle with a sharp instrument, to cut anything near a fire, to strike a horse with a whip or a bridle, or to hit one bone with another, to spill milk on the ground, or to micturate in the yurt, or towards the sun or moon. It is no longer the custom, however, to put a choking person who spits out what he has in his mouth to death, but he is struck on the back with the fist, whence the proverb, *Khakhaksan degere nidurakhu*, i.e. "To strike with the fist outside the choker." According to the Buriats this striking of the back is not meant to ease the person coughing, but to ward off ill-luck, and it is very probable, as Gomboyef says, that in old days it was only choking in the tent of the Khân that was deemed a mortal offence. Among the Mongols another method is now employed for warding off this ill-luck, namely, the ceremony called *Dalalgha*, which consists in the Shaman or the Lama, if he be present, taking a piece of the fat of the size of a fist from the tail of a sheep, putting it on the end of an arrow, waiving it to and fro, and having invoked good luck, putting it at his request into the mouth of the master of the house, who must eat it without touching it with his hands.[94]

Hyacinthe tells us that the Shamans are interred by other Shamans, who conjure the evil spirits not to disturb the soul of the deceased. The bodies of the Shamans are generally buried, according to a desire expressed before their decease, in elevated places, or in the cross ways, that they may be more easily able to do mischief to those who pass by. The Shamans sometimes predict, especially to those with whom they have not been on good terms, that their ghost will come and require of them sacrifices which it will be difficult to perform. The Mongols believe that the soul of the Shaman cannot go to God, but remains on earth in the form of an evil spirit, doing mischief to mankind; and the Shamans avail themselves of this belief to demand marks of respect and sacrifices. Therefore, if a person is attacked by some unknown disorder, the Mongols instantly run to the Shaman to consult him on the cause of the disease; the wizard never fails to attribute it to some evil spirit who demands a sacrifice; he conjures the malignant spirit to be appeased by an offering, and to leave the patient, and he receives some recompense for his trouble.[95] These notices about Shamans might have been greatly extended if we had collected the materials available from among the Tunguses, Yakuts, &c., but we have deemed it better to limit our extracts to those relating to Shamanism as actually subsisting, until comparatively recently, among the Mongols. It has been long decaying among them, and Hyacinthe says that it received a great blow in 1819 and 1820 from an energetic and distinguished Lama who lived in the Kochun of Merghen-vang, who succeeded in expelling the Shamans from the country of the Khalkhas. This example was imitated by the Buriats of Selenghinsk, and partly by those of Khorin, and their utensils and apparel were burnt.[96]

[93] *Op. cit.* pp. 624-626.

[94] *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. II, pp. 653-654.

[95] Timkofski's *Travels*, vol. II, pp. 312-313.

[96] Timkofski's *Travels*, vol. II, pp. 313-314.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE NOMENCLATURE OF TAWÂF.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—Would any of your readers kindly supply the information sought in the following queries:—

1. What are the names of the two *Tawâfs* which the pilgrims perform at the mosque at 'Arafât, and at the mosque at Mina?

2. May the final *Tawâf* of Ḥajj and the first of 'Umra overlap one another (in other words, will one and the same *Tawâf* suffice when the performance of Al 'Umra immediately succeeds the performance of Al Ḥajj), or must the two *Tawâfs* be performed in succession?

3. Burckhardt speaks of pilgrims performing Al 'Umra immediately on returning from Mina, and *without changing the Iḥrâm*. What is *Tawâf* called when so performed?

4. The Iḥrâm being removed between the First Lapidation and the ceremony of Sacrificing, what are we to understand Burckhardt to mean when he thus speaks of his having performed the ceremony of Al 'Umra without changing the Iḥrâm of Al Ḥajj?

5. Is there a special name for *Tawâf* when it is performed after doffing the Iḥrâm of Ḥajj and before donning it again for the ceremony of Al 'Umra?

6. Are the *Tawâf* before going out to 'Umra and the *Tawâf* after returning thence called by two separate names, or by the one name *Tawâfu'l-'Umra*?

7. Could any reader mention why the *Mustajâb* is an object of special veneration? The term *Mustajâb*, I may add, is the proper name of the long, narrow slip of red sandstone which is inserted perpendicularly in the wall of the Ka'ba near the Yamanî angle of the building, and is often mistakenly called Al-Ruknu'l-Yamanî.

Allahabad, Jan. 20, 1883. J. D. BATE.

SAṀVAT AND MAURYA ERAS.

SIR,—May I be allowed to call attention to a passage in your invaluable periodical. There are many questions which have been settled already by Mr. Fleet's unwearied publications, and I am sure numerous uncertainties in Indian chronology will still be removed by that careful and accurate scholar. There is a passage in one of Mr. Fleet's articles in vol. VIII, p. 187, which will perhaps acquire great importance. We learn from it that in one of the three cases, where Vikrama VI speaks of having abolished the Śaka era, he mentions the names of Vikramâditya and Nanda. It is true that the reading of this passage is not yet quite settled. Mr. Fleet translates: "The son of this Âhavamalladêva was king Sômêśvara, whose younger brother was the emperor Vikrama, possessed of the beauty of Chakradhara (Vishṇu);" having said, "Why should the glory of the kings Vikramâditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer? he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (*era*) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (*era*) which has the Châlukya figures?" There is one word in the text for which Mr. Fleet is obliged to make a conjecture, that however does not touch the two names of Vikramâditya and Nanda, nor the fact that they were presumed to have established eras of their own like Vikrama VI.

As to Vikramâditya there is no doubt about his era, though the first indisputable date is only known from Vikrama Saṁvat 1043 in one of Dr. Bühler's Chaulukya grants (vol. VI, p. 180 seqq.); for as regards the earlier dates that of Saṁvat 486 is not clearly marked on the plate, as I learn from a letter of Dr. Bühler's, kindly communicated to me by Professor Max Müller; the other date of Saṁvat 802 is regarded as doubtful by the Editor of this Journal in a footnote to vol. V, p. 112.

As to Nanda—this is the part of the passage to which I intend to call special attention. It has not yet been noticed by any scholar so far as I know, that there ever was a Nanda era. But we find in a Kaliṅga inscription of Aira Mêghavâhana[1] (see General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscr.* plate XVII.) line 6, the very remarkable passage: *Nanda-râja ti-vasa-sata-oghâṭitaṁ.*[2]—*When king Nanda* [or *the Nanda kings*] *had been destroyed three "hundred years before."* Unfortunately this inscription is not yet published in a satisfactory manner, though General Cunningham's copy has corrected many passages left doubtful by the previous copyists, we shall not be able to make full use of this, *the oldest dated* inscription,[3] until we have a photolithographic copy in the same way as the Editor prepared those of the Aśôka inscriptions in his *Archæological Report*, vol. II, so we cannot yet finally conclude from that passage that the Nanda era was in fact a Maurya era, because it dated from the *extirpation* of the Nandas. On the other hand, I have great doubts myself as to the supposition that in the time of Vikrama VI, there was anything known about a

[1] This is a misnomer: the inscription is of Râja Khâravela.—ED. I. A.

[2] Major Kittoe and General Cunningham transcribe *ugh°* instead of *ogh.°*

[3] If we are right in explaining the passage, the inscription dates from the year 12 B.C. As to the supposed date, "256 after Buddha," in an inscription supposed to be of Aśôka, see Professor Oldenberg's criticism in the *Journal of the German Oriental Soc.* vol. XXXV, p. 473.

Nanda era. But since the passage quoted above from Mr. Fleet's inscription is beyond suspicion, I must venture to maintain my belief, until further inquiries confirm this view which is forced upon me, or refute it.

Oxford. DR. E. LEUMANN.

AN ADEN EPITAPH.

An epitaph has been discovered in a mosque at Aden, dated A.H. 563 (A.D. 1168). It is supposed to have been brought from one of the disused burial-grounds of Aden, and commemorates "a virtuous free woman the mother of Abdallah the emancipated slave of the glorious Sulṭân Yehia bin Abi-s-sadâd al Muwaffak al Thagari al Islâmi. Died at Awân on the last day of Ramadhân in the year 563." It is "inscribed by Muḥammad bin Barakât bin Ali Harami."

Awân is perhaps the old name of Aden itself; at any rate it was almost certainly in the immediate vicinity. The Harami tribe still exists in Hadhramaut.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is rather falling into arrears, No. 2 of the volume for 1882 having only been published in September last. It is mostly occupied with a continuation of Babu Sarat Chandradâs's contributions on the Religion, History, &c. of Tibet. These papers are interesting, and it is only to be regretted that the author does not prepare his work with more attention to details of uniformity of spelling, clearness of statement, &c., or that the papers are not more carefully edited. The contributions here presented contain: (1) The rise and progress of Jiñ or Buddhism in China, translated from the *Dub-thaḥ śelkyi Mêlôñ*, prefaced by short accounts of the Mê-tse, Li-ye-tse, Chwân-tse sects, and that of Yu-su, which preceded Buddhism in China and somewhat resembled it; then comes the usual account of the introduction of Buddhism from India; the contributions to its literature, &c. which it received from Tibet; the five Buddhist schools in China, *viz*:—1. The Vinaya or Hînayâna; 2. The Mantra or Tântrika; 3. The Vaipulya-Darśana or Mahâyâna; 4. The Gabhira-Darśana or Śûnyatâ; and, 5. The Sârârtha-Darśana schools. (2) The sacred literature and philosophy of ancient China, translated from the same source; the Bon (Pon) religion in China; and the Ho-u-se or Hoi-hoi, apparently a Muḥammadan sect, of which the Tibetan author seems to have had but a low opinion:—he says, "they send the spirits of all animals killed by them to The-pan, who takes charge of them. The spirits of those that are killed by others, who are not Hoi-hoi, are damned. A Hoi-hoi will not eat the flesh of an animal that has been slain by outsiders;" and, he adds, "these wicked people certainly turn into pigs after their death, for which reason they do not touch pork, the touch of which brings defilement, and the eating of which destroys their intellect and understanding." (3) The life and legend of Nâgârjuna, the founder of the Mâdhyamika school. According to this account he was the only son of a Brâhmaṇ of Vidarbha, whose death the astrologers predicted in a week unless a hundred Bhikshus were fed and religious ceremonies gone through, and even then he would die in his seventh year. Avalôkitêśvara-Khasharpaṇa, however, appeared to him and advised him to go to Nâlendra, where he would escape death. There he was ordained a Bhikshu by the high priest Śrî-Saraha-Bhadra, whom he afterwards succeeded. Vajrâsana or Buddha-Gayâ was then the head-quarters of the Śrâvakas—as the decaying Hînayâna sect was then called, and Nâlendra of the Mahâyâna school. He surrounded the great temple of Mahâgandhôla or 'the mansion of fragrance,' with a stone railing, which he furnished with Vajragavâksha or 'precious riches,' and outside of which he erected 108 smaller chapels. He also surrounded the great shrine of Śrî-Dhânyakaṭaka with railings. At this period, "Mañja, king of Oṭisha (Orissa), with a thousand of his subjects embraced Buddhism." In Mâlvâ, "in the city of Dhârâ, king Bhôjadêva with many hundreds of his subjects embraced Buddhism." He erected "many vihâras in Pratâpêśa, Oṭisha, Baṅgala, and the country of Ikshuvardhana. In the latter part of his life Nâgârjuna visited Dakshiṇa, where he did many things for the preservation of the Southern congregation." In Drâviḍa he overcame in a disputation two famous Brâhmaṇs—Madhu and Supramadhu—who became converts. He is said to have been a great friend of king De-chye (Śaṁkara), of Southern India, with whom he entered into a compact to live and die. The king's life was thus secured by the saint's; but in this king's old age the mother of the heir-apparent advised her son to ask Nâgârjuna for his head. This he did, and the saint showed him he could only be killed with a blade of *Kuśa* grass. This is followed by (4) Detached notices of different Buddhist schools in Tibet.

The other paper is the first part of one by Mr. Grierson on Manbodh's *Haribans*, containing the text of a Maithilî poem, by a poet named Manbodh or Bholan Jhâ, who died about A.D. 1788. The interest of this is purely philological.

The *Proceedings* of the same Society also is in

arrears, the number for July and August appearing only in December. The most important notices in it are:—Lieut.-Col. G. E. Fryer's argument for the date of the Pâlî grammarian, Kachchâyana, being about the 12th century A.D., and Dr. Hoernle's contention that it is really much earlier; and an account of a very ancient fragment of a MS. on Arithmetic found at Bakhshâlî in the Yusufzai district, written in Śâradâ characters and in the Gâthâ dialect, by Dr. Hoernle, which we extract:—

Dr. Hoernle exhibited at the meeting of the Society on 2nd August last a remarkable birch-bark Manuscript, found at Bakhshâlî, in the Yusufzai District, in the Panjâb.

The MS., he said, was found in a ruined enclosure, near Bakhshâlî, a village of the Yusufzai District, in the Panjâb, by a man who was digging for stones. It is written on leaves of birch-bark, which have become so dry by age as to be like tinder, and, unless very carefully handled, they crumble into pieces. Hence, unfortunately, by far the largest portion of the MS. was destroyed when the finder took it up; and even the small portion that now remains is in a very mutilated state. With much care and trouble I have succeeded in separating all the leaves, and have found that 66 of them still remain, of none of which, however, much more than one-half is preserved. For permanent preservation, I mounted each leaf separately between two pieces of 'talc.'

The MS. is written in the so-called Śâradâ characters, which are still used in Kashmir, and which, as they occur on the coins of the Mahârâjas of Kashmir, are of a not inconsiderable age. Some of the forms, which very frequently occur in the MS., especially of vowels, very closely resemble the forms used in the Aśoka and early Gupta inscriptions. I have not observed these particular ancient forms in other MSS. written in the Śâradâ characters, e.g., in the *Mahârṇava* MS. published in the *Cambridge Palæographic Series*. Hence I am inclined to look on them as an evidence of great age in the Bakhshâlî MS.; and as the West Indus Districts were early lost to Hindû civilization through the Muḥammadan conquests, during which it was a common practice to bury MSS. to save them from destruction, the Bakhshâlî MS. may be referred to the 8th or 9th century A.D.

I have looked over all the leaves of the MS. that remain, and have carefully read and transcribed about one-third. I have thus seen enough of the fragment to make sure that the whole of it treats of Arithmetic (including apparently Mensuration), though incidentally a few rules of Algebra are noticed. The latter refer to the solution of indeterminate problems (*kuṭṭaka*). The arithmetical problems are of various sorts; *e.g.*, on velocity, alligation, profit and loss, etc. I may give one or two examples: thus "A and B run 5 and 9 *yojanas* a day respectively, and A is allowed a start of 7 days or 35 *yojanas*; when will A and B meet?" Or, "A and B earn $2\frac{1}{6}$ and $1\frac{1}{3}$ *dînâras* a day respectively; A makes a present of 10 *dînâras* to B; how soon will their possessions be equal?" An example of an algebraical problem is: "A certain quantity, whether 5 be added to it or 7 be subtracted from it, is a square; what is that quantity?" The solution, given in this case, is 11; for $11 \times 5 = 16$ or 4^2, and $11—7 = 4$ or 2^2.

The fragment, however, evidently does not contain the whole of the treatise on Arithmetic; for many subjects, commonly treated in Hindû arithmetical works, do not appear to occur in it; and this is confirmed by the numbers of the rules (or *sûtras*, as they are called). The earliest numbered *sûtra* that I have noticed is the 9th, and from internal evidence I conclude,—though the numbers are lost,—that the 7th and 8th rules are also preserved. The latest number I have met is the 57th.

The method observed in the treatment of the problems is as follows: first a rule is given, introduced by the word *sûtra*; next follow one or more examples, introduced by *tadâ*, and stated both in words and in arithmetical notation; the latter is sometimes indicated by the term *sthâpana*; next follows a solution in words, which is always called *karaṇa* "operation"; and lastly comes the proof, generally expressed in notation, and called *pratyâyana* or *pratyaya*. This method differs considerably from that used in other Hindû arithmetical treatises, *e.g.*, in those of Bhâskara and Brahmagupta. The latter also use different terms; instead of *tadâ*, examples are called by them *uddeśa* or *udâharaṇa*; instead of *sthâpana* they have *nyâsa*; *karaṇa* and *pratyâyana* or *pratyaya* are not used at all. The term *sûtra* they employ occasionally, but in most cases they say *karaṇa sûtra*, which latter term may contain a reference to a *karaṇa*-work such as that in the Bakhshâlî MS. There are, also, some differences in the method of notation as used in this MS. and as commonly established. Division is indicated by placing one quantity under another without a line between them; *e. g.*, $\begin{matrix}5\\8\end{matrix}$ (= $\frac{5}{8}$): multiplication, by placing one quantity beside the other; *e.g.*, $\begin{matrix}5\\8\end{matrix}$ 32 (= $\frac{5}{8} \times 32 = 20$); addition, by writing *yu* (abbreviated for *yuta* "added") before or after the additive quantity and placing the latter either *by the side of*, or *below*, the other quantity; *e.g.*, 11 5 *yu* or 11 *yu* 5 (= $11 + 5 = 16$): subtraction, by writing the negative sign + after the subtractive quantity,

and placing the latter beside or below the other quantity; *e.g.*, $\left.\begin{matrix}1\\1\\3+\end{matrix}\right\}$ $(= 1 - \frac{1}{3} = \frac{2}{3})$, or 11. 7+ $(= 11 - 7 = 4)$. This negative sign is the most remarkable difference between the Bakhshâlî MS. and the works of Bhâskara and others. The MS. uses a cross + (exactly resembling our modern *plus* sign), while the sign which is commonly used is a dot, placed above the quantity; *e. g.* $11\ \dot{7}$ $(= 11 - 7 = 4)$. I may add that the cipher is used (as in the *Lîlâvatî*) to indicate an unknown quantity, the value of which is sought; *e. g.*, $\begin{matrix}0 & 5\\1 & 1\end{matrix}$ *yu mû* $\begin{matrix}0\\1\end{matrix}$ | $\begin{matrix}0 & 7\\1 & 1\end{matrix}$ + *mû* $\begin{matrix}0\\1\end{matrix}$ || (for $\frac{x}{1} + \frac{5}{1} = \frac{y^2}{1}$ and $\frac{x}{1} - \frac{7}{1} = \frac{z^2}{1}$; here $x = 11, y = 4, z = 2$; *mû* abbreviated for *mûlada* "square"). It is, however, also employed in the usual way as the tenth figure of the decimal notation. A proportion is expressed thus :— $\begin{matrix}1\\1\end{matrix}$ | $\begin{matrix}13\\6\end{matrix}$ | $\begin{matrix}30\\1\end{matrix}$ *pha* 65 | (for $1 : \frac{13}{6} = 30 : 65$; *pha* abbreviated for *phalaṁ.*) All these peculiarities of method, terminology and notation, differing as they do from those in common use since the time of Brahmagupta (about 628 A.D.) and Âryabhaṭa (about 500 A.D.), whose mathematical treatises are the earliest known, tend to show that the work contained in the Bakhshâlî MS. is more ancient than any of those I have just mentioned.

There is another remarkable feature in the MS., which points in the same direction, namely, the language in which it is written. This is what is now commonly called the Gâthâ dialect, because it was first noticed in ancient Buddhist works (such as the *Lalita Vistara*) written in verses or gâthâs. The term Gâthâ dialect, however, is no more appropriate now, because that dialect is now known to be also used in ancient Buddhist works, which are partly written in prose, such as the *Mahâvastu*, of which M. Senart has just published an excellent edition. However that may be, it is generally admitted that this species of language is a very ancient one. It is a kind of ungrammatical Sanskrit (judged, that is, by the standard of what is commonly called Sanskrit), interspersed to a large extent with ancient Prâkrit or Pâli forms. There is some dispute as to the exact origin, time and locality of this species of ancient irregular Sanskrit. But in all probability it was current in the early centuries just before and after the commencement of the Christian era, as a literary or cultivated form of the ancient Vernacular Prâkrit of North-Western India, in the countries to the east and west of the Indus, till it came to be superseded by the classical Paninian Sanskrit. It is this language which is employed in the Bakhshâlî MS. It would be out of place here to enter into philological details; but I may mention that the language of the MS. is marked by all the peculiarities in orthography, etymology, syntax, etc., of the so-called Gâthâ dialect. The evidence of the language, then, would tend to show that the work contained in the Bakhshâlî MS. must be ascribed, in all probability, to the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and further—since the Gâthâ dialect has hitherto only been met with in Buddhist literature,—to a member of the Buddhist community. If the latter supposition be correct, we should have in this MS. the first Buddhist Arithmetical work which, so far as I am aware, has hitherto become known.

There are, further, some specific points in the work contained in the Bakhshâlî MS. which tend to point to a peculiar connection between it and the mathematical portion of the *Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhânta*, the famous astronomical work of Brahmagupta, which was compiled in 628 A. D. Thus an algebraical rule in the MS. occurs in strikingly similar language in Brahmagupta's algebra; again the foreign terms *dînâra* (Latin *denarius*) and *dramma* (Greek *drachme*) occur in both, etc. The mathematical treatise in the Bakhshâlî MS. is undoubtedly older than that of Brahmagupta; but what the exact connection between the two works may be, I am not as yet in a position to say. These are points which require further investigation, in which I am still engaged, and the results of which I hope to have a future opportunity of communicating to the Society. My present remarks are not intended to be more than a preliminary notice of the MS. In conclusion I will only repeat that the questions of the age of the MS. and of the work contained in it are entirely distinct; and that the date of the work is certainly very much earlier than the MS. copy of which this fragment has been found.[1]

No. 3 for 1882 has been published since, and is occupied by a collection of 64 Hindû Folksongs from the Panjâb, with translations and notes by our able correspondent, Lieut. R. C. Temple. The only other paper is a Note by P. N. Bose, B.Sc., on some earthen pots found in the alluvium at Mahêsvara in Nimâr. These vessels had been already noticed by Capt. Dangerfield (Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. II, p. 325). The author would identify Mahêśvara and the neighbouring Maṇḍalêśvara as the Mahîśamaṇḍala to which Aśôka sent the Thero Mahâdêva as a Buddhist missionary; but the other missionaries were all sent to countries, not towns or small districts, and it seems much more probable that Maisûr is meant by Mahîśamaṇḍala.

[1] *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* Aug. 1882.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Vol. XI. p.* 163.)

No. CXXVI.

THIS inscription is edited from the original plates, which belong to 'Mallampati Mangayya' of 'Yelivarru,' in the 'Repalli' Tâlukâ of the Guṇṭûr District, and were obtained for my inspection by Dr. Burgess. The owner of the plates states that in 1864 he was building a new house, and, as he was bringing earth, the bullock put its foot into a hole in the path. On digging, he found a large jar, with a rusty iron covering. Across the jar was an iron bar, from which hung the copper-plates. 'Yelivarru,' the Elavaṟṟu of the grant, is a small village between 'Inturu' and 'Amartaluru',—the Iṇṭhûri and Amutunûri of the grant. It is thus not far from 'Tsandavole,' where, a few years ago, a quantity of gold, melted into a mass and in coins, was found.

The plates are five in number, each about 7⅜″ long by 3$\frac{1}{16}$″ broad. The edges of them were raised into rims to protect the writing; and the whole of the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. The ring is about ⅜″ thick and 3⅝″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2⅜″ in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—across the middle, the motto *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*; in the upper part,—in the centre, a standing boar facing to the proper left, with the sun directly above it, the moon on the proper right, and an elephant-goad on the proper left; and in the lower part, a floral device, an eight-leaved water-lily. The five plates weigh 67⅛ tolas, and the ring and seal 54¼ tolas; total, 121⅜ tolas. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This grant is partly a palimpsest. Plates i*b*, iii*a*, and iii*b*, are engraved over a cancelled grant, beaten in so carefully that the letters of it are now mere scratches of no depth and breadth at all, too faint altogether to appear in the lithograph. The characters are of an older type, more like those of the grant of Prithivimûla, son of Prabhâkara.[1] Of the original inscription there are five lines on each side, running the same way as the lines of the present inscription. Below *jô* to || of line 23 of the present grant there can be read *tihâsa-purâṇêshu nipuṇa*; above *laḥ* to *va* of l. 27 there can be read *yê Tuṅgavâḍa-nâma-grâmô;* above *kyâ* to *bhê* of l. 6 there can be read *aḻḻapârigati ệtêshâṁ grâmâṇaṁ madhyê*; and above *vi* to *shṭâ* of l. 7 there can be read *parihâri*(*rî*)-*kritya*. These are the only consecutive passages of the older inscription that can be made out. Plates ii*a* and ii*b*, again, are engraved over another grant, beaten in so that no traces of it appear in the lithograph. The characters are of about the period of those of the present grant, but not so well formed. Of the original inscription there are nine lines on each side, running at right angles to the lines of the present grant, so that only about seven letters of each line remain, the rest having been cut away in re-fashioning the plates for the present grant. A letter or two can be read here and there; but no consecutive word, worth noting, can be made out. Plates i*a*, iv*a*, iv*b*, v*a*, and v*b*, are not palimpsests.

The present grant is one of the Eastern Chalukya[2] king Amma II., also called Vijayâditya; it is therefore subsequent in date to Śaka 867 (A. D. 945-6), which is given in No. XXXIV. (vol. VII. p. 15) as the year in which he succeeded to the throne. It records the grant of the village of Elavaṟṟu, in the Velanâṇḍu *vishaya* or district, to a *Brâhmaṇ* named Kôramiya, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, who was the head of the *śrîkaraṇa* or writing-department[3] of the *suvarṇabhâṇḍâgâra* or treasury of gold.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrî[4]matâṁ sakala-bhuvana-sa[ṁ*]stûyamâna-Mânavyâ(vya)-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâ-

[2] rîti-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-prasâḍa-labdha-râjyâṇâṁ mâtṛi-gana-paripâli-

[1] Vol. X. p. 244, No. 9.

[2] In l. 5 the dynastic name is written 'Châlukya.' The same form occurs in l. 16. But in l. 20 we have the older and more correct form 'Chalukya.'

[3] Vol. XI. p. 223, note 26.

[4] The lithograph is imperfect in respect of the *î* here; the *sa* of *sapta*, l. 11; the *ṁ* of *Guṇagâṁka*, l. 15; the first *ṁ* of *triṁśataṁ*, l. 16-7; the *ê* and *da* of *êkâdaśa*, l. 20; the *bhâ* of *bhâva*, l. 42-3; the *pha* of *muktâphala*, l. 50; the *pa* of *parâ*, l. 51; and the *pha* of *phalaṁ*, l. 58.

[3] tânâṁ Svâ[mi*]-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasa(sâ)da-
[4] samâsâdita-vara-varâhalâ[ñchha*]n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâ[5]ti-ma-
[5] ṇḍalânâṁ[6]m=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ Châ-
[6] lukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇôḥ Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Ku-
[7] bja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=shṭâdaśa varshâṇi Veṁgî-dêśam=apâlayat || Tad-âtma-

Second plate; first side.

[8] jô Jayasiṁhas=trayas-triṁśataṁ | Tad-anuj-Êndrarâja-nandanô Vishṇuva-
[9] rddhanô nava | Tat-sûnur=Mmâṁgi-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ | Tat-putrô
[10] Jayasiṁhas=trayôdaśa | Tad-avarajaḥ Kokkiliḥ shaṇ=mâ-
[11] sân | Tasya jyêshṭhô bhrâtâ Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=uchchâṭya sapta-
[12] triṁśataṁ | Tat-putrô Vijayâditya-bhaṭṭârakô=shṭâdaśa | Tat-su-
[13] tô Vishṇuvarddhâ(rddha)naḥ shaṭ-triṁśataṁ | Tat-sutô Vijayâditya-Narêndramṛiga-
[14] râjaś=ch=âshṭa-chatvâriṁśataṁ | Tat-sutaḥ Kali-[Vishṇu*]varddhanô=ddhy(dhy)-
arddha-varshâ(rsha)ṁ |

Second plate; second side.

[15] Tat-sutô Guṇagâṁka-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśataṁ | Tad-anu-
[16] ja-Vikramâditya-bhûpâ(pa)têḥ sûnuś=Châlukya-Bhîma-bhûpâlas=tri-
[17] ṁśataṁ | Tat-putraḥ Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâdityaḥ sha-
[18] ṇ=mâsân [| *] Tat-sûnur=Amma-râjaḥ sapta varsha(rshâ)ṇi | Tat-sutaṁ
[19] Vijayâdityaṁ ba(bâ)lam=uchchâṭya Tâlapô mâsâ(sa)m=êkaṁ [| *]
[20] Taṁ jitvâ Ścha(cha)lukya-Bhi(bhî)ma-tanayô Vikramâditya êkâdaśa mâ-
[21] sân | Tatas=Tâlapa-râjasya sutô Yuddhamallaḥ sapta varsha(rshâ)-

Third plate; first side.

[22] ṇi | Tat-putraḥ Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya-sutô Bhîma-râ-
[23] jô dvâdaśa varshâṇi || Tasya Mahêśvara-mûrttêr=Umâ-samâ-
[24] n-âkṛitêḥ Kumâr-âbhaḥ Lôkamahâdêvyâ[ḥ*] khalu ya-
[25] s=samabhavad=Ammarâj-âkhyaḥ || Jalajâtapatra-châ-
[26] mara-kalaś-âṁkuśa-lakshaṇ-âṁka-kara-charaṇa-ta-
[27] laḥ lasad-âjânvavala[ṁ*]bita-bhujayuga-parighô girî-
[28] ndra-sân-ûraskaḥ || Yô rûpêṇa Manôjaṁ vibhavêna Ma-

Third plate; second side.

[29] hêndram=ahimakaram=uru-mahasâ Haram=ari-pura-dahanêna nyak-kurvvan=bhâ-
[30] ti vidita-dig-avani-kî[r*]ttiḥ || Sa sakala-ripunṛipati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-maṇi-
[31] gaṇa-madhukara-nikara-parichuṁbita-charaṇasarasiruhayugalô=
[32] Yugalôchana-padakamala-vilasaddvirêpâ(phâ)yamânô mânônna-
[33] t-ô(â)nat-ôddhata-samasta-lôkaḥ samastabhuvanâśraya-Śrî-Vijayâ-
[34] ditya-mahârâjâdhira(râ)jaḥ paramêśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭârakaḥ paramabrahmaṇyaḥ Vela-
[35] nâṇḍu-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭraku(kû)ṭa-pramukhân=kuṭuṁbina[ḥ*] samâhûy=êttham=
âjñapaya-

Fourth plate; first side.

[36] ti || Vidvat-kavîndra-prabhavaṁ prasiddhaṁ pûjy-ôdayaṁ bhûri-guṇ-âdhivâsaṁ
dharmmishṭha-bhûmi-
[37] [r*]=nniyama-svadhâma pâtraṁ paraṁ Kâśyapa-gôtram=âsît || Tatra bhûsura-yâthôchi-
[38] ta-vidyâ-karmma-shaṭka-vidhi-nirmmala-dêhaḥ vêda-vid=vidita-śâstra-samu(mû)-
[39] hô Viddamayya iti viśruta-kîrttiḥ || Bhûdêva-vaṁś-â[ṁ*]buvi(dhi)-śîtaraśmi-
[40] [r*]=vvidvat-sarôja(jâ)kara-bhânu-bhânuḥ tat-sûnur=Aṁbhôjabhav-ôpamânô
[41] vidyâmayô Viddamiya-prasiddhaḥ || Arundhatyâ viśishṭasya Vaśishṭhasy=ôpamâm=a-
[42] yât pativrat-âtmayâ dharmmapatnyâ yaś=ch=Ânamavvayâ | (||) Kula-kram-
âyâtam=udâra-bhâ-

[5] The engraver first cut *ri*, and then corrected it into *râ*, in which the *â* is made to run upwards, as at the end of ll. 10 and 42 and in other places.

[6] This *Anusvâra* is superfluous.

YELAVAṘRU EASTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF AMMA II.

I.

IIa.

J. Burgess fecit.

Scale 7/8 of the original.

IIb.

IIIa.

IIIb.

IVa.

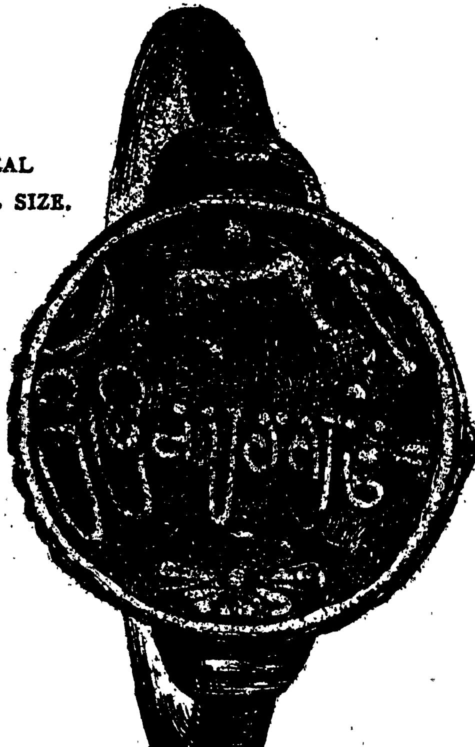
IVb.

Va.

Vb.

Scale 7 8 of the original. *W. Griggs, Photo-lith.*

SEAL
FULL SIZE.



Fourth plate; second side.

[43] vam=ananyadṛishṭ-âśrutapûrvva-rûpaṁ dava(dha)d=dhar-âdhâri dhar-ôpamânaḥ tayôs=sutaḥ Kôramiy-â-

[44] bhidhânaḥ || Śrî-Lôkamahâdêvyâ samavarddhyata yô=smad-aṁbayâ prîtyâ châturyya-nâgara-

[45] kayôr=âvâsa-sthânam=iti manôharayôḥ || Apahasati vagmitâ Vâg-vanitâṁ yatra sthi-

[46] tâ mahâ-chaturê asujana-va(dhâ)râ nâgaraka-Jalajabhava-Bahumukha-priyâṁ

[47] satataṁ || Utpadyatê prasaṁgât=sujanatayâ ch=âtma-sahajayâ yasya |

[48] vibhavàḥ pati-prasa(śa)ṁ[śya*]ś=chitram=idaṁ sâdhu-vâda iti | (||) Rasikânâm=atirasikaś=chaturâṇâm=adhikr.-

[49] chatura êv=âyaṁ Kôramiya-nâmadhêyôḥ[7] vidushâm=atyanta-vijña(jñâ)nî | (||) Sêvita-samasta-bhû-

[50] pati-hṛidaya-sthiti-bhâg=guṇ-ôpapannô=mûllya(lya)ḥ muktâphala-sachcharitaḥ Kôṛami-yâ(yô) vastu-pu-

Fifth plate; first side.

[51] rusha ity=upapannaṁ | (||) Anâgata-jña(jñâ)na-vivêkinî dhîr=anindya-châritra-parâ hi chêshṭâ aśêsha-bhô-

[52] g-ôpanatam=manaś=cha ahô mahat=Kôramiyasya puṇyaṁ || Tasmai Kôramiya-nâmnê suvarṇṇa-

[53] bhâṇḍâgâra-śrîkaraṇa-mukhyâya Elavaṟṟu-nâma-grâmas=sarvva-kara-parihârêṇ=âgrahârî-

[54] krity=ôdaka-pûvvâ(rvva)m=uttarâyaṇa-nimittê=smâbhir=ddatta iti viditam=astu vaḥ | Asy=âvadhayaḥ

[55] pûvvâ(rvva)taḥ Gomaḍuvu sîmâ | âgnêyataḥ Ḍaggumbaṟti sîmâ | dakshiṇataḥ Inṭhûri sîmâ | nairṛi-

[56] ti-paśchimâbhyâṁ Premparti sîmâ | vâyavyataḥ Turimiṇḍi sîmâ | uttar-êśânâbhyâṁ Amutunûri sîmâ [||*]

[57] Asy=ôpari na kênachid=bâdhâ karttavyâ yaḥ karôti sa paṁchamahâpâtakô bhavati | tath=ôktaṁ Vyâsêna | Bahu-

[58] bhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ | (||) Sva-da-

Fifth plate; second side.

[59] dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâ[ṁ*] ja(jâ)yatê kṛimiḥ ||

[60] Âjñaptiḥ Kaṭaka-râjaḥ [|*] Potanabhaṭṭa-kâvyaṁ [|*] Jontâchâryya-likhitaṁ ||

Translation.

Hail! Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,—the brother of Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndra, who adorned the family of the Châlukyas,[8] who are glorious; who are of the Mânavya *gôtra* which is praised over the whole earth; who are the descendants of Hârîti[9]; who have acquired sovereignty through the excellent favour of Kauśikî; who have been cherished by the assemblage of (*divine*) mothers; who meditate on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; (*and*) whose bodies are purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—ruled over the country of Vêṇgî for eighteen years.

(L. 7.)—His son, Jayasiṁha, (*ruled*) for thirty-three[10] (*years*).

(L. 8.)—Vishṇuvardhana,—the son of his younger brother, Indra,—(*ruled*) for nine (*years*).

(L. 9.)—His son, the *Yuvarâja* Mâṅgi,[11] (*ruled*) for twenty-five (*years*).

(L. 9.)—His son, Jayasiṁha, (*ruled*) for thirteen (*years*).

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[7] This *Visarga* is superfluous.

[8] See note 2 above.

[9] The more correct reading, l. 1-2, would be *Hârîtîputrânâṁ* or *Hâritîputrânâṁ*, 'who are Hâritîputras, or Hârîtîputras.' The present reading refers to the legend adopted by the Western Châlukyas; see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 5, note 2, and p. 17, note 2.

[10] No. XXXIV. l. 7, says 'thirty' years.

[11] In *id.* l. 8, the name is written 'Maṅgi.'

(L. 10.)—His younger brother, Kokkili, (*ruled*) for six months.

(L. 11.)—His elder brother, Vishṇuvardhana, having expelled him, (*ruled*) for thirty-seven (*years*).

(L. 12.)—His son, Vijayâditya-Bhaṭṭâraka, (*ruled*) for eighteen (*years*).

(L. 12.)—His son, Vishṇuvardhana, (*ruled*) for thirty-six (*years*).

(L. 13.)—And his son, Vijayâditya-Narêndramṛigarâja, (*ruled*) for forty-eight (*years*).

(L. 14.)—His son, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana, (*ruled*) for one and a half years.

(L. 15.)—His son, Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya, (*ruled*) for forty-four (*years*).

(L. 16.)—The king, Châlukya-Bhîma,—the son of his younger brother, king Vikramâditya,—(*ruled*) for thirty (*years*).

(L. 17.)—His son, Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya, (*ruled*) for six months.

(L. 18.)—His son, king Amma, (*ruled*) for seven years.

(L. 19.)—Having expelled his son, the child Vijayâditya,—Tâlapa ruled for one month.

(L. 20.)—Having conquered him,—Vikramâditya, the son of Chalukya-Bhîma, (*ruled*) for eleven months.

(L. 21.)—Then Yuddhamalla, the son of king Tâlapa, (*ruled*) for seven years.

(L. 22.)—His son,[12] king Bhîma, the son of Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya, (*ruled*) for twelve years.

(L. 23.)—(*The son*), who was like Kumâra, that was born to him who was like Mahêśvara, from Lôkamahâdêvî who was like Umâ, was named king Amma. The palms of his hands and the soles of his feet were marked with the leaves of water-lilies and with *chauris* and with water-jars and with elephant-goads; he had two arms, (*as strong and massive*) as iron door-bars, which were charming, and which hung down as far as his knees; (*and*) he had a chest which was (*as broad*) as a table-land of the king of mountains. Putting Manôja to shame with his beauty, (*and*) Mahêndra with his power, (*and*) the sun with his great splendour, (*and*) Hara with the destruction of the cities of his foes,—he is resplendent, having his fame acquainted with the (*distant*) regions and the (*whole*) earth.

(L. 30.)—He, the asylum of the universe, Śrî-Vijayâditya, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the devout worshipper of Brahmâ, —whose feet, which are like water-lilies, are kissed by the bees which are the jewels set in the diadems of all the hostile kings; who behaves like a beautiful bee at the feet of Ayugalôchana[13]; (*and*) who is made very proud by having all proud people bowing down before him,—having called together the *kuṭumbîs*, headed by the *râshṭrakûṭas*, who inhabit the district of Velanâṇḍu, thus issues his commands:—

(L. 36.) "There was the Kâśyapa *gôtra*,—the source of wise men and excellent poets; famous; the origin of persons worthy to be worshipped; the dwelling-place of many virtuous qualities; the place of very pious people; the abode of religious observances; the most worthy object of all. In it (*there was born*) he whose fame was celebrated under the name of Viddamayya,—whose body was (*made*) pure by means of the learning and the six kinds of rites and the observances that are proper for *Brâhmaṇs*; who was acquainted with the *Vêdas*; (*and*) who knew the (*whole*) body of the *śâstras*. His son was the learned (*and*) famous Viddamiya, like to Ambhôjabhava,[14]—who was the moon of the ocean of the race of Brâhmaṇs; (*and*) who was a ray of the sun to the (*white*) water-lilies which were learned men: and by means of his devoted lawful wife Anamavvâ,[15] he became like Vaśishṭha who was possessed of (*his wife*) Arundhatî. Their son (*was*) he who was named Kôramiya, resembling the earth (*in steadfastness*),—who bore a form, not beheld in any other and never heard of before, which came to him by inheritance, (*and*) which was of a noble nature, (*and*) which supported the world. Through affection he was nourished by Our mother, Śrî-Lôkamahâdêvî, as being the dwelling-place of the ever charming (*qualities of*) cleverness and politeness. The

[12] Bhîma was in reality the son of Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya, who was in the same degree of descent with Yuddhamalla II. In Bhîma being here called also the son of Yuddhamalla II., we have another instance of the custom referred to by me in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 48, note 1.

[13] Śiva, as Trinêtra.

[14] Brahmâ, as born in the water-lily.

[15] Or Ânamavvâ.

eloquence which abides in him, the most clever one, (*and*) which is (*like*) the sharp edge of a sword to wicked people, always laughs to scorn the woman Vâch who is dear to polished people and to Jalajabhava[16] and to Bahumukha.[17] Good people say how wonderful it is that, through his innate excellence, there is produced a power that is worthy to be praised by (*his*) lord. Verily this man, who is named Kôramiya, is the most witty of witty people, the most clever of clever people, (*and*) the most learned of learned people. It is well established that Kôramiya is essentially a man, (*since*) he enjoys the abiding condition of preserving the hearts of all kings, (*and since*) he is not to be purchased for any value, (*and since*) he is possessed of excellent achievements that are like pearls. Aho; great is the religious merit of Kôramiya; for his intellect discriminates in the knowledge of things that have not yet arrived; his behaviour is intent upon actions that are not to be blamed; and his mind is inclined to all kinds of enjoyment.

(L. 52.)—"Be it known to you that, to this man named Kôramiya, the head of the writing-department of the treasury of gold, on the occasion of the sun's commencing his progress to the north, the village named Elavaṟṟu has been given by Us, with the relinquishment of all taxes, as an *agrahâra*-grant, with libations of water.

(L. 54.)—"The boundaries of it are:—On the east, (*the village of*) Gomaḍuvu (*is*) the boundary; on the south-east, (*the village of*) Ḍaggumbaṟti (*is*) the boundary; on the south, (*the village of*) Inṭhûri (*is*) the boundary; on the south-west and the west, (*the village of*) Prempaṟti (*is*) the boundary; on the north-west, (*the village of*) Tuṟimiṇḍi (*is*) the boundary; (*and*) on the north and the north-east, (*the village of*) Amutunûri (*is*) the boundary.

(L. 57.)—"No injury is to be done to it by anyone; he, who does (*injury to it*), becomes guilty of the five great sins. So it has been said by Vyâsa;—'Land has been given by many, and has been preserved (*in grant*) by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!'"

(L. 60.)—The *âjñapti* is Kaṭakarâja; the poetry is of Potanabhaṭṭa; it is written by Jontâchâryya.

AN OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTION AT TORAGAL.

BY K. B. PÂṬHAK, B.A., BELGAUM.

Toragal is a small native state, subject to Kôlhâpur, and is situated on the confines of the Dhârwâḍ District. In a *maṭha* at that place, called the Gachchina-Hiremaṭha, there is a stone-tablet, leaning against a wall, on the left hand, as one enters the monastery. It bears an inscription recording a grant of land to the god Suggalêśvara by Suggaladêvi, with the permission of her husband, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Barma, in the Śaka year 1110 for 1109 (A.D. 1187-88) the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*. It is in the Old-Canarese language and characters. The writing covers a space of 2′ 8½″ high by 2′ 6½″ broad.

I propose to discuss here the meaning of the expression *pañchamahâśabda*, which occurs in line 2 of this inscription. In the first volume of this journal, p. 81, Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit disputed the meaning that naturally suggests itself to the native mind. And, Mr. Paṇḍit being an eminent native scholar, his remarks led Sir Walter Elliot (vol. V, p. 251) to look for an explanation of this Sanskrit phrase in Firishtah, whose opportunities of making philological researches could hardly have been very ample. Nor is it quite clear that Firishtah had any idea of the Hindu *pañchamahâśabda* in his mind, when he penned the passage quoted by Sir Walter Elliot. As to the passage from Chand's *Prithirâj Râsau* relied upon by him, it will suffice to mention that two such eminent scholars as Mr. Beames and Mr. Growse differ widely in the interpretation of it. I admit, however, that the real meaning, about which no Paṇḍit would hesitate, was given by Mr. Growse and supported by a quotation from Tulsi Dâsa. It is however true that Tulsi Dâsa does not use the full expression *pañchamahâśabda*; and that he is a comparatively modern poet. I will now quote a passage from a Jaina author, who

[16] Brahmâ, as born in the water-lily.

[17] Perhaps Vishṇu, as Sahasrânana.

lived in times when the expression *pañchamahâśabda* was still in use in a living language. Rêvâkôṭyâchârya thus describes a royal procession:—

Peṁḍavâsada sûḷeyar=pperagan=êri ikkeladoḷaṁ châmaraṁgaḷan=ikkutaṁ bare bel-godegaḷuṁ pâlikêtana-dhvajaṁgaḷuṁ chaṁdrâdityarkkaḷuṁ siṁha-vyâghra-makara-matsya-dhvajaṁgaḷu[ṁ*] modal=âg=oḍeya ràja-chinhaṁgaḷuṁ muṁde pariye paṁchamahâśabdaṁgaḷuṁ baddavaṇada paregaḷuṁ bâjise vaṁdimâgada(dha) - yâchaka - prabhriti-janaṁgaḷgaṁ dîn-ânâtharkkaḷgaṁ tushṭi-dânamaṁ kuḍuttaṁ pôgi sahasrakûṭa-chaityâlayaman=eydi paṭṭavardhanadiṁd=iḷidu basadiyaṁ tripradakshiṇaṁ-geydu dêvaraṁ baṁdisi . . . . yiṁt=eṁdaṁ (Vidyuchchôraṁ).

"While the dancing girls of the harem, rising behind, came waving *chauris* on both sides; while white umbrellas, the *pâlikêtana*-banner, and the banners bearing the figures of a moon, a sun, a lion, a tiger, an alligator and a fish, and other signs of royalty, were flowing before; while the five great musical instruments and the auspicious drums were being sounded; and while the heralds, bards, and beggars, and poor and helpless people, were being presented with gifts to their satisfaction,—Vidyuchchôra proceeded to the *chaityâlaya* adorned with a thousand summits, alighted from the state elephant, went thrice round the *basadi*, bowed to the god, ... and spoke thus."

It is plain from this passage that the term *pañchamahâśabda* could never mean "the playing of a royal band five times a day." The five great musical instruments, spoken of by the Jaina chronicler, are thus enumerated by a Liṅgâyat writer,—*śriṅga, tammaṭa, śaṅkha, bhêri,* and *jayaghaṇṭâ*; in the *Vivêkachintâmaṇi.*

Transcription.[1]

[1] Namas=tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-châmara-châravê trailôkya-nagar-âraṁbha-mûla-staṁbhâya Śaṁbhavê ||
[2] Svasti Samadhigata-paṁchamahâśabuda-mahâmaṁḍaḷêśvaraṁ bhujabaḷavîra-Nigaḷaṁka-
[3] malla Geṇukâṛar=âchâryyaṁ nuḍid-aṁte-gaṁda gaṁḍa-mârttaṁḍa jagad-orvva-gaṁḍaṁ śrîmad-Â-
[4] havamalla-Bhûteyadêvana parâkramav=eṁt=emdaḍe || Muṁtire Paṁchaḷaṁ besasi piṁ-
[5] tire Nûrmmaḍi-Tailan=âṁta sâmaṁta-kadaṁbakaṁ tolage Paṁchalanaṁ peṇad=ikki koṁda śauryyaṁ tanag=âge
[6] Chakri kuḍe tâḷdidan=Âhavamalla-nâma-vikrâṁtade maṁḍaḷêśa-padamaṁ negaḷd=Âhavamalla-Bhûtigaṁ || Iṁtu
[7] pesar-vvett=Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêvaniṁ tat-priya-tanûjaṁ Ḍâvaramalla-bhûpaniṁ tat-tane(na)yaṁ Chaṭṭamahîpâḷaniṁ ta-
[8] t-tanûbhavaṁ Ḍâvaramallaniṁ tad-apatyaṁ Kaliyuga-Yudhishṭhiraṁ Chaṭṭarasaniṁ taṁ(n)-naṁdanaṁ maṁḍaḷika-mukha-darppa-
[9] ṇan=Arasâsav-âri-Madana-Mahêśvaranum=eṁba birudugaḷ=aṁ[2]nvarttham=âge negaḷda mahâmaṁḍaḷêśvaraṁ Bhûtara-
[10] san=âtana parâkrâ(kra)mav=eṁt=eṁdaḍe || Kêḷvana kiviyoḷu gûṁṭaman=âḷv-inegaṁ beṭṭit-enisu yoṭṭaji-virudiṁd=ê-
[11] ḷ-vare lakkeyoḷ=adaṭur=vvelv-inegaṁ nigaḷav=ikkidaṁ Bhûta-nri(nṛi)pa || S(ś)aradhitaraṁgam=âvarisid=aṁbarav=uṁ(n)nata-Mêru-
[12] bhûdharaṁ guru-kuchav=abuja-shaṁḍav=anurâgaman=ârjjisuv=ânanaṁ lasat-pura-nichayaṁ vibhûśa(sha)ṇam=enal=pa-
[13] rirâjipa naṁdan-âtivistarateyan=âṁtu viśva-dharaṇî-vadhu sô(śô)bhisuguṁ niraṁ-taraṁ || Aṁt=â pri(pṛi)thvî-madhyada
[14] Mêru-parvvatada dakshiṇa-digu-bhâgada Bharata-kshêtradoḷu || Aṁt=oḷvan=âṁta dhâtrî-kâṁteya kuṁtaḷav=enippa

[1] From Mr. Fleet's ink-impression; revised by Mr. Fleet.

[2] This *Anusvâra* is superfluous.

[15] Kuṁtaḷav=aṁt=â Kuṁtaḷa-śôbhâ[3]-mauktikad=aṁte karaṁ sogayisikku Toṟagale-dêśaṁ || Alli || Neṟeda kau(ka)vuṁgu

[16] baggisuva kôgile talt=ele-vaḷḷi suttaluṁ tuṟugi taḷurtta mâmara-nikâyam=agurvvina karppu-doṁṭav=iṁ-

[17] t=aṟikeya châru-naṁdana-van-âvaḷi râjise sô(śô)bhe-vettud=î Toṟagale Bhûtanâtha-vibhuviṁ baḷas-i-

[18] rppa Malaprahâriyiṁ || Aṁt=â dêśaman=âḷva Bhûteyadêvana priya-tanûjaṁ Barmma-bhûpâḷana parâkra-

[19] mav=eṁt=eṁdaḍe || Ṭaṁṭaṇisuttav=irpp=ari-nri(nṛi)pâḷara hiṁḍa nij-âsi-daṁ[4]ṇḍadiṁ kaṁṭeya-bâradoḷ=suḷisi pâṇiya-

[20] bârada nîran=ûḍi niḥkka(ka)ṁṭakav=âge mâḍi paḍedaṁ sale Daṁḍina-Gôvan=eṁbudaṁ baṁṭara ballahaṁ negeda balla-

[21] haroḷ=kali Barmma-bhûbhujaṁ || Ari-bhûpâḷakar=oḍḍid-alli diṭadiṁ puṁ[4]ṇy-âṁgan-ânîka-sauṁdaravaṁ kaṁḍ-e-

[22] ḍeyalli vaṁdi-nikaraṁ kayy-âṁtoḍ=aṁt=alli nirvvaṟa-vîraṁ śuchi dâni Śûdrakanoḷ=â Gâṁgêyanoḷ=Ka-

[23] rṇṇanoḷ=sarisaṁ Daṁḍina-Gôva-Barmma-mahipaṁ viśvaṁbharâ-bhâgadoḷ*u* || Aṁt=eseva parâkramaṁ be-

[24] rasu chakravarttigaḷa hêḷikeyiṁ muṁguḷadâyadiṁ nâlku-diśâvarakkaṁ naḍadu hêḷda kelasavaṁ sâdhyaṁ-mâ-

[25] ḍi haḍeda Lôkâpura-haṁneraḍu Hoḷaluguṁḍa-mûvattu Doḍḍavâda Naviluguṁḍa-nâlvattu Ko-

[26] ḷenûru-mûvattu yiṁt=î dêśaṁgaḷan=âḷuttaṁ Barmma-bhûpâḷaṁ Toṟagaleyal*u* sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râ-

[27] jyaṁ-geyvu(yyu)tt-ire || Â Barmma-bhûpâḷana sarvvâṁga-Lakshmiy=appa Sugga-ladêviyara guṇ-âtiśayav=eṁṭ=eṁ-

[28] daḍe || Satata madîya deyvav=Amri(mṛi)têśvaran=î Nigaḷaṁka-Barmma-bhûpati patiy=aṁ[4]nyathâpi

[29] sa(śa)raṇ=ill=enag=eṁdu trigupti-yukta-śudhdha(ddha)teyin=udagra-puṁ[4]ṇya-nidhi Sugga-ladêvi lasach-charitra-bhû-

[30] śi(shi)te ghaṭa-sarppavaṁ hiḍidu gel*u*daḷ=iḷâtaḷav=eyde baṁ[4]ṇṇisal*u* || Hariya Siri Harana

[31] Pârvvati Sarasijasaṁbhavana Vâṇiy=eṁd=atimudadiṁ dhare pogaḷe negaḷda peṁp=i parama-patibra(vra)teye nîne

[32] Suggaladêvî || Aṁt=anêka-guṇagaḷ(ṇ)-âlaṁkri(kṛi)te sa(śa)tapatra-nêtre dâna-virâjite gôtra-pavitre paramamâhêśvari-

[33] yum=enisi negaḷda Śrî-Suggaladêviyaru tâvu mâḍisida Śrî-Suggalêśvara-dêvargge || Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1110ne-

[34] ya Plavaṁga-saṁvatsarada Puśya(shya) bahuḷa 10 Vaḍḍavârav=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkra-maṇa-vya-

[35] tîpâtadal*u* Baṁ[4]mmidêvarasara kayyal*u* Suggaladêviyar=isi-koṁḍu Hâḷahoḷeya

[36] holad-oḷage dêva-dêvêsa(śa)n=appa Śrî-Śuggalêśvara-dêvara dhûpa-dîpa-naivêdya-tâṁbu(bû)ḷakk=â-chaṁdr-â-

[37] [r*]kka-târaṁ baraṁ naḍav=aṁtu koṭṭa mattar=eraḍu kaṁbaṁ nânûṟa yayivattu

[38] adakke sîme teṁkal*u* Kuṁbâṟagereyiṁ mûḍal*u* Suruganahâḷiṁge hôda baṭṭe paśchima-

[39] dal*u* Kuṁbâṟagereyiṁ Baṁnivûriṁge haḷḷavaṁ dâṁṭi hôda baṭṭe baḍagal*u* Belakuppe

[40] mûḍal*u* herggaḍe-Chavu[ṁ*]ḍamayya-nâyakara maga herggaḍe-Mallayyana keyi || Â

[41] dêvara muṁdaṇa kalla-gâṇada mân=eṇṇeyaṁ dêvara naṁdâ-dîvige[ge*] koṭṭa-

[42] ru ||*

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[3] These two letters, *śôbhâ*, were omitted at first, and were then inserted, in small and rather faint characters, below the following letter *mau*.

[4] These *Anusvâras* are superfluous.

[43] Yivan=îy=aṁdadin=eyde pâḷisidavaṁg=isht-ârtta(rttha)-saṁsidhdhi(ddhi) saṁbhav[ikuṁ koṁḍ=a]ḷidaṁge Gaṁge Gaye Kêdâraṁ Kuru-

[44] kshêtrav=eṁb=ivaṟol=pêsade pârvvaraṁ goravaraṁ gô-briṁ(vṛiṁ)damaṁ p[eṁḍira]ṁ tave koṁd=ikkida pâpam=eydugu-

[45] m=avaṁ bi[5]ḷguṁ nigôḍaṁgaḷoḷu ||

Translation.

Salutation to Śambhu, who is adorned with the moon resembling a *chauri* resting on his lofty forehead, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

(L. 2.)—Hail! To describe the prowess of the glorious Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêva, who had acquired the five great sounds,[6] who was a *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara*, the heroic Nigaḷaṅkamalla possessed of power in his arms, the spiritual head of the Geṇukâṛas,[7] a hero in the right sense of the word, a very sun of a warrior, the sole master of the world. The distinguished Âhavamalla-Bhûtiga received, at the hands of the emperor, the name Âhavamalla and the distinction of a *Maṇḍaḷêśvara,* by reason of the heroism he displayed in killing Pañchala, when the latter encountered him; while the confederacy of petty kings headed by Nûrmaḍi-Taila, who were in the rear, took to flight.

(L. 6.)—From Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêva who had won so much renown, sprang his beloved son, Ḍâvaramalla. To him was born king Chaṭṭa; from whom sprang Ḍâvaramalla. His son was king Chaṭṭa, who was looked upon as the Yudhishṭhira of the Kali age. His son was the distinguished *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara* king Bhûta, who was a mirror[8] to the faces of petty kings and a very Śiva to the hostile Arasâsavas,[9] these titles being realised in him. To describe his prowess; king Bhûta put shackles on the feet of his enemies . . . .

(L. 11.)—Decorated with numerous smiling gardens, the whole earth shines for ever, like a lady, having for her garments the waves of the ocean, the lofty mountain Mêru for her large breasts, clusters of lotuses for a face winning affection, and shining groups of towns for her ornaments. In the centre of such a world, and to the south of the mountain Mêru, is situated Bharatakshêtra, which contains the country of Kuntaḷa, resembling the ringlets of the lady earth so full of charms. And the district of Toṟagale appears exceedingly beautiful, like shining pearls in those ringlets. There this Toṟagale is adorned with cuckoos bending down *areca*-nut-trees, betel-creepers in leaf, groves of mango-trees found on all sides, dark plantations of *aguru*-trees,[10] and rows of smiling gardens of *arike*,[11] with the lord Bhûtanâtha and the *(river)* Malaprahârî, which flows hard by.

(L. 18.)—To describe the prowess of king Barma, the beloved son of Bhûteyadêva, who ruled over such a country. The valiant king Barma, the most distinguished of heroes, dispersed . . . . with his own sword, the herd of hostile kings who appeared against him, ... made the earth free from enemies, and thus achieved the warrior's distinction called *Daṇḍina-Gôva.*[12] In this part of the earth, king Barma, who had the title of *Daṇḍina-Gôva*, was the equal of Śûdraka in invincible bravery, when hostile kings opposed him,—of the renowned Bhîshma in purity, when he saw the charms of numerous virtuous women,—and of Karṇa in liberality, when a crowd of bards opened their hands.

(L. 23.)—Adorned with such brilliant prowess, king Barma, having received instructions beforehand from the emperor, proceeded in the four directions, accomplished his mission, and obtained, as a reward, the Lôkâpura Twelve, the Hoḷalugunda Thirty, Doḍḍavâḍa, the Navilugunda Forty, and the Koḷenûru Thirty.

(L. 26.)—While king Barma was ruling over these districts, with the delight of pleasing conversation, at Toṟagale; to describe the

[5] This letter, *ḷ*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[6] See the introductory remarks.

[7] Perhaps the name of a warlike tribe. *Geṇu*, in Old-Canarese, means a sword.

[8] *Cf.* "He was, indeed, the *glass*
wherein the noble youth did dress themselves."
Henry IV., Part II.

[9] The name of a tribe. The word occurs in a grant published in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. III.

[10] Also called *raktachandana.*

[11] A kind of grain.

[12] *Cf.* Kaṭakada-Gôva, in the Baṅkâpur and Banawâsi inscriptions.

excellent qualities of Suggaladêvî, who embodied the whole prosperity of the person of the celebrated king Barma, saying, "Amritêśvara is ever my *(favourite)* god; and this king Nigalamka-Barma is my lord; to none else can I look up for protection,"—Suggaladêvî,—a depository of pre-eminent merit by reason of her purity in respect of body, mind and speech; and embellished with spotless character,—succeeded in catching a large snake,[18] to the admiration of the whole world. She is extolled with great delight by the world, saying, "Suggaladêvî; you are distinguished as the chastest woman, like Lakshmî, wife of Vishnu, Pârvatî, wife of Śiva, and Sarasvatî, wife of Brahmadêva."

(L. 32.)—Thus adorned with many virtues, illustrious for liberality, and whose family was pure, the most venerable lady, the lotus-eyed Suggaladêvî, with the permission of king Barma, granted, to continue as long as the sun, the moon, and the stars might last, 2 *mattars* and 450 *kambas*, in the field of Hâlahole, to the god Śrî-Suggalêśvara established by herself, to meet the expenses of incense, light, oblation and *tâmbûla*, for the god of gods Śrî-Suggalêśvara, in Śaka 1110, being the Plavamga *samvatsara*,[19] on Vaddavâra, the tenth day of the dark half of Pushya, being *vyatîpâta*, on the occasion of the sun's commencing his progress to the north.

(L. 38.)—The boundaries of the land are: to the south, the path leading to Suruganahâlu, in the east of Kumbâragere; to the west, the path leading from Kumbâragere to Bannivûru across the rivulet; to the north, Belakuppe; to the east, the land of the *Herggade* Mallayya, the son of the *Herggade* Chavundamayyanâyaka.

(L. 40.)—A maund of oil from the stone-mill in front of the god, was given for the perpetual light of the god.

(L. 43.)—He who preserves well these *(things granted)* in this way, shall obtain the fulfilment of his desires! He who destroys them, shall incur the guilt of having killed *Brâhmans*, *Goravas*, a herd of cows, or wives, without feeling disgust, on the Ganges, or at Gayâ, Kêdâra, or Kurukshêtra; he shall fall into hell.

[18] The fact that the snake did not bite her, was considered the highest proof of her chastity.

[19] By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Śaka 1110 was the Kîlaka *samvatsara*, and the Plavamga *samvatsara* was Śaka 1109.

NIŚÎDHI AND GUDDA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

In Vol. VIII., pp. 245-6, I published a short inscription of the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. (*Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 74) from a monumental stone standing in the courtyard of the Mêguti temple at Aihole in the Kalâdgi District. From the want of other inscriptions to compare with it, my version of it, as given there, had several errors in it. The correct version is as follows:—

Transcription.[1]

[1] Śrî-Mûlasamgha-Balôtkâraganada Kumudamdugala gudda Aichi-setti-

[2] yara maga Yerambarage-nâda settigutta Râmi-settiyara niśîdhi ||

Translation.

"The *niśîdhi* of *(the merchant)* Râmisetti, a *Settigutta* of the Erambarage[2] district,—the *gudda* of Kumudandu of the Balôtkâragana *(sect)* of the Śrî-Mûlasamgha; and the son of *(the merchant)* Aichisetti."

As regards the word *niśîdhi*,—which occurs also as *nisidhi*, *nishidhi*, and *nishidhige*,—Mr. K. B. Pâthak tells me that it is still used by the older members of the Jain community, and that it means 'a tomb erected over the remains of a Jain ascetic.' And he has given me the following passage from the *Upasargakêvaligala Kathe* in which it occurs:—

Rishi-samudâyam=ellam dakshinâpathadim bamdu bhattârara nishidhiyan=eydid-âgal &c.;—"The whole assemblage of the saints having come by the region of the south, and having arrived at the *nishidhi* of the venerable one, &c."

And as regards the word *gudda*,—in Vol. X., p. 189, note 16, I have given another short inscription in which it occurs, and have pointed out that in such passages it seems to have the meaning of 'disciple, follower, or adherent.'

The following six short inscriptions will

[1] From the original stone; not from the photograph as published.

[2] The capital of the Sinda *Mahâmandalêśvaras*. The name is also written Erambirage. It is probably, as Sir Walter Elliot has suggested (*Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII., p. 207), the modern 'Yelburga' or 'Yelboorga' of the maps, in the Nizâm's Dominions.—Lat. 15° 37′ N., Long. 76° 5′ E.

serve to further illustrate the use of *niśîdhi* and *gudda* in the meanings given above.

No. 1.

An Old-Canarese inscription on a monumental stone in Survey No. 11 at Kaḍakoḷ,—seven miles north of the Tâlukâ Station of Karajgi in the Dhârwâḍ District. Towards the top of the stone, there is a compartment containing—in the centre, a seated figure, under a canopy or shrine, facing full-front, cross-legged, and with the hands resting in each other in the lap; and at each side, a standing figure holding a *chauri* away from the seated figure. Then come the first two lines of the inscription. Then comes a compartment containing—in the centre, a *ṭhavaṇakôlu*[3] or Jain reading-stand, without hanging tassels, but with a book or manuscript placed on it; on the proper right, a seated figure, holding in the left hand a *piñchha* or peacock's-feather fan or brush towards the *ṭhavaṇakôlu*; on the extreme proper right, a *kamaṇḍalu* or water-vessel used by ascetics; and on the proper left, a seated figure facing full front, cross-legged, and with the hands resting in each other in the lap. Then follow the remaining five lines of the inscription. The whole inscription, if pieced together, covers a space of 0′ 7″ high by 1′ 4½″ broad. The inscription is of the time of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II, and is dated in the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 1168 (A.D. 1246-7).

Transcription.[4]

[1] Svasti Śrîmatu-Yâdava-Râyanârâyaṇa ba(bhu)jabala-pra-
[2] tâpa-chakravartti Siṁhaṇadêva[ra*] varsha 37 Parâ-
[3] bhava-saṁvatsarada Mârggaśira su(śu)dha(ddha) paṁ hami Bri(bṛi)ha-
[4] [spati*]vâradalu Sûrasthagaṇada Mûlasaṁghada Śrî-Naṁdi-
[5] bhaṭṭirakadêvara guḍḍa Kaḍakuḷada Sâvaṁta-Bo-
[6] ppagauḍana heggaḍe Sômayyanu samâdi(dhi)ï(yi)ṁ
[7] mudipi svargga-prâptan=âda[nu*] [|*] Maṁgaḷa-mahâ-śrî [||*]

Translation.

"Hail! On Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mârgaśira of the Parâbhava *saṁvatsara*, which was the thirty-seventh year of the glorious Râyanârâyaṇa of the Yâdavas, the puissant and valorous universal emperor Siṁhaṇadêva,—Sômayya,—the *guḍḍa* of Śrî-Nandibhaṭṭârakadêva of the Mûlasaṁgha of the Sûrasthagaṇa (*sect*); (*and*) the *Heggaḍe*[5] of Sâvanta-Boppagauḍa of Kaḍakuḷa[6],—having died in a state of complete abstraction of the senses, attained heaven. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!"

No. 2.

An Old-Canarese inscription on a monumental stone near the temple of Haṇamanta or Hanumân inside the village of Kaḍakoḷ. At the top of the stone there is the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left. Then comes a compartment containing—in the centre, a seated figure, under a canopy, facing full-front, cross-legged, and with the palms of the hands resting in each other in the lap; and at each side, a standing figure waving a *chauri* towards the seated figure. Then come the first two lines of the inscription. Then comes a compartment containing—about the centre, a *ṭhavaṇakôlu*, with hanging tassels and with a book or manuscript placed on it; on the proper right, a figure, sitting to the *ṭhavaṇakôlu*, of a saint reading the book; on the proper left, a seated figure, apparently of a woman and therefore of the Chaṇḍigauḍi of the inscription, holding, in the right hand, a *piñchha* over the *ṭhavaṇakôlu*; and on the extreme proper left, a *kamaṇḍalu*. Then follow the remaining eleven lines of the inscription. The whole inscription, if pieced together covers

[3] An arrangement of four sticks, fastened together in the middle, and then opened out, after the fashion of a folding camp-stool, so as to stand upright on the ground and support a book laid flat on the upper ends. Sometimes tassels (*goṇḍe*) are suspended from the upper ends of the sticks.—On my showing the drawing of the stone, made by my man, to Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak, he obtained this term and the explanation of it from the Jains of Hosûr, and an actual wooden *ṭhavaṇakôlu* (they have also one of silver) was shown to him by them.—He says that the *ṭhavanakôlu* of the Jains corresponds to the *vyâsapîṭha* of the Brâhmaṇs, except that the latter is rather a more elaborate arrangement, made of joined boards, and shaped so as to hold the book on a slant. He takes the word as an *Arisamâsa*,— *ṭhavaṇa* being the Prâkṛit form, of frequent occurrence in Jain literature, of the Sanskṛit *sthâpana*, and *kôlu* being a Canarese word meaning 'staff, stick, rod, stem.' And he has met with two representations of a *ṭhavaṇakôlu*, resembling that of the present stone, at p. 533*a* of a MS. of a Jain work on *Mahâpûjâvidhâna* attributed to Bhaṭṭâraka-Dharmabhûshaṇa.

[4] From an ink-impression.

[5] 'Manager.'

[6] In the other inscriptions the name is written Kaḍako ̣a.

a space of 0′ 11″ high by 1′ 4½″ broad. The inscription is dated in Śaka 1201 (A.D. 1279-80), the Pramâthi *saṁvatsara.*

Transcription.[7]

[1] Svasti Śrîmat*u*-Sa(śa)kavar*u*śa(sha) 1201 Pramâthi-saṁvatsa-
[2] rada Bhâdrapada su(śu)ddha chhaṭ[ṭ*]i Sômavârad-aṁdu śrîma-
[3] n*u*-Mûlasaṁghada Paḍumasi(?sê)na-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârakadêvara gu-
[4] ḍ[ḍ*]i Kaḍakoḷada Sâvaṁta-Siriyama-gauḍana heṁḍati
[5] Chaṁḍigauḍi sarvva-nivri(vṛi)ttiyaṁ kayi-koṁḍu sa-
[6] mâdhdhi(dhi)yiṁ muḍipi svargga-prâptey=âda niśidhdhi(dhi)-
[7] ya stambhaṁ [|*] Maṁgaḷa-mahâ-śrî-śrî-śrî [||*]
[8] Hiryya-Boppagauḍa Chik[k*]a-Boppa-gauḍa Chikkagauḍa
[9] Ka(?)lidêva Ruvâ(?)dya(?)viridêva mukhya haṁneraḍu-hi-
[10] ṭ[ṭ]u samasta-praje basadige koṭṭa yere mattar*u* 1 [|*] Śrî-
[11] —vâṁnya maṁgaḷa-mahâ-śrî-śrî-śrî [||*]

Translation.

"Hail! The pillar of the *niśidhi* (*in commemoration*) of Chaṇḍigauḍi,—the *guḍḍi*[8] of (?) Paḍumasinabhaṭṭârakadêva of the holy Mûla-saṁgha; (*and*) the wife of Sâvanta-Siriyamagauḍa of Kaḍakoḷa,—having obtained complete cessation from worldly acts, and having died in a state of complete abstraction of the senses, and having attained heaven, on Monday, the sixth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Bhâdrapada of the Pramâthi *saṁvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 1201. May there be auspicious and great good fortune! The twelve *Hiṭṭu*, (*and*) all the people, headed by Hiryya-Boppagauḍa, Chikka Boppagauḍa, Chikkagauḍa, (?) Kalidêva, (*and*) (?) Ruvâdyaviridêva, gave one *mattar* of black-soil land to the *basadi* . . . . May there be auspicious and great good fortune!"

No. 3.

An Old-Canarese inscription on another monumental stone in Survey No. 11 at Kaḍakoḷ. Towards the top of the stone there is a row of three seated figures, facing full-front, cross-legged, and with the palms of the hands resting in each other in the lap. Immediately below them are two similar figures, one at each side of the stone, with a compartment between them in which there was perhaps a third similar figure, or some other sculpture, now effaced. Then follows the inscription, which covers a space of 0′ 7″ high by 1′ 5″ broad. The characters are of the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D.

Transcription.[9]

[1] Śrîmat*u*-Khara-saṁvatsarad-aṁdu
[2] Katteya-Aichi-seṭ[ṭ*]iya ma-
[4] ga Chaṁdayana nishidhigeya ka-
[5] l[l*]u ||

Translation.

"In the glorious Khara *saṁvatsara*,—the stone of the *nishidhige* of Chandaya, the son of (*the merchant*) Katteya-Aichiseṭṭi."

No. 4.

An Old-Canarese inscription on another monumental stone in Survey No. 11 at Kaḍakoḷ. At the top of the stone there is the sun on the proper right, and the moon on the proper left. Then comes a compartment containing—in the centre, a seated figure under a canopy, facing full-front, cross-legged, and with the palms of the hands resting in each other in the lap,—and at each side, a *chauri* and a small floral device. Then comes a compartment containing—in the centre a *ṭhavaṇakôlu*, with hanging tassels and with a book placed on it; on the proper right, a seated figure, of the usual description as above, facing full-front; on the proper left, a seated figure holding, in the right hand, a *piñchha* towards the *ṭhavaṇakôlu*; and on the extreme proper left, a *kamaṇḍalu*. Then follows the inscription, which covers a space of 0′ 9½″ high by 1′ 0″ broad. The inscription is dated in Śaka 1189 (A.D. 1267-8), the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*.

Transcription.[10]

[1] Svasti Śrî-Sa(śa)kavar*u*sa(sha) 1189 Prabha-
[2] va-saṁvatsarada Mâgha su(śu)dha(ddha) 5 Su(śu)-
[3] kravâradal*u* Mûlasaṁghada Sûra-
[4] sthagaṇada Śrî-Naṁdibhaṭṭârakadêvara-gu-
[5] ḍ[ḍ*]a Kaḍakoḷada Sâvaṁta-Dêvagâ-vuṁḍa-

[7] From an ink-impression.
[8] Here we have the feminine form of *guḍḍa*.
[9] From an ink-impression.
[10] From an ink-impression.

[6] na maga Mâragâvuṁḍa sarvva-nivri(vṛi)-[tti*]yaṁ kai-
[7] yi-koṁḍu samâdhiyiṁ muḍipi sva-
[8] [r*]gga-prâptan=âda niśidhiya staṁbha [|*] Maṁ-
[9] gaḷa-mahâ-śrî-śrî-śrî [||*]

Translation.

"Hail! The pillar of the *niśidhi* (*in commemoration*) of Mâragâvuṇḍa,—the *guḍḍa* of Śrî-Nandibhaṭṭârakadêva of the Sûrasthagaṇa (*sect*) of the Mûlasaṁgha; (*and*) the son of Sâvanta-Dêvagâvuṇḍa of Kaḍakoḷa,—having obtained complete cessation from worldly acts, and having died in a state of complete abstraction of the senses, and having attained heaven, on Friday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha of the Prabhava *saṁvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 1189. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!"

No. 5.

An Old-Canarese inscription on a monumental stone in front of the temple of Kalamêśvara at Śiggâṁve, the Tâlukâ station of the Baṅkâpur Tâlukâ in the Dhârwâḍ District. The sculptures on the stone are,—in the centre, a seated figure of the usual description, facing full-front, with a *chauri* on each side, all in a shrine; on the proper left, another similar seated figure facing full-front; and on the proper left, another seated figure, facing full-front, with the left hand in the lap, but with the right hand, holding a *piñchha*, lifted and stretched out over a small *thavaṇakôlu* which is without tassels but has a book placed on it. The inscription covers a space of 0′ 4½″ high by 1′ 1½″ broad The characters are of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D.

Transcription.[11]

[1] Svasti Śrîmat*u*-Bya(vya)ya-saṁvatsarada Mârgga-
[2] si(śi)ra ba 11 Su(śu) | Dêsî(śî)ya-gaṇa-[da*] Bâḷachaṁ-
[3] dratraividyadêvara guḍ[ḍ*]a Saba(?)-rasiṁgi-seṭ[ṭ*]i-
[4] yaru svargga-prâptan=âdanu[12] ||

Translation.

"Hail! (*The merchant*) (?) Sabarasiṅgiseṭṭi, the *guḍḍa* of Bâḷachandratraividyadêva of the Dêśîyagaṇa (*sect*), attained heaven on Friday, the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Mârgaśira of the glorious Vyaya *saṁvatsara*."

No. 6.

An Old-Canarese inscription on the front of the *abhishêka*-stand of an image inside a Jain temple at Honnûr, two miles to the south-west from Kâgal near Kôlhâpur. The image is that of a standing Jinêndra, with a serpent coiling up behind it and displaying seven hoods over its head, and with a small kneeling or sitting figure in each lower corner. The inscription covers a space of 0′ 1¾″ high by 2′ 7″ broad. It is of the time of Ballâḷa and Gaṇḍarâditya of the Śilâhâras of Kôlhâpur, *i.e.* somewhere about Śaka 1030 (A.D. 1108-9).

Transcription.[13]

[1] Svasti Śrî-Mûlasaṁghada Po(pu)nnâga-vṛikshamûlagaṇada Râtrimati-Kantiyara guḍḍaṁ Bammagâvuṇḍaṁ mâ-
[2] ḍisida basadige śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalêśvaraṁ Ballâḷadêvanuṁ Gaṇḍarâdityadêvanm-(num)=âhâra-dânakke biṭṭa kammav=i-[14]
[3] n-nûṛakkaṁ aṛu-gayi mane . . . .

Translation.

"Hail! The glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* Ballâḷadêva and Gaṇḍarâdityadêva allotted two hundred *kammas* and a house (*measuring*) six cubits, ..., for the purpose of providing food (*for those performing penance*), to the *basadi* which Bammagâvuṇḍa, the *guḍḍa* of Râtrimati-Kanti of the Punnâgavṛikshamûlagaṇa (*sect*) of the Śrî-Mûlasaṁgha, had caused to be built."[15]

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[11] From an ink-impression.

[12] The verb is in the singular, though the substantive is in the plural.

[13] From an ink-impression.

[14] The second of the two uniform lines on the front of the stand ends here. My man was not allowed to enter the temple, and had to get the impression made by an *Upâdhyâya* of the village; hence the omission of the concluding words, which must be somewhere round the corner so as not to be visible from the door. Seeing that the impression was incomplete, I wrote to have a search made for the rest of the inscription. I have thus obtained the commencement of line 3, but have not been told whereabouts on the stand it is. After the word *mane*, there appear to be some further letters, now illegible.

[15] Graham's translation of this inscription (*Kolhapoor*, p. 466) is :—"Be it prosperous! Obeisance to the reasoning of Gooroo Moolgun, the professor of Poonagvaksa (doctrine of a certain religious sect among the Jains.) It is the light of wisdom and knowledge to the darkness of ignorance and superstition. The chief of extensive dominions, Bullal Deo and Gunduraditya, granted in charity a field in the village of Veenoor (the present Honoor) to the Bustee built by Bumgaoond." This is a fair sample of the value of the translations supplied to and published by him, and of the way in which inscriptions are dealt with by the ordinary Pandit.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJÂB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from vol. XI, p. 230.*)

No. 18.—LITTLE ANKLE BONE.[1]

Once upon a time there was a little boy who went to live with his aunt,[2] and she set him to tend sheep. So all day long he tended sheep in the wilds and blew on his little shepherd's pipe[3] from morn till eve. Now one day a great big wolf appeared and looked hungrily at the little boy, and then at his fat sheep, and said :—

"Little boy, shall I eat you or your sheep ?"

Then the little boy answered, "I don't know, Mr. Wolf ; I must ask my aunt."

So all day long he played on the pipe, and in the evening when he brought the flock home he asked his aunt, saying :—

"Auntie, dear, a great big wolf asked me to-day if he should eat me or my sheep. Which shall it be ?"

Then his aunt looked at him and then at the fat sheep, and answered sharply,—"Why, *you*, of course !"

So the little shepherd went off with his flock next morning and blew away contentedly on his pipe till the wolf came, and then he said :—"If you please, Mr. Wolf, auntie says you are to eat *me*."

Now the wolf, savage as he was, could not help having just a little pity for the tiny shepherd with his tiny pipe, and said kindly,—"Could I do anything for you after I have eaten you ?"

"Thank you," replied the little shepherd, "If you would be so kind after you have picked my bones to thread my ankle bone on a string and hang it on the wild oak[4] that weeps over the pond yonder, I shall be much obliged."

So the wolf when he had eaten the little boy and picked the bones did as he had promised, and hung the ankle bone by a string to the branches of the oak, where it danced and swung in the sunlight, and the winds whistled softly through it.

Now one day three robbers who had just robbed a palace came by, and seating themselves under the oak began to divide the spoil. Just as they were beginning to divide the golden pans and the silk apparel and the silver vessels into three heaps a jackal howled, and at the same instant as luck would have it the Little Ankle Bone's thread snapped and down it fell on the head of one of the thieves like a stone. This the thieves considered to be a warning,[5] and whispering to each other that they were discovered they fled, leaving the treasure behind them.

"Now," said Little Ankle Bone to himself, "I shall lead a fine life." So he went into the town and bought a new shepherd's pipe, and played so sweetly on it that all the beasts of the field and forest and all the birds of the air and the very fishes in the pond flocked to hear him. Then Little Ankle Bone built marble basins[6] round the pond for the animals to drink out of, and sat all day under the oak and played to them, and in the evening the does and the tigresses and the she-wolves all came to him to be milked. Some of the milk he drank and the rest flowed into the pond until at last it became a pond of milk which grew bigger and bigger day by day.

At last an old woman passing by heard the shepherd's pipe and following the sound came to the pond of milk. She was wonder-struck, especially when Little Ankle Bone called out :—"Fill your pitcher, mother, fill your pitcher. All may drink who come hither."

So she filled her pitcher with milk and went her way. And as she journeyed she fell in with the king of the country, who, while hunting in the forest, had lost his way. Seeing the old woman's pitcher he called out :—"Give me

[1] The word used was *gîṛî*, which appears to be local, and to be arrived at thus : *gîṛî*, dim. from *gîṛâ* = *giṭṭâ*, Panj. *gaṭṭâ*, Hindî, an ankle bone. In the verse at the end of the tale 'Little Ankle Bone' calls himself *Gitetâ Râm* a very interesting instance of the manner in which modern Panjâb proper names are formed.—R.C.T.

[2] *Mâsî* = maternal aunt.—R. C. T.

[3] *bâṅsrî*, *bansî*, or *murlî* ; a flute, reed, pipe ; made famous to all time by the legend of Kṛishṇa.—R. C. T.

[4] *ban=pîlu=quercus arcana*, the wild oak of India. Its branches grow very low, frequently touching the ground. —R. C. T.

[5] Dogs barking (or jackals howling) during an enterprise is as commonly considered a bad omen in India as in Europe.—R. C. T.

[6] *Dauriaṅ* ; *daurâ*, Panj.=Hind. *nând*, a wide-mouthed earthen vessel, a marble drinking place for animals ; a marble trough.—R. C. T.

a drink of water, good mother, for I am half dead of thirst."

"It is not water, but milk, my son," replied the old woman, "which I got from the Milky Pond yonder."

"The Milky Pond," cried the king, and began enquiring. After a while he determined to go and see it for himself. When he reached it and saw all the animals drinking out of the marble basins and heard Little Ankle Bone playing ever so sweetly under the oak tree, he said aloud:—"I'll have the little piper if I die for it."

No sooner did Little Ankle Bone hear this than he set off at a run with the king after him. Never was there such a chase, for Little Ankle Bone hid himself in the thickest briers and thorns, and the king was determined to have the little piper.

At last the king caught him and instantly it began to thunder and lighten terribly. Whereupon Little Ankle Bone cried out:—

Kyûṅ gunjâe, badalâ gaṛkanâe?
Gaj karak sâre des;
Ohnâṅ hirnîâṅ de than pasmâe:
Giṭeṭâ Râm gîâ pardes.[7]

Oh why do you thunder and lighten, dark heavens?
Your noise is as nothing to what will arise,
When the does that are waiting in vain for the milking,
Find poor Little Ankle Bone reft from their eyes.

He wept and wailed so that the king, seeing he had but an ankle bone in his hand let the little creature go back to the pond. And there Little Ankle Bone still sits under the oak-tree playing on his shepherd's pipe, while all the animals of the forest come to listen and drink out of the marble basins.[8]

EARNESTNESS IN CHINESE BUDDHISM.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., PEKIN.

(*Extracted from "the Catholic Presbyterian," August* 1882).

Buddhism in China has passed through many phases, and at different periods has shown great skill in fashioning its doctrines to the varying hour. By transcendental philosophy it has won the learned, and by the metempsychosis the people. By a lofty ascetic morality it has attracted those whose hearts are made warm by representations of the beauty of self-denial and contempt for worldly distinctions, while by an ingenious logic it has fascinated the intellect of many a youthful reader, whose successive objections to its doctrines have been met and overcome by the persevering use of pictorial metaphor.

The majority of the monks are indolent and without religious aspirations. They live in free quarters with hardly anything to do, encouraged in idleness by the monastic system which takes them away from the pursuits of industry to pass a life of quiet meditation in the company of others like-minded with themselves. Their new home may be in the city, the mountain, or the village, or beside a highway or a river. But in almost all cases their duties are light. In large monasteries they are under rule. In the small monasteries each does as he pleases, and in most cases does very little. They have charge of the temporalities of the monastery and of funeral services in families. In some cases they conduct daily service in the monasteries. In other cases they go out on begging expeditions among the rich of adjoining cities, proceeding in companies, and chanting prayers on the way. The priest in charge of a monastery with its lands, holds a deed. In many instances he can part with this for money to another priest, at his discretion. In most cases, however, he is simply placed over the property by the chief residents of the neighbourhood. In no case can he properly or honestly sell the property. He should, indeed, have no property at all, and of this his shaven head is evidence. With the shorn locks goes the worldly gear of the neophyte. The vow of celibacy is accompanied by a vow of total abstinence from wine and flesh of every kind. But these rules do

[7] *Lit.*, why echo, O thundering clouds? Roar and thunder through all the land; the teats of the does yonder are full of milk; Giṭeṭâ Râm (Mr. Ankle Bone) has gone away.—R. C. T.

[8] This story, told by a small boy in the Bâr (forest; thickly-wooded *jangal*) of the Gujrânwâlâ District, is common amongst all the wandering cattle-drovers' children. In the Bâr, wolves are very common, and the story seems to point to a belief in some invisible shepherd, a sort of Spirit of the Bâr, whose pipe may be heard. *Cf.* Grimm's 'Singing Bone.'—F. A. S.



not make the Chinese Buddhists a devout class. The nation is not devout as a nation, and even the devout individual is rarely met with. The idea of special sacredness does not easily attach itself to temples, nor do the monks show any special reverence in the presence of the images, while the number and coarseness of the images tend to detract from their effect. Solemnity is not the feeling which is most naturally awakened in the visitor's mind when he sees them. The people of the neighbourhood neither show it nor expect it in others.

Yet there have been not a few devout Buddhists, as may be clearly inferred from their biographies and from the books they have left behind. The peculiar doctrines of their religion, when thoroughly accepted, would induce seriousness of deportment and an earnest life. For instance, the contempt shown by this religion for the world and for wealth and honour would induce many persons out of the hundreds of millions who have at various times become monks, to take the vows with very serious intentions. Among the laity also, the reading of Buddhist literature has had a marked influence on some. The heroes, lay and clerical, among the Buddhists, who have achieved wide fame for themselves in this way are not a few, and this is true also of heroines.

In spite of the fact that the national temperament is not inclined to spiritual devoutness, but rather to secularity; that the Confucianists have always looked coldly on this foreign religion, scorning it publicly, and despising it in their hearts; and that emperors have by repeated edicts held up the Buddhists to popular condemnation, still devout men and women have been found among them.

These are but a very small percentage of the whole number of monks. The chief reason of their being few is found in the nature of Buddhism, as a religion without God. That belief in God which gives vigour to a religion is absent from Buddhism, except in so far as Buddha, in this system of belief, takes the place of God in the devotee's consciousness. This, however, is only a limited conception. As a man, Buddha is long since dead. As God, Buddha is lost in pantheistic indefiniteness of idea. Both the metaphysical dogmas and the understood sense of the *Nirvâṇa* surround the idea of God with a thick haze. For the soul feeling after God, in the region of Buddhist thought there is no personal reality to be grasped. The divine and almighty Being becomes an image like that in Virgil of the deceased wife of Æneas, which he three times tried to seize and to embrace—

"Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum,
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago."

Thrice round her neck he tried his arms to clasp,
Thrice clasped in vain, the shadow fled his grasp.

Buddhism is a very disappointing religion to those who sigh for certitude and reality. It serves for those who are content with dreams. It supplies them with fancy sketches of the future, but fails to endow those visions with permanence, so that the hungry soul finds nothing to feed on in this religion but philosophic dogma and unreal imaginations. Yet, that there have been devout men who, under Buddhist training, have shown great earnestness, will now be proved by examples.

The devotion of the Chinese Buddhists to their religion may be illustrated from their old biographies in great abundance. When these narratives were penned, there was great vigour in the propagation of Buddhism. The Chinese neophytes of the first centuries had among them many more noted names than is true of the modern Buddhists.

The biographical records of those earlier times contain many hundred separate personal narratives of men thought worthy of a place in those compilations which form a sort of "Lives of the Saints."

The authors of the various Buddhist "Lives of the Saints" have before them an ideal of perfection very different from that of the Christian. The qualities which they regard as making up the sum of goodness are such as these: the despising of the world, submission to the rule enjoining vegetarian diet, and other ascetic rules of Buddhism, devoted study of the Buddhist books, diligence and aptness in converting those who are still in the world to the monastic life. To these may be added a deep perception of the truth of Buddhist dogmas, success in defending those dogmas, and some conspicuous instances of self-denial.

In these lives some men are represented as fearing to pollute the pure rules of the monastery, and therefore for a time returning to the world. Later they take the vows, being con-

vinced that the Buddhist doctrine transcends any other.

The favourite books read at that time, that is, in the fifth and sixth centuries, were the *Hwa-yen-ching*, the *Nie-pân-ching* (*Nirvâṇa Sûtra*), the *Wei-mo-ching* (*Vimalakîrti Sûtra*), the *Lotus*, the *Four Divisions*, the *Po-jo-ching* (*Prajña Sûtra*), and the *Discourse on the Earth* (*Dasabhûmi Sûtra*).

A devoted student would read 4000 or 5000 characters a-day, and, if he had a good memory, would recollect all he had read. Some are described as reading Buddhist books when from five to six years old, and at nine years, by studying the *Nirvâṇa* discourses, to have perceived that the world deserves contempt.

One devotee is represented as finding in the *Nirvâṇa* a cure for sickness and cold, so that a single grain of rice with vegetables, and one garment with straw in addition, would satisfy him; for while his body grew weak, his mental animation would be more and more perfect.

These saints, when young, are described as distinguished by modesty and decorum. One of them, who became a monk in A.D. 470, in the time of the Emperor Ming-ti, of the Sung dynasty, at sixteen years of age was remarkable for his attention to the instructions of his teachers. If they were very sick, he would not eat for several days. He constantly waited on them all this time. So long as they did not take food, he would not. When they ate or drank, he would do so too. When they were quite recovered, he would again take his former amount of nourishment. Thus his ascetic virtue became strong and clear. At the same time he grew in knowledge, and was in fact more profoundly wise than the barbarians,—the author meaning by this phrase probably the Hindu Buddhist saints, and those of Kabul and Turkistan. The princes of that time appointed conferences, at which select priests were appointed to discourse. In these conferences, when the lot fell on our hero, sitting on the last seat, he distinguished himself above all that came before him.

According to the same narratives, the middle life of distinguished monks in the monasteries was marked by careful reading of the *Sûtras* of Buddha. Much of their fame for devotion consists in this, but retribution came with sure footsteps to substantiate their claim to be admired. The same priest who was so sympathetic and respectful to his teachers, when twenty-nine years old, met with a female fortuneteller, who could foretell the future exactly as it subsequently occurred in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, and in fact, so it was said, in the hundredth case too. She said to him, "Teacher of the law! you are learned and wise, and your fame reaches all over the world. But unhappily you will only live to thirty-one." Hearing this, he ceased his public teaching, and applied himself to self-improvement and reflection, making a vow not to go out of the door of the monastery. He then searched the *Sûtras*, and meeting with the *Vajra Prajña*, or *Diamond Sûtra*, he took it reverentially to his room to read. When the end of the year came, he bathed himself with perfumed water, made the room perfectly clean, and chanted this book, intending thus to meet his approaching death. But on a sudden he heard a voice in the air, saying to him, "Good and brave man, last year thy life was fixed by retributory fate to end at thirty-one. But now, through reading the *Prajña*, you have by the strength of that book acquired a lifetime twice as long!" Our hero after this went in search of the fortuneteller, who exclaimed on seeing him, "Why! what is the reason that you are still living? Formerly I saw distinctly that you would lead a short life, now I see that I was wrong. Sham :|: Your fate I see plainly cannot be foretold." Our hero asked, "How long shall I live now?" She replied, "I see by the structure of the bones of your face and head that you will live to be more than sixty." To this he answered, "I should not have called fifty a short life, but now I am to live longer than that." He then told all that had occurred to the fortune-teller; and it need not be added, that she received with great delight this confirmation of her prophetic power. After this he lived to the time foretold by the wise woman. In consequence, all over the region known then as Kiang-tso, and now called Kiang-nan and Kiang-su, the practice of chanting the *Diamond Sûtra* grew fashionable; and many other proofs of wonderful efficacy following on reading this book were spread abroad. The popularity of certain treatises among the Chinese Buddhists is based on their fame for magical efficacy, which they have accidentally

acquired through incidents in the lives of saints. It will occur to every one who is acquainted with China, that this is also true of certain temples in every part of the country. They become famous through their connection with some noted priest, to whom remarkable things have happened.

Later in life the same monk became very conspicuous; and it was such men as he that lent strength to Buddhism in the period of advancing prosperity which had then arrived. The State began to favour this religion, and encourage its institutions. Chi-tsang was among the representative men of the time when Buddhism rose, as nearly as it ever did, to the point of becoming the State religion of China and yet failed to reach that point. It is important to know what sort of a man he was. He was firm, without being violent. He did not become worldly in tastes when enjoying imperial favour, but continued the quiet occupations of the monkish cell, reading the metaphysical books which his religion holds sacred, and explaining them to his monkish audiences. In his hand Buddhism did not bend to State power, nor did he and those like him succeed in attracting the State so far towards their views as to cause the abandonment of the old State ceremonies. They only persuaded the Emperor Liang-wu-ti to forbid the use of animal sacrifices in the worship of heaven and earth, and that of the spirits of grain and land, and the Emperor Wei-hien-wen-ti, A.D. 470, to do the same thing in North China. Confucianism received a brief check: China wondered when the former of these two emperors went to a monastery and became a monk, and felt relieved when he returned to his throne. He loved Buddhism, but Confucianism was too strong for him. Matters soon resumed their old footing.

Liang-wu-ti was the Constantine of Buddhism in China; but he did not accomplish as much for Buddhism as Constantine did for Christianity. Buddhism endured much suffering after his reign, and Confucianism still maintained its superiority in regard to civil rights and authority.

Buddhism flourished greatly during the forty-eight years of the reign of Liang-wu-ti. That emperor wished to assume the control of the monks, on the ground that the government of the higher priests did not follow them beyond the gates of the temples where each presided. Acts of excess abounded without check. The priests who held office should, in regulating the observance of the religious rules, be under the emperor, who should regulate all. A document was sent for the signatures of those who approved. It was brought to Chi-tsang, who drew his pen across it as a sign of disapproval, on the ground that a layman, not understanding the depths of the Buddhist doctrine, which is as a great sea, cannot administer the government of the Buddhist community. The emperor read this remark, and paid no attention. The resistance of the monk was of no avail. The edict was promulgated. The emperor called an assembly of the priests. Chi-tsang came in late. The emperor said that he intended to make a change in the mode of procedure in cases of delinquency. Monks were not sufficiently trained. Those in authority among them, through ignorance of the laws, punished culprits too severely. He would himself, in leisure hours, act as Buddhist magistrate, dressed as a white-robed monk, and would establish regulations in accordance with law. This was the duty properly of abbots and other chief monks, but Buddha himself had expressly entrusted kings with this power. In conversation with various priests, he had found on various occasions that they coincided with him in opinion. He added that he would like to know the opinion of the monkish teacher of the law whom he saw present. The monk was in favour of allowing things to remain as they were. To this the emperor consented, but he was very much displeased. It became necessary for the chief persons of the monkish fraternity to intercede for Chi-tsang, and this they did with some effect.

When he was asked, "Why were you not afraid to excite the emperor's anger?" he said: "I am old, and whatever the emperor may command, I have not long to live. As to death, I do not regret that my end must come; therefore I am tranquil." He continued to discourse on the *Diamond Sûtra* and the *Prajñâ*, and died A.D. 519.

As an early example of the devotion of the Buddhists, we may give the cutting on stone, near Pekin, of the Buddhist sacred books, at the hill called Siau-si-tiēn, the "lesser western

heaven." On this hill, facing the east, are eight caves, in which the stone tablets containing the Buddhist books are piled up. The place is within a short and pleasant walk from the rich and ancient monastery known as Si-yu-sï. The way lies along the bank of a broad mountain stream, where you may sit on some large stone and pore upon the brook that bubbles by, close by the monastery. A strong stone bridge leads to a farm where the people are busy harvesting. The road lies beyond this farm through a cypress wood of considerable size, or along the edge of it, as the pedestrian may feel inclined. He passes beyond the wood through fields which gradually rise till they are lost in the lower slopes of a hill, where the caves of the tablets are found. Ascending this hill, the traveller passes several caves closed up by strong stone gates, made of upright stone bars, so as to form a double row of gratings, one above the other. Through the gate he sees tablets of stone piled irregularly. Still rising, he arrives at the entrance of an open cave, Round its four sides are placed, in the wall, limestone tablets. Each of them has 988 characters clearly cut. There are in this cave, in all, 150 tablets, and, therefore, there are 148,200 characters in all. The tablets are arranged in two or three tiers, according to the size and shape of the cave. Four octagon pagodas support the roof, and more than 1000 images of Buddha are placed in small niches, in sixteen rows, upon the surface of these pagodas, and these rows reach from floor to ceiling. There was no one on the hill when I was there with our party, but a tradesman from the city of Pau-ting-fu, who earns his livelihood by taking rubbings from tablets. A request to him to take copies of two inscriptions which gave the history of these caves, brought in the evening the requisite information regarding this remarkable work of ancient Buddhist zeal. In the year 1026, in the time of the Liau dynasty, a governor of Cho-cheu, the city to which this mountain and the monastery Si-yu-sï belong, sent messengers to search the mountain. The caves were carefully examined, and the priests of the monastery questioned, but they knew nothing definite. The caves were opened, and a register made of the tablets, which were found to contain the *Ching-fa-men-ching*, the *Nie-pa'n-ching* (*Nirvâṇa Sûtra*), the *Hwa-yen-ching* (*Avataṁsaka Sûtra*), and the *Po-jo-ching* (*Prajñâ Sûtra*),—in all, 1560 tablets. From dates and names found here and there it appeared that about A.D. 620, in the Sui dynasty, the priest Tsing-wan-Tsing originated the undertaking. His object was, by engraving the Buddhist sacred books on stone, to preserve them from possible destruction. He toiled at this work till his death in the year A.D. 639. A second monk continued this task of carving tablets with the words of Buddha. After his death another successor was found to carry on the work. So the thing went forward for five generations. During all this time, extending probably much longer than a century, these five priests in succession continued their work of engraving on stone the sacred books of their religion. Seven widemouthed wells, hollowed in the rock near the doors of the seven caves, seem to tell of long labour, of thirst, of cool draughts of water from the rock during hot summer days, of the constant need of water by the graver for his tools, of months and years spent on the mountain, working steadily with chisel and hammer, simply on account of admiration for Buddha and his doctrines, mixed with a belief in the great merit to be acquired by this long and wearisome task. Then after perhaps 130 or 150 years the work ceased. The spirit of devotion slumbered and the cutting of the tablets closed till the eleventh century. There was an interval of 250 years before the cutting was again begun.

In the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, as is well known, there was much faith amongst the Chinese Buddhists. In the fourth century, Fa-hian went to India, and returned after fifteen years. His object was a religious one. His narrative is pervaded by a spirit of deep faith in his religion. It was Buddha's life and teaching that stirred in him the desire to travel to India, that he might visit his birthplace, the scenes of his preaching, and the spot where he died.

Then comes the name of Hiwen-Tsang, who left China on his way to India, A.D. 629, while these tablets were being cut, and returned after seventeen years. With him our stone carver may be compared. They were contemporary. The one desired to add to the Buddhist books, the other to preserve them from all danger of destruction. But the same sort

of religious zeal animated them, and it was the spirit of the time in which they lived, and of which they were the most eminent examples. China has held one in memory, and almost forgotten the other. The one was recognised by the court and the nation as a hero, the other toiled on the mountain at a long distance from the capital, which was then in north-western China, at the south end of Shan-si.

In the Liau dynasty, the work of this forgotten priest came to light, and great admiration was excited. In 1038, it was resolved to complete the unfinished undertaking with public funds. New tablets were cut to the number of 360, and in A.D. 1058 an inscription was set up to commemorate their completion, giving these details.

To give a more definite idea of the work done, it may be mentioned that the cave we saw contained 150 tablets, which were large enough to admit of the New Testament being twice written upon them, in characters of the same size and in the book-language version. But there are in all 2730 tablets enclosed in the seven caves. Of these, 2130 were cut by the five priests working alone in succession for more than a century without public money, and the work they completed would be equivalent to about thirty-two New Testaments.

The characters are clear and well cut, and look like those of the Syrian inscription, which indeed was a contemporary work.

The work proceeded for thirty years, when public money was used. The number of tablets increased by six hundred, and a close was put to the undertaking when the four principal divisions of the sacred books were finished in 1011 chapters. These constitute about a sixth part of the entire Buddhist collection, as it was settled in the reign of the Emperor Yung-cheng, in the eighteenth century. Of course, many books are included in this recent collection which do not profess to consist of the true words of Buddha, but avowedly came from the hand of various authors.

The favourite books of the northern Buddhists are those of the Mahâyâna or Great Development. It was for these that Hiwen-Tsang had an attachment, and a larger supply of these he brought to China from India. It is these that are engraved on the tablets, and that here continued to be favourites with the Buddhists of China.

I now proceed to give an instance of a highly educated layman, in the twelfth century, becoming a believer in the Buddhist doctrines, and zealously engaging in their propagation, though not a monk. This was Wang-jihieu, author of the work called *Tsing-tu-wen* (*Sukhâvati vyuha*).

He was himself a doctor of literature, and could therefore address the cultured class on behalf of Buddhism in a way they could appreciate. He says, when exhorting young students, that the success of some very young scholars at the examinations, and the failure of others who had studied hard for many years, is a manifest result of virtuous and vicious conduct in a former life, according to the doctrine of metempsychosis. To old scholars he says, "The past is to you merely a fleeting dream. The days succeed each other quickly. Who can help growing old? Surely you should earnestly give attention to this doctrine. Whether a man be old or young, if he reform others, and cause them again to produce a reformation in friends and neighbours, he will have greater happiness in this life, and after his death he will be born in a much better condition."

He exhorts those who chant Buddhist prayers in the following terms:—"To chant prayers and make vows of abstinence is truly a good thing. You will obtain a reward of great happiness in the coming life. But this reward is limited. You will be still involved in the ever-circling wheel of life and death. If you further seek to be born in 'the peaceful land,' you will escape from the wheel of life and death. Although the attainment of your own reformation is a merit, yet it is a small merit: to exhort others is certainly a greater merit. Your merit will be still greater if you persuade other men to become, in their turn, exhorters, and teach them also to chant and make vows of abstinence as you have done. In this way you will be much more honoured in the present life, and enjoy endless happiness in the next."

He exhorts monks in another way: "You have done some virtuous things, but you are still passing round in the wheel of life. When the reward of your few virtuous acts is complete, you will fall again into misery. You had better prepare for the peaceful land, become extricated from the wheel of life, and see Amitâbha Buddha. Then you will for ever cease to be

a monk. Whenever any one gives you a piece of money, or a meal, you should tell him of the peaceful land. This you should do from gratitude. Even if he does not believe, you should still tell him of it. His ear will become accustomed to it, and then at last he will believe. Then assuredly his advantage will be great."

In exhorting silk-worm cultivators, he says, "Silk-worms produce silk, which makes clothing for men. This is the way of the world, but it is the cause of a great destruction of life. There are those who support themselves by citing the favourable judgment of Ma-ming p'u-sa (Aśvaghôsha). But an examination of the *Sûtras* shows that he never said what is attributed to him. It is only said that Buddha instructed his disciples not to wear silk clothing or leather shoes, because they cannot be made without killing animals. Since the care of silkworms is one of the regular occupations of life, those who are engaged in it ought to be ashamed, and constantly feel sorry for what they do. Reciting the name of Amitâbha Buddha, they should give utterance to a great wish, to the effect that after seeing Buddha, and obtaining enlightenment, they desired to undertake the salvation of all the insect lives they had destroyed while engaged in the care of silk-worms. If they constantly repeat Buddha's name, and heartily feel this desire, they will be born in the world of perfect joy; and should they be successful in reforming others, who in their turn will be exhorters to reformation, their happiness will be great in this life and the next."

Filial piety being the most prominent of the Chinese virtues, the author urges on sons to exhort their parents to seek birth in the peaceful land. By doing this they will not only be filial to them for one life, but be the means of conferring on them the greatest possible longevity and unmeasured happiness during immense periods of time, numerous as the sands of the Ganges. This is filial piety, he says, of the truest and greatest sort.

In the same way, pithy exhortations from the Buddhist standpoint of the metempsychosis, with the addition of the western heaven, are addressed to medical men, to the rich, to women, to concubines, to the covetous, to those who love their families, to farmers, &c.

This author composed his book about the period when printing became common. Since that time it has been repeatedly republished and continued to be popular. By these examples, taken from Buddhist history in the sixth, seventh, and twelfth centuries, it may be plainly seen that there has been much of a certain religious earnestness among the followers of this faith, and that their zeal has displayed itself in various ways. We find here firm resistance to State encroachment in taking on itself ecclesiastical authority. We see also the patience of a quiet zeal continuing for many tens of years the engraving of Buddhist books on stone as a work of religious faith. Then we have a most zealous exhorter appealing earnestly to his countrymen of every class to adopt the Buddhist morality and life for the hope of heaven, and from a conviction that this world is vanity, that Buddha is wise, and that all he taught is true.

MISCELLANEA.

NELEVÎḌU.

The following are some of the passages in which this word occurs :—

No. L. (vol. VIII. p. 20), and the Kembhâvi inscription of Śaka 975 (*id.* p. 105); *Kalyâṇada nelevîḍinoḷ.*

Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions, No. 163, ll. 11-2, and No. 164, l. 14-5 (vol. IX. p. 50); *Êtagiriya nelevîḍinoḷ.*

No. XCVII. l. 11 (vol. X. p. 127); *Baṁkâpurada nelevîḍinoḷ.*

No. CXVII. l. 31 (vol. X. p. 252, and *Errata*); *Śrî-râjadhânî-Pânthîpurada nelevîḍinoḷ.*

And the Siddâpur inscription of Śaka 1080 l. 19 (vol. XI. p. 273); *Sampagâḍiya nelevîḍinoḷ.*

In the latter passage, Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak translates "in the vicinity of Sampagâḍi." But *nelevîḍu* certainly has a far more specific meaning than 'vicinity.' It is compounded of *nele*, 'place, abode, residence; one's own house; fixed,' and *bîḍu,* to which Sanderson gives the meaning of 'a temporary residence, a halting-place.' And though Sanderson does not give the word *nelevîḍu* itself, yet he gives a somewhat similar word, *nele-ede,* in the sense of 'a place of abode, a fixed residence.'

As I pointed out in vol. VIII. p. 105, it is

difficult to translate the word, because it is not quite certain whether it is equivalent to *râjadhânî*, 'capital,' or to *vijaya-skandhâvâra*, 'victorious camp.' Now the Old-Canarese inscriptions of the Śilâhâras of Kôlhâpur use the same word in referring to their capital,—*Valavâḍada nelevîḍinol*. But a Sanskṛit inscription of one of them, dated Śaka 1073 for 1072, the Pramôda *saṁvatsara*, contains (l. 11-2) the passage *Śrimad-Vijayâditya-dêvaḥ Vaḷavâḍa-sthiraśibirê sukhasaṁkathâ-vinôdêna vijaya-râjyaṁ kurvvan*; which gives us the Sanskṛit *sthiraśibira* as the correlative of the Canarese *nelevîḍu*.

In the Sanskṛit, as in the Canarese term, we have still an apparent contradiction; since the first member of the compound, *sthira*, means 'firm, fixed, permanent, enduring,' while the second member, *śibira* or *śivira*, means, according to Prof. Monier Williams, 'a camp; a royal camp, royal residence; an intrenchment for the protection of an army,' and therefore conveys the idea of a *temporary* abode. But both the words appear to occur only in connection with the names of large cities which were permanent capitals. And in one instance we find the word *râjadhânî*, which could hardly be applied to a temporary residence or halting-place, coupled with *nelevîḍu*. It would seem, therefore, that *nelevîḍu* has the meaning of 'a permanent capital,' rather than of 'a temporary victorious camp.'

J. F. FLEET.

Belgaum, 9th February 1883.

THE GAṄGAS.

(*From Mr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese District*).

The Gaṅgas are mentioned in connection with Pulikêśi II., who succeeded to the throne in Śaka 532 (A.D. 610-11) and continued to reign up to at least Śaka 556. Previous to that they had been conquered by Mṛigêśa, of the Kadamba dynasty of Palâśikâ.[1] Seven Gaṅga copper-plate grants have been published by Mr. Rice,[2] and one by myself,[3] and three stone-tablet inscriptions by Mr. Kittel;[4] and such information concerning this dynasty as is derivable from them and from an old Tamiḻ chronicle called the *Koṅgudêśarâjakal* has been already compiled and published by Mr. Rice,[5] and the result is a tolerably lengthy account and list of kings, such as it is. There was undoubtedly an early and important dynasty of Gaṅga kings; for, in addition to the present inscription, it is mentioned, as has been indicated, also in one of the Kadamba grants of Mṛigêśavarmâ. But, while of necessity I admit this much, I cannot go further than this; and especially I cannot say with Mr. Rice that "the true history of this important line of kings may be said to have been entirely brought to light and authenticated by the inscriptions" mentioned above. If these inscriptions could be accepted as genuine, they would certainly establish Mr. Rice's point. But,—whereas the grant published by myself, belonging to the third generation inclusive of the founder of the dynasty, purports to be dated in Śaka 169 (A.D. 247-8), and therefore to be the oldest known record of the kind, of fixed date, in Western India,—there are incontrovertible grounds for stamping this grant at once as spurious. For, not only do the characters in which it is engraved show most conclusively that it is a forgery of not earlier than the end of the ninth century A.D., but also the date established by it cannot possibly be made to fit in with the dates established by the other grants for subsequent generations of the same dynasty.[6] And further still, this grant of Śaka 169, and the Merkara grant of the year 388, and the Nâgamaṅgala grant of Śaka 698, were all engraved, on their own showing, by one and the same man, Viśvakarmâchârya. The other grants may all be criticised in the same way, palæographically, and on other grounds. But we have also extraneous corroborative evidence of the most important kind. These grants all agree in respect of the first three generations of the dynasty,—*viz.* Koṅgaṇivarmâ (or Mâdhava I.), the founder of the dynasty; Mâdhava II., the son and successor of Koṅgaṇivarmâ; and Harivarmâ, the son and successor of Mâdhava II.,—and the grant published by myself gives Śaka 169 as the date of Harivarmâ. Now, amongst the numerous stone-tablets extant at Lakshmêśwar within the limits of the Dhârwâḍ District, there is one of the Gaṅga dynasty[7] which gives exactly the same account of these three generations,—adding also Mâdhava I. as the proper name of Koṅgaṇivarmâ, the latter being really only a family-title,—and records a grant by Mârasiṁha, the younger brother of Harivarmâ, in Śaka 890 (A.D. 968-9). If the Lakshmêśwar inscription were a forgery, the forgers of it would certainly have given it a much earlier date than Śaka 890, and would probably have

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 25.

[2] *Id.* vol. I, p. 363; vol. II, p. 155; vol. V, pp. 133 and 138; and vol. VII, pp. 168 and 174; and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 284.

[3] *Id.* vol. VIII, p. 212.

[4] *Id.* vol. VI, p. 99.

[5] *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xl, &c.

[6] The Merkara plates purport to record a grant in the year 388, which can be only Śaka 388, by the great-grandson of the Harivarmâ of the grant of Śaka 169. And the Nâgamaṅgala plates purport to record a grant in Śaka 698 by the eleventh or twelfth in succession to Harivarmâ.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 101; also see p. 112.

endeavoured to imitate the more ancient characters, instead of engraving it in genuine characters of the tenth century A.D. Taking all things into consideration,—the palæographical and other objections to, and the internal inconsistencies in, the copper-plate grants; the existence of this stone-tablet at Lakshmêśwar; and, Mârasimha having also had the title of Satyavâkya, the probability that Mr. Kittel's Kiggaṭnâḍ stone-tablet inscription[8] of Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ, dated Śaka 900 (A.D. 978-9), is another inscription of Mârasiṁha,[9]—there can be no doubt whatever that the dates of the copper-plate grants are spurious, and that the date of the Lakshmêśwar stone-tablet inscription is the true one for the third generation from the founder of the dynasty. And, finally, if any further argument is required, there is one more point which is of the most conclusive kind. In his paper on the Kaḍab grant of Gôvinda III., at page 11 above, Mr. Rice draws attention to the fact, which I had overlooked, that the Merkara plates mention a king named Akâlavarsha,—undoubtedly a Râshṭrakûṭa, as Mr. Rice urges,—the grant, in fact, purporting to be made by a minister of this Akâlavarsha with the sanction of the Gaṅga king.[10] As will be seen further on, the tradition of the Miraj plates of the eleventh century A.D. mentions a Râshṭrakûṭa king named Kṛishṇa, whose son Indra was conquered by the Early Chalukya king Jayasiṁha I., about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. And confirmatory evidence,—at any rate of the existence of an early king named Kṛishṇa, who would be slightly anterior in date to Jayasiṁha I., and who very possibly did belong to the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty,—is afforded by some silver coins, found at Dêvalânâ in the Nâsik District, which have the name of Kṛishṇarâja on them, and which, on palæographical grounds, are to be referred, as was done by Dr. Bhau Dâji, to the end of the fourth century A.D. The date of Jayasiṁha I. was, as has been said, about the commencement of the fifth century A.D.; and accordingly General Cunningham has referred these coins specifically to the king Kṛishṇa, said to belong to the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, whose son was vanquished by Jayasiṁha I. Now, Kṛishṇa II. of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, for whom we have the dates of Śaka 797 (A.D. 875-6) and 833 (A.D. 911-12), and also Kṛishṇa IV., of the same dynasty, for whom we have the dates of Śaka 867 (A.D. 945-6) and 878 (A.D. 956-7), both had the title of Akâlavarsha. And Mr. Rice,—starting with the suggestion that the fact, that nearly all the Gôvindas, and only the Gôvindas, among the Râshṭrakûṭas had the title of Prabhûtavarsha, leads to the inference that the relations between the peculiar titles and certain names of the kings of that line were constant,—proceeds to point out that, on this analogy, Akâlavarsha would indicate a king Kṛishṇa, and finally intimates that the Akâlavarsha of the Merkara grant is to be identified with the king Kṛishṇa whose son was conquered by Jayasiṁha I. This identification, if it could be accepted, would of course be a strong argument in favour of the genuine antiquity of the Merkara plates. The full facts, however, really tend very emphatically in quite the opposite direction. Even if any such constant relation between the names and titles of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings, as Mr. Rice has suggested, could be established, it would still be unsafe to be positive in allotting the title of Akâlavarsha to this early king Kṛishṇa, about whom we as yet know so little. But no such constant relation can be established. To take first the case of the Gôvindas, relied upon as the basis of his argument by Mr. Rice,—the inscriptions have given no secondary titles of Gôvinda I., and have given only that of Vallabha II. for Gôvinda II.; and, though Gôvinda III. and Gôvinda IV. certainly both had the title of Prabhûtavarsha,—the former of them having also three other hereditary titles,—yet Gôvinda V. had not that title, but was called Suvarṇavarsha II. and Vallabhanarêndra II. Again, Suvarṇavarsha I. was the title of Karka or Kakka II.; while Karka or Kakka III. had not that title, but had the titles of Amôghavarsha III. and Vallabhanarêndra III. And finally,—to come to the Kṛishṇas,—Kṛishṇa I. had the title of Akâlavarsha I., but also that of Vallabha I.; Kṛishṇa II. had the title of Akâlavarsha II.; the inscriptions mention no other names of Kṛishṇa III.; and, though Kṛishṇa IV. again had the title of Akâlavarsha III., yet he had also that of Nirupama II., which had belonged in the first instance to Dhruva. These facts are quite enough to show that there was no constant relation between the names and the titles of Râshṭrakûṭa kings. And, turning to another dynasty, that of the Western Châlukyas, there, also, we find that there was anything but a constant relation between the names of the kings and their titles:—the title of Âhavamalla belonged to Taila II., and Sômêśvara I.; the title of Tribhuvanamalla belonged to Vikramâditya V. and Vikramâditya VI., but also to Sômêśvara IV.; and the title of Trailôkyamalla

[8] *Id.* vol. VI, p. 102. [9] See *Id.* vol. VII, p. 103.

[10] Mr. Rice considers that he was the *exiled* minister of Akâlavarsha. I should prefer the equally justifiable hypothesis that he *had been* the minister of Akâlavarsha, and that, either on the death of that king he voluntarily or compulsorily left the Râshṭrakûṭas and took service under the other dynasty, or, on the subversion of the power of the Râshṭrakûṭas by the Western Châlukyas, part of their dominions, of which this minister was still in charge, fell into the possession of the Gaṅgas.

belonged to Sômêśvara I., Jayasiṁha IV., and Taila III. This part of the argument, therefore, falls entirely to the ground. And,—since the alphabet of the Merkara plates is, in spite of certain attempts to reproduce the more ancient forms, certainly not earlier than the end of the ninth century A.D.; and since, other circumstances also fitting in, we have an Akâlavarsha of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty whose reign lay about the middle of the tenth century A.D. and whose dominions extended at any rate to the confines of Maisûr,—the obvious and the only tenable identification is that the Akâlavarsha of the Merkara plates is, not the early king Kṛishṇa of the end of the fourth century A.D., but this same Akâlavarsha II., or Kṛishṇa IV., of Śaka 867 (A.D. 945-6) and 878 (A.D. 956-7). This disposes finally of the pretensions to antiquity of the Merkara plates. It follows, therefore, that Mr. Rice's Gaṅga kings are not the ones with whom the Kadambas and Pulikêśî II. came in contact; and we have still to discover who the latter were, and to ascertain the authentic early history of the Gaṅga dynasty.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal Asiatique*, VIIième série, tome XX, No. 2 (for Août-Sept. 1882) contains the continuation of M. Senart's study on the pillar inscriptions of Piyadasi, an abstract of which will be given at a later page. This is followed by two papers on Sanskrit Inscriptions from Camboja: the first a general report by M. Bergaigne on the collection of inscriptions made by Captain Aymonier at Phnom Penh and other places in Central Camboja,[1] which has been entrusted to him and MM. Barth and Senart to translate; the second paper, by M. Barth, contains a specimen of these inscriptions edited and translated with the author's well-known scholarship and judgment. The inscription is No. 8 of the collection, and is from Ang Chumnik in the Koh district, in the province of Ba Phnom, on the left bank of the Mékong, in the south of Camboja. The characters are those of the most ancient inscriptions *on stone* in the Dekhan. They essentially agree with those of the first Chalukyas from the sixth to the eighth century, which are engraved on the walls of the temples at Bâdâmi, Aihoḷe, and Paṭṭadakal. The only differences any way noteworthy are that the turn of the *t* to the left is more marked, the *n* less forked at the base, the *r* does not pass below the line, and the *k* in most cases preserves a more square form without prolongation below, and with two symmetrical curves of the cross line. They approach in general, more than to any others, the style of the inscription of Maṅgalîśa at Bâdâmi (578 A.D. *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 305), and those of Vikramâditya II, at Paṭṭadakal (middle of the eighth century; *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 164), but for beauty of type, regularity and perfect elegance of proportion, this inscription is not only superior to these last, but in general to all epigraphs of any extent of the same family as yet published. The work of the lapicide is careful in every respect, and the orthography consequently correct. The language is exceptionally accurate. It relates the erection of a *liṅga* and the endowment of a shrine sacred to Śiva-Vijayêśvara, and supplies the following list of kings:—

1. Rudravarman,
2. Bhavavarman.
3. Mahêndravarman.
4. Îśânavarman I.
5. Jayavarman I.; in the year 589.

The year is indicated by *dvârâshṭavâṇair=yyute*. The era is not given but from the style it may be supposed to be the Śaka, thus corresponding to A. D. 667.

Another inscription from Han Khieï, not quite complete, contains the praises of Bhavavarman of the preceding and of his son and successor, and is probably the oldest of the series.

The inscription of Baksey Chang Krang gives us the names of three vassal kings of Śambhupura:—

Pushkarâksha.
Râjêndravarman.
Mahîpativarman.

This last becomes suzerain under the name of Jayavarman, and makes his capital on Mount Mahêndra. It also gives the suzerain kings of Vyâdhapura as follows:—

1. Narêndravarman.
2. Râjapativarman.
3. Nṛipatindravarman.

And on Mount Mahêndra:—

4. Jayavarman II. (Mahîpativarman).
5. Jayavarman III.
6. Rudravarman II.
7. Pṛithivîndravarman.
8. Indravarman.
9. Yaśôvarman.

There may be a century between Jayavarman I. and Jayavarman II, who were of the same dynasty; and Indravarman had ascended the throne in 799,

[1] See *Cochinchine française, excursions et reconnaissances* (Saigon) fasc. viii.; *Recherches et mélanges sur les Chams et les Khmers.*

and Yaśôvarman succeeded in 811. From the inscriptions of Baksey Chang Krang and Prasat Pra Dak the list is continued thus:—

10. Harshavarman I.
11. Îśânavarman, was ruling in 832.
12. Jayavarman IV.
13. Harshavarman II.
14. Râjêndravarman, ascended the throne in 866.
15. Jayavarman V. succeeded in 890.

From other inscriptions the further succession appears to have been probably thus:

16. Dharaṇîndravarman.
17. Sûryavarman, 932 (perhaps the founder of Angkor Vât) to 988 or later.
18. Udayâdityavarman.
19. Harshavarman, brother.

These are the mere chronological results, from which other and more important ones are to be derived; among these they help us to assign the date of the great temples at Angkor to about A.D. 825; for the inscription of Prasat Bat Chum at Angkor-Thom attributes to Râjêndravarman—towards the middle of the tenth century A.D.—the embellishment of a city called Yaśôdharapurî which is probably Angkor-Thom itself; and generally all the inscriptions furnish us with the latest date at least to which we can ascribe the buildings on which they are, and thus help us to important data in the history of art in Camboja. "India," says M. Bergaigne, "is always India, beyond the Ganges, as on this side. Its history, or at least that which we are able to learn, is really its religious history. But the religious history of India is an important part of the religious history of humanity." They also throw important light on the early colonization of the Hindus.[2]

These are all religious inscriptions, mostly Śaiva; but there is a long Buddhist one of Jayavarman V.

The remainder of the part is occupied by a fresh translation of the non-Semitic inscription of Hammurabi by M. Ar. Amiaud; a Notice of the Sect of the Yezidis by M. N. Siouffi, consisting of cosmogonic traditions, traditions of their origion, and on their Emir; a letter from M. Halévy on the identification of the town of Albaiḍâ in Arabia with Nescus or Nesca of classical authors; and Book Notices of C. de Harlez's *Manuel du Pehlevi des Livres de la Perse*, and Jevad Bey's *État militaire Ottoman.*

BOOK NOTICES.

ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS AT SUPÂRÂ AND PADAṆA, by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji. (Reprinted from the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Society), 1882.

This pamphlet of 56 pages issued in November last, and forming a paper in the last issue of the Bombay Branch Asiatic Society's *Journal* gives an account of the relics found in a stûpa at Supârâ, excavated by Mr. J. M. Campbell and the author last April, and of a small fragment of the VIIIth edict of Aśoka, and some small inscriptions and carvings on the Padaṇa hill in Salsette. The paper is a very full one, as indeed the importance of the find at Supârâ deserved it should be, and besides the notes signed by Mr. Campbell, his hand may be traced throughout in the references to European authors; it has finally, however, been but indifferently edited.[1]

The paper opens with an enumeration of all the references to Supârâ the author has been able to find in either Oriental or Western literature, though he seems to have missed many of those cited by the Editor of this *Journal* in August last, (vol. XI, pp. 236-7) and by Dr. Klatt (p. 293), and, curiously enough, he entirely passes over the identification of the place mentioned in these early references. Lassen had fixed upon Surat, and his authority was accepted until given in this *Journal* (vol. I, p. 321), about fourteen years ago, when the identification first really directed attention to Supârâ.

The discovery of a block of basalt bearing a small fragment of the VIIIth edict of Aśoka, consisting of about eight letters in each of six lines, supplies the author with a text on which he hangs a comparison of the other five versions, and gives a new translation of this edict, we could have wished for the sake of clearness that this had been given in better English,—it runs thus:—

"For long, kings have started on pleasure tours where were (which consisted of) the chase and other such amusements. For this reason a religious tour was started by the ten-years-installed Piyadasi, dear to the gods, who had reached true knowledge. In which (tour) this happens: Visiting and making gifts to Brâhmaṇas and to Buddhist monks, visiting old men, making gifts of gold, looking after the land and the people, giving instruction in religion, and making enquiries as to (the state of) religion. By such means this

[2] See Kern, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.*

[1] The Paṇḍit has introduced the use of ṣ in the transliteration of Sanskrit words for the palatal sibilant श. Now as Grassmann, Whitney, the Dutch Orientalists, and others, use this sign for the lingual ष, as being analogous to the use of *ṇ*, *ṭ*, &c., for the other linguals, this use of it for the palatal "is against every analogy, and altogether to be condemned." (Whitney, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 266).

(religious tour) becomes a source of great delight in other parts (of the dominions) of king Piyadasi, dear to the gods."

On a hillock called Vakâlâ, near Supârâ, five names were found on four blocks of stone, three of them feminine,—on which majority of 3 to 2 the Paṇḍit lays great stress—and his imagination converts them into records of gifts to the Vakula stûpa,—if they are not monumental and marking "empty memorial tombs."

The find of objects in the Supârâ stûpa,[2] consisted of a circular stone coffer two feet in diameter and 17½ inches high, formed of two equal parts, enclosing a copper casket, inside which were four smaller caskets—one within the other—of silver, stone, crystal and gold—the latter about 1¼ inch diameter, weighing 159 grains, and containing some tiny fragments of earthenware, which the Paṇḍit believes to be fragments of Gautama Buddha's begging dish. Round the copper casket were eight seated Bauddha images of which drawings are given—the correctness of which is only approximate. Between the caskets were a large number of gold flowers, a small image of Buddha (weighing 14 grains), 13 stones,—beryls, crystals, glass beads, &c. and a silver coin of Yajña Sâtakarṇi, on which he reads the rather indistinct legends—on the obverse—

Siriyañasâtakanisa raño Gotamiputasa.

'Of the illustrious Yajña Sâtakarṇi, the king Gotamîputra'

and on the reverse—

Chaturapanasa Gotamiputakumâru Yañasâtakani.

'Yajña Sâtakarṇi, son of Gotamî, prince of Chaturapana.'

The author in his remarks assumes that since Puḷumâyi and Chashṭana are very probably the same as the Siri Polemaios and Tiastanes of Ptolemy, *therefore* they were contemporaries. This is very bad logic; Ptolemy's notes on the two geographical positions contain no verbs, and might refer to two notable kings hundreds of years apart, and he might also with equal propriety have entered Taxila as 'the capital of Poros.' That these two kings were contemporary, has, however, been proved on other and satisfactory data. He places Yajñaśrî as the second successor of Puḷumâyi, with Chaturapana, the father of the latter between,—forgetting altogether to assign a place to Mâḍharîputra.

The eight images he identifies with Śâkyamuni, Kaśyapa, Kanaka, Krakuchchhanda, Śikhî, Vipaśyi and Maitrêya. Groups of 8 or 9 figures are so frequent in Bauddha mythology that, but for the tree cognizances over seven of these, we might regard them as the representatives of any of the groups so frequent in China, Tibet and Japan. The symbols over the first seven, however, if not decisive, are strongly corroborative of the Paṇḍit's identification. But it is to be remembered, that, like the Hindu guardians of the eight points, the Buddhists have also a similar series, in which Akshôbhya is placed on the east, Siṁhaghôsha on the south-east, &c., and, as here, Śâkyamuni on the north-east. The eighth figure, which the author identifies with Maitrêya, however, is seated not as a Buddha but a Bôdhisattva, with his feet in the *lalita mudrá*, holding a branch with flowers on it in his left hand, and quite as much resembles Avalôkitêśvara or Mañjuśrî as it does Maitrêya: may it not very probably be meant for Pûrṇamaitrâyaṇîputtra Bodhisattva of Supârâ, who is to reappear as Dharmaprabhâsa Buddha? and may not the fragments be of Pûrṇa's bowl? The Paṇḍit, however, states confidently that "the meaning of the circle of Buddhas is that Maitrêya, the Coming Buddha, has come, has entered the relic mound, and asks from Gautama his begging bowl in token that Gautama admits his claim to be Buddha. The other Buddhas are present, because it is the belief that Gautama's bowl had been passed from one Buddha to another as a symbol of the office of Buddha."

This is so fanciful and assumes so much that we cannot accept it. Besides, had any fragments of Buddha's Bhikshupâtra been known to exist so late as the date of the Supârâ stûpa, and been deposited there, we should surely have found some reference to the fact in Bauddha literature, which tells us so much about the bowl.

The style of this Maitrêya's ornaments too, he thinks, belongs to the 7th or 8th century, and therefore the tope must have been opened then, "when new images and probably new copper and silver caskets were put in." This is a mere theory without satisfactory evidence.

The last few pages are devoted to an exhaustive account of the symbols and short inscriptions cut on the face of the rock at Padaṇa hill in Salsette island, some of them mere names, the longest being the Bauddha formula,—*Ye hetu dharma, &c.* The pamphlet is of great interest, and though scholars will differ from the theories propounded in it, all will willingly acknowledge the value of the discoveries.

[2] It is to be regretted that the "section" of the stûpa given on plate III, is so very inaccurate and misleading; and the dimensions of 67 feet in diameter given at one place, and 268 feet circumference at another, do not tally. It is almost impossible *now* to determine the diameter, but it was probably very close upon 70 feet, or 220 feet in circumference. It is hardly necessary to point out that the brick and earth dome may have been stilted, but could not have been of the form proposed by the Pandit. The plinth too, was probably less than 18 feet broad. Plate IV is also misleading.—J.B.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT NATIONS, an English version of the Arabic text of the *Athâr-ul-Bâkiya* of Albîrûnî, or '*Vestiges of the Past*,' collected and reduced to writing by the Author in A. H. 390-1, A. D. 1000. Translated and edited, with Notes and Index, by Dr. C. Edward Sachau, Berlin. London: For the Oriental Translation Fund by W. H. Allen and Co.

We owe the Oriental Translation Fund Committee and Dr. Sachau a debt of gratitude for rendering this most interesting work on Oriental Chronology accessible to the English reader. It is well known that Albîrûnî's is one of the most comprehensive on the subject, whether by an Oriental or Occidental author, and its general accuracy is no less marked a feature. The translator has done his work well, and with the most marked ability, as is evidenced by the notes he has appended to it.

The practical utility of the work lies in its usefulness for transforming dates in the ancient calendars of which the author treats into Julian dates. In order to do this successfully it is necessary to know the epochal day of each era, the months and the number of days they contain, and in the case of intercalated years, the year in which the intercalation occurs.

A few notes made in the course of perusal of the work, rather than a review, may afford some idea of the character of its contents.

Albîrûnî nowhere connects the Christian Era with the Epochs to which he refers, but it is agreed on all hands that the Era of Nabonassar began on Wednesday, 26th February, 747 B.C. With this and the Table of intervals on page 133, it is easy to find the dates, according to Albîrûnî, at which the different eras commenced, thus:—

Jul. Per. days ...	(4)	1448638				
	(6)	860173				
Æra Diluvii	(5)	588465	Thur.[1]	17th Feb.	3102 B.C.	Egyptian years and months.
	(6)	860173				
,, Nabonassari ...	(4)	1448638	Wed.	26th Feb.	747 B.C.	do.
	(4)	154760				
,, Philippi	(1)	1603398	Sun.	12th Nov.	324 B.C.	do.
	(1)	4341				
,, Alexandri	(2)	1607739	Mon.	1st Oct.	312 B.C.	Syrian years and months.
	(4)	104794				
,, Augusti	(6)	1712533	Fri.[2]	29th Aug.	25 B.C.	Greek years and Egyptian months.
	(5)	58805				
,, Antonini	(4)	1771338	Wed.	29th Aug.	137 A.D.	do.
	(0)	55643				
,, Diocletiani	(4)	1826981	Wed.[3]	1st Jan.	290 A.D.	Greek years and months.
	(2)	121459				
,, Fugæ (Hijira)...	(6)	1948440	Fri.[4]	16th July	622 A.D.	Lunar years and Arabic months.
	(4)	3623				
,, Yazdazirdi	(3)	1952063	Tues.	16th June	632 A.D.	Persian years and months.
	(1)	96055				
,, Mu'tadidi	(4)	2048118	Wed.	11th June	895 A.D.[5]	Greek years and Persian months.

The months belonging to each calendar are found at p. 82. In those systems, such as the Æra Nabonassari, where vague years are in use, it is only necessary to know where the five intercalary days fall; as all the years resemble each other, having each 365 days. In the calendars where the years are Greek or Syrian, two methods of finding the intercalary year are given, the one on p. 136 &c., the other on p. 175 &c., and the same may be found in each case from the formulæ given for the *Signum*. Unfortunately the results do not in all cases agree, and it is probable that there have been errors, either in transcription or in printing. For the Era Mu'tadidi, the Signum would give the *third* current year as Leap year, while by the rule given on the same page (185) it would be the *first*. As, however, New Year (Nauroz) always coincided with the 11th of Hazîrân (p. 139) there is no difficulty in finding the intercalary year to be the

[1] Ideler says Friday (see p. 405). This Era is the same as the Kaliyug which began at midnight 17-18 Feb. 3102 B.C. The lunar Ahargana is counted from Thursday, the Solar from Friday.

[2] Ideler gives Thursday (see p. 406).

[3] This Era is usually given as beginning on Friday 29th August 284 A.D., and with this the dates on p. 105 agree. Ideler makes the Epochal day Wednesday, (p. 406).

[4] Ideler gives Thursday.

[5] From p. 37 we find that the Era of Almu'tadid was after Yaz. (240 + 90) in the year when the 1st Khurdadh-Mah, falling on a Wednesday, coincided with the 11th of Hazîrân. It is easily found that 1st Khur Mah. in the years Yaz. 261, 262, 263 and 264 fell on 11th Hazîrân in the Æra Alexandri 1203, 1204, 1205 and 1206, respectively, but it was only in the last of these years that the given day fell on a Wednesday. This Wednesday can be easily shown to have been 11th June 895 A.D. Hence 1st Khur. 264, Yaz. = 11th Haz. 1206, Alex. = Wed. 11th June 895 A.D. = Æra Mu'tadidi, agreeing with the date derived above.

first. For the Era Antonini the first rule would give the *fourth,* the second rule would give the *second,* and the formula for the Signum the *first* current year. We find no statement in Albîrûnî which would enable one to decide which was correct. The *signum* for the Era Mu'tadidi should most probably be $x + \frac{x}{4} + 4\frac{3}{4}$, not $x + \frac{x}{4} + 4\frac{1}{4}$

The Rules for finding the *Signum* Muharrami (pp. 176-184) are unnecessarily elaborate. The following Rule will be found to give correct results:

"Divide the current Hijira year by 210, and call the remainder R; multiply R by 131, to the product add 63, and divide the sum by 30. The quotient, rejecting the *sevens* in it, will be the *Signum.* Or $Signum = 4R + \frac{11R + 63}{30}$ (rejecting sevens)."

The construction of the Table on p. 179 is not apparent. The Editor states that the *Signa* Ramaḍâni, and not the *Signa* Muḥarrami, is indicated by the Table. But it fails in many instances to give correct results, thus: Year 8—*Signum* Muharrami = 2 and the S. Ramaḍâni = 2 + 5 = 7, and not 6 as given in the Table.

If, however, we add 55 to the year, or subtract 155 from it, and enter the Table with the number now found, we shall find the correct *Signum* Muharrami; thus: A. H. 1 + 55 = 56, which gives VI; so—A. H. 188—155 = 33, which gives IV; and A. H. 100 + 55 = 155, which gives IV.

At p. 136 it is stated that the 1st of Tôt of the Æra Diluvii always coincides with the 18th of Bahman-Mah in the non-intercalated Æra Yazdazirdi. This is a mistake.

The interval between the two Eras is 1363598 days (p. 133) = 3735 years, 323 days.

Hence, (366—323 =) 43 days will have elapsed by the 1st Tôt of the following year, or 1st Tôt coincides with 13th Ardîbahist-Mah.

The statement in the following paragraph that the 1st Tôt of the Æra Nabonassari coincides with the 1st of Dai-Mah in the Æra Yazdazirdi is quite correct, for the interval (p. 133) is 503425 days or 1379 years, 90 days, and it will be (366—90 =) 276 days before 1st Tôt is reached, and this brings us to 1st Dai-Mah.

Albîrûnî's account of the Jewish system is most interesting and satisfactory. It should be observed that in marking the week-day, Albîrûnî gives the *elapsed,* not the *current* day. With him 5d. 14h. means that point of time when, from sunset of Saturday five days have passed, and 14 hours more, or in other words 8 A. M. on Friday. Some prefer the perhaps less accurate but more convenient form, 6 days 14 hours, as giving the day of the week 'Friday.'

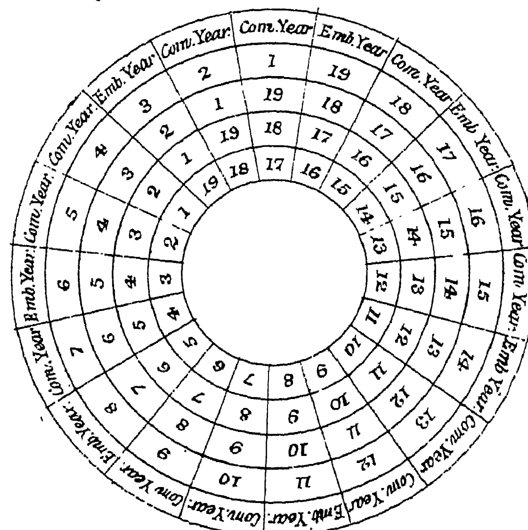
In the same way it should also be noticed that while by the common method the Æra Adami commences on Monday, 7th Oct. 3761 B.C. or (2) 347998d. 5h. 11m. 20s.

Albîrunî uniformly makes the commencement one year later .... (4) 354 8 48 40

i. e., Friday, 26th Sept. 3760 B.C.; .... (6) 348352 14 0 0

so that any given year of the Æra Adami is by Albîrûnî's method *one* less than by the common method. As, however, a corresponding change is made in the intercalated years, this leads to no practical inconvenience.

At p. 65 he gives *a circle* illustrating the three methods by which Jews in different places arranged the intercalary year in their very intricate system.



The outer circle here (not given by Albîrûnî) shews the intercalation by the common system; the second the intercalation when Albîrûnî's system is followed: the third when the era began a year later still; and the fourth, or innermost circle, when the cycle was counted from Æra Alex. 12. *e.g.* (See note at p. 390.)

A.D. 1 = Æ. Adami 3762 by the common method.
= " " 3761 by Albîrûnî.
= " " 3760 by others.
= Æ. Alex. 313.

Dividing the first three, and the last *less* 12 (313—12) by 19, we have as remainders, 0 or 19, 18, 17, 16, and on examining the circles it will be found that by all the methods the given year was reckoned embolismic. Albîrûnî states that the second and third of these cycles were followed by the Jews of Syria, but that the latter mode of arrangement was most extensively diffused among the Jews, and that they preferred it to others, because they attributed its invention to the Babylonians.

There is not only agreement as to intercalations, but between Albîrûnî and the mode at present in use there is the same agreement as to the length of a cycle and of the different kinds of years. One hour contains 1080 Halakim, and—

Cycle of 235 lunations.	= (2) 6939d. 16h. 33m. $3\frac{1}{3}$s				
	= (2) 6939d. 16h. 595H.				
Ordinary year of 12 „	= (4)	354	8	48	40
	= (4)	354	8	876	
Embolismic „ 13 „	= (5)	383	21	32	$43\frac{1}{3}$
	= (5)	383	21	589	

By the method at present in use among the Jews, when the Môlêd falls on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, the new year begins on the following day; when in a year immediately following an embolismic year the Môlêd falls on Monday, as late as 15h 32m $43\frac{1}{3}$ (15h 589H.) the new year must be postponed to Tuesday: and when in an ordinary year the Môlêd falls on Tuesday as late as 9h 11m 20s (9h 204H.) it is postponed to Thursday. On p. 152 the character of a year beginning on Thursday is given as "Intermediate," it should be "Imperfect;" for on the same page it is stated that in Leap year when New Year's Day is a Thursday it cannot be Intermediate.

On p. 151, 0h 208H. must be a misprint for 0h 408H, but with these two exceptions, as will be seen by a careful examination of pp. 150, 151, 152, there is the most perfect agreement of present practice with Albîrûnî's statements. We have oftener than once seen it asserted that the modern Jewish method was not more ancient than the 15th century of our Æra, but the work of Albîrûni, dating as it does from (cir.) A.D. 1000, proves that the Jewish Chronological system of that period was identically the same as that now in use.[6]

The period at which the beginning of the Jewish year returns to the same date is correctly given (p. 154) as 36,288 cycles.

At the foot of the page (154) the Editor says: "Here follow the three tables, which I have united into one,"—but the Table is nowhere given, though referred to in the Annotations, p. 409.

Dr. Schramm is quite correct in his computation, (p. 409) taking the Epoch of the Æra Adami as 7th October 3761 B.C., but Albîrûnî, as we have seen, makes the Epoch a year later, and it is the beginning of year 4754 in his system that is required. By the common tables this is found to be Saturday, September 8th, 994 A.D. at 14h 53m $56\frac{2}{3}$s, or 14h 971H. The Jews reckoned 3448 years between the Æra Adami (Alb.) and the Æra Alexandri, and deducting this and other 12 years, from 4754 we have 1294, which divided successively by 532 and 19 gives 2 great cycles, 12 small cycles, and a remainder of 2 years. Then by tables pp. 145—147, we have—

Basis	2d	11h	86H.
2 G. C.	3	14	920
12 S. C.	4	6	660
2 yrs.	3	6	385
	6d	14h	971H.

This corresponds with the time found by using the common tables—for by Albîrûnî's method the number 6 indicates that Friday has passed, and that the required time is Saturday 14h 971H. Thus; 1st Tisri, A. Adami (Alb.) 4754 = 8 Ilul. Alex. 1305 = Saturday, 8 September A.D. 994.

See also Assaying Circle (p. 142) where for the 2nd year we have Ilul 8 C.

The Basis is omitted in the Table. The intercalation of the Table for single years (p. 146) agrees with the innermost circle (p. 65 also given above), and the basis is the Môlêd of the 12th year of the Æra Alexandri. The Editor's explanation on p. 409 is erroneous, as is also the Môlêd for Alex. 12 given at p. 407. For:—

Æra Adami (Alb.)	1	5d	14h	0H	
6 Gt. Cycles ...	3192	3	20	600	
14 Small „ ...	266	2	15	770	
1 yr. ...	1	4	8	876	
Môlêd for	3460 is	2	11	86	

The perfect agreement of the different methods of finding the môlêd for any year may be seen by taking an example. The amount to be added for each of the earlier years of the Cycle is as follows:—

Common.				
1. (4)	354d.	8h.	876H.	
2. (1)	708	17	672E.	
3. (0)	1092	15	181	
4. (4)	1446	23	1057	&c.
Albîrûnî.				
1. (4)	354d.	8h.	87H. E.	
2. (3)	738	6	385	
3. (0)	1092	15	181	
4. (4)	1446	23	1057E.	&c.
Æ. Alex. 12.				
1. (5)	383d.	21h.	589H.	
2. (3)	738	6	385	
3. (0)	1092	15	181E.	
4. (6)	1476	12	770	&c.

Instead of the *Tabula Legum* (pp. 161, 162) we may use the following:—To the current year of the Æ. Adami add 40. Divide the sum by 350, and call the remainder x. Then Yôbêl $=\left(\frac{x}{50}\right)r$, and Shâbû $=\left(\frac{x}{7}\right)r$.

The Table of Tekûfôth p. 169 is of simple construction, and may, at one period, have been of use in determining the time of the Vernal Equinox.

[6] The fact that the system was linked on to the Æra Alexandri in the way we have indicated may have given occasion to the statement that the Jews employed the Era of the Seleucides till the 15th century.

A NEW YÂDAVA DYNASTY.

BY PANDIT BHAGVÂNLÂL INDRAJI, HON. MEM. B.B.R.A.S.

NOTHING has hitherto been written about a hitherto unknown Yâdava dynasty, whose dominions at one time extended over the present Nâsika zilla. I know of only two inscriptions of this dynasty, one of them a copper-plate and the other a stone inscription, the two together forming the basis of this paper.

The copper-plate was bought by the late Dr. Bhâu Dâji from a husbandman of Bassein, and lay in the possession of the trustees of his brother, the late Dr. Nârâyan Dâji, from whom it was obtained by the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, C.S.I., and handed over to me by Dr. Burgess. It consists of three plates each 11·8 inches long and 7·5 broad, which are held together by a ring at the top. The ring has a Garuḍa sitting with folded palms, and on either side of him are two conch shells, emblematic of Vishṇu. The writing on the plates runs across and, as is usually the case, both sides of the middle and only the inner sides of the first and the third plates have been engraved. The number of lines in the first plate is 24, in the second on either side 23, and on the third 21. All the three plates are well preserved, and do not appear to have suffered from the effects of time. The writing is in Dêvanâgari, much resembling that used in Śilhâra inscriptions. The letters इ, भ, र and श are a little different from modern Nâgari, and, as in old manuscripts, the *mâtra* stroke is placed *before* the letter *over* which it is meant to stand. The language is a very incorrect Sanskṛit; the first ten *ślokas* are in a variety of metres, and the rest in prose. As the poet does not appear to have been a scholar, there is no lack of grammatical inaccuracies, which often make it very difficult to understand the precise meaning of the text. Add to this that the engraver appears to have made numerous mistakes in his work, due, I think, to his ignorance of the letters. It often occurs that not knowing a particular letter, he has cut it in a fashion quite his own.

Transcription.

Plate I.

[1] उँ स्वस्ति जयोभ्युदयश्च[1] । त्रैलोक्ये सं[2]सृजाति भगवाँल्लब्धमाहात्म्यतेजाश्चित्ताराध्यः[3] परमतपसां
[2] योगिनां ध्यायतां यः । अप्रत्यक्षं भवति बिबुधानामपि प्रायसोसौ[4] देवः सोयं यदुपतिपतेः संकरः
[3] सं [5]करोतु ॥ १ ॥ आदौ ख्यातः [6]दृढप्रहारनृपतिः श्रीविष्णुरूपः स हित्वा यातो निजवंससे[7]खर-
[4] तनुर्द्वारावतीपत्तनात् । संग्रामे रिपुहस्तिपत्तिशिरसां[8] संच्छेदभेदे दृढः चंदादित्यपुरं प्रसिद्धमक-
[5] रोत्प्राक्संभवं यो भुवि ॥ २ ॥ श्रीमत्सेउणचंद्रनामनृपवर[9]स्तस्मादभूद्भूमिपः नित्यं देसपदातिविषये[10]
[6] सन्नाम संपादयन् । येनाकारि पुरं च सेउणपुरं श्रीसिंदिनेरेवरे तत्पुत्रः कुलदीपको गुणनिधिः
[7] श्रीद्वाडियप्पस्ततः ॥ ३ ॥ आसीत्सत्तदशेषभूतेलसासि[11] श्रीमान्बृहद्भिल्लमः श्रीराजस्तदनन्तरं नर-
[8] पतिर्ज्जातो[12] महीमण्डनः । [13]आर्वाक्तस्य बभूव भूतलहरिः श्रीवद्दिगाख्यो नृपः तस्माच्छ्रीवर[14]भि-
[9] ल्लमक्षितिपतेः प्रत्यक्षधर्म्मोभवत् ॥ ४ ॥ भार्या यस्य च झंझराजतनया श्रीलस्थियव्वाह्वया[15]
[10] धर्म्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा[16] राष्ट्रकूटान्वया[17] । या जातानवबालनाजसमये[18] यदन्वयाधारिता[19]

[1] The श्च of अभ्युदयश्च looks like थ owing to a mistake of the engraver's. [2] Read त्रैलोक्येशं. [3] The ध्यः of श्चित्ताराध्यः looks like म्यः a mistake of the engraver. [4] Read प्रायशोसौ. [5] Read शंकरः शं करोतु. [6] There is a break here in the metre. Sandhi rules would require ख्यातो, but in either case the metre breaks. [7] Read °वंशशेखर°. [8] Read शिरसा. [9] There is a break here in the metre; नृवरः meaning the best among men would be a good reading to preserve the metre. [10] There are two letters wanting after देश to complete the metre. [11] Read भूतलशशि. [12] In the original जातो looks like जालो perhaps by a mistake of the engraver, of ल for त, the two letters being much alike. [13] For आर्वा° read अर्वा°. [14] Read °च्छूवर. [15] लस्थियव्वा may be also read लस्थिअव्वा or लच्छिअव्वा. The ह्व of °ह्वया looks like स्क. but this makes no sense, while the similarity between ह्व and स्क accounts for the mistake of the engraver. [16] Read सुगुणा. [17] The metre breaks in this *pada;* perhaps श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वया would be better. [18] As it stands बालनाज° makes no sense; perhaps बालराज is meant, the letters न and र being similar in form. [19] The metre breaks again in this *pada;* य ought to be long but would make no sense.

[11] सप्तांगोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयार्घ्या[20] ततः ॥ ५ ॥ चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीकतिलकात्श्री[21] गो-
[12] गिराजाकरादुत्पन्ना दुहितात्रयाद्गुणवती धाम्ना कुलद्योतिता[22] । स्त्रीरत्नं बत वेधसा प्रकटितं साम-
[13] न्तरत्नायसा श्रीनाइयलदेवि[23]नाम सुभगा श्रीपट्टराज्ञी सदा ॥ ६ ॥ श्रीतेसूकमहीपतिः समभवद्य-
[14] स्यांगश्लिष्टा[24] ततः श्रीभिल्लमधराधरः समुदित[:] श्रीमण्डलीकाख्यया । त्रैलोक्ये[25] निजवंशका-
[15] र्त्ति[26] निर्म्मलतया संभूषयन्यादवो दक्षोदकृति[27] मर्द्दनस्य चरणौ

Plate II, first side.

[16] संपूजयन्भूतले ॥ ७ ॥ दोर्द्दण्डप्रबलासिघातनि हतो[28]संग्रामरामेण भोः सक्र[29]श्वा[30]हवमल्लदेवनृपतेः
[17] प्रौढांककारेणहि । सस्वल्ल[31]ध्धसुचक्रवर्त्तिपदकालंकारिणा राजसु संसारस्थितिभातकेन[32]गुणिना
[18] तेनोद्भवद्धार्म्मिणा[33] ॥ ८ ॥ यस्यार्धांगनिषत्त[34]सुंदरतनुः प्रत्यक्षलक्ष्मीगुणा हाम्मा श्रीजयसिंहदेवदु-
[19] हिता श्रीअव्वलदेवी सती[35] । या चात्राहवमल्लदेवभग्नी[36]चालुक्यवंसान्वया[37] श्रेठा[38]कायत्रिसेषकार-
[20] णपदे सद्धर्म्मपत्नी क्षितौ ॥ ९ ॥ तद्वंसो[39]द्भवसेउणेन्दुनृपतिर्ज्जातोत्र धर्म्माधिकः सर्व्वान्भूवलया-
[21] श्रितान्क्षितिपतीन्निर्ज्जित्य सौर्यासिना[40] । राज्यं येन समुद्धृत[41]सतिकलं[42]स्वर्गं गते भिल्लमे यद्वत्सू-
[22] कररूपसाम्यहरिणा लोकत्रयं चोद्धृतं ॥ १० ॥ गोत्रान्वये यमनियमस्वाध्यायध्यानानुष्ठानरतपरम
[23] सैव[43]श्रीसोमदेव[44]आचार्याः तस्य सिष्याः[45]परमगुरुभक्तिसंपन्ना अनेकशिवागमतत्त्वज्ञाः[46]सब्द-
[24] शास्त्रविसारदाः[47] दीक्षापरोक्षादानसमर्थाः श्रीमत्सर्व्वदेवाचार्याः राजगुरोः[48] तेभ्यः[49]सकसंवत्
[25] एकनवत्यधिकनवसतेषु संवत् ९९१ सौम्यसंवत्सरीय श्रावणसुदि चतुर्दस्यं[50]गुरुदिने राज-
[26] गुरोर्भर्णित्वगुरुदक्षिणायां पादप्रक्षालनाघादिकं[51] कत्त्व[52] श्रीसेउणचंद्रमहामण्डलेस्वरेण[53] अति-
[27] भक्तितत्परेण महाप्रचंडदण्डनायकः श्रीधर । महामात्य श्रीवासुदेवैय । महाप्रधाननायकश्रीभ-
[28] भियाक । संधिविग्रहिश्रीनायक पातलकरणी श्रीभरवैयानायक । रा-

Plate II, second side.

[29] जाध्यक्षश्रीआपैयाक । महत्तमश्रीआमादित्यः मौलिकृतहस्तद्वयेन सह सद्भिः धर्म्मार्थप्रेरकैः सततं
[30] सकलपरिग्रहविदितं सिंहिग्रामद्वादसके चिंचुलिग्रामः प्रदत्तः तस्य च आघाटनानि पूर्वदिग्भागे
[31] डोंगरदंत । आग्नेयां डोंगरसत्कउत्तरपानीयप्रवाहः । दक्षिणे चिंचालानामतडाग । नइरित्र्स्ये[54]
[32] वडगम्भाग्राम पूर्वतो डोंगरदंत । पश्चिमे तलठेलीपर्यन्त । वायव्यां तलाउलीच । उत्तरतो सिं-
[33] सिग्रामीयडोंगरदन्त तथा वटवृक्षश्च । ईसान्यां[55] महुय ग्रामीयनीगुडीयालानाम तडागं तय
[34] सेवै । इत्यष्टसीमोपलक्षितः[56]सवृक्षमालाकुलः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः सकाष्ठतृणोदकः समस्तद्रव्योपायस-
[35] मन्वितः स्वचक्रपरचक्रोच्छित[57]विदुलादिद्रव्योपक्षयाद्युपद्रवादिविवर्ज्जितः अकरवातोत्तरः सर्व-

[20] Read °द्राज्यत्रया°. [21] Read च्छ्री. [22] द्योतिता is wrong; it should be द्योतयित्री. [23] देवि ought to be देवी but would break the metre. [24] °यस्यांगश्लिष्टा should be यस्या अंगश्लेष्टा. [25] It is impossible to get any meaning from the *pada* which is faulty also in metre unless त्रैलोक्यं be read for. त्रैलोक्ये. [26] Read कीर्त्ति. [27] Read दुष्कृति°.

[28] For निहतो read निहतः [29] Read भुवः शक्रः but this breaks the metre. [30] For श्वा read perhaps श्रा. [31] For सस्वल्ल° read शश्वल्ल°. [32] भातकेन seems to be a mistake for द्योतकेन. [33] For °द्भवद्धार्म्मिणा read °द्भवद्धर्म्मिणा. [34] For निषत्त read निषक्त. [35] There is one letter too many in this *pada* श्री or अ which breaks the metre.

[36] For भग्नी read भगिनी. [37] For °वंसा° read °वंशा°. [38] For श्रेठा read श्रेष्ठा. [39] For तद्वंसो read तद्वंशो°. [40] For सौर्यासिना read शौर्यासिना. [41] For °द्धृत read द्धृतं. [42] For सतिकलं read सतिलकं. [43] Read शैव. [44] The correct reading should be सोमदेवाचार्याः [45] For सिष्याः read शिष्याः [46] For °सब्द° read °शब्द°. [47] For विसा° read विशा°. [48] The correct reading is perhaps राजगुरवः [49] For सक read शक. [50] °सुदि चतुर्दस्यं should be शुद्धचतुर्दश्य [51] For °नाघा° read °नार्घ्या°. [52] For कत्त्व read कृत्वा [53] For °स्वरेण° read °श्वरेण°.

[54] Read नैऋत्ये. [55] Read ईशान्यां. [56] स seems redundant. The correct reading should be वृक्षमालाकुलः or if स is to be kept सवृक्षमालः [57] For °च्छिाति read °त्स्थित

[36] भोगसमन्वितः पतिपालनीयः[58] सामान्योयं धर्म्मः[59] सेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । स-
[37] र्वाण्येतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ मद्वंसजा [60]व परवंसजा वा ये पुण्य-
[38] वंतो मम धर्म्ममेव । प्रपालयिष्यंति नृपास्तु सर्वे कृतांजलिः सादरमाह सर्व्वं ॥ यानीह दत्ता-
[39] नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थियसस्कराणि[61] । निर्म्माल्यतुल्यानि भवंति तानि कोनाम साधुः
[40] पुनराददाति ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
[41] फलं ॥ गयागोदावरीगंगा प्रया[गा]दिषु दानतः । यत्फलं तत्फलं सर्व्वं भवेत् भूमिप्रपालनात् ।
[42] परत्र संव

Plate III.

[43] लं दिव्यं भूमिदानात्परं नहि । तस्मात्सर्वादरेणापि भूमिदानं प्रपालयेत् ॥ रत्नान्नपानगोष्ठाद्यं
[44] सर्वं भूमौ प्रजायते । तस्मात् भूमिप्रदानेन नरो भवति सर्व्वदः ॥ देवस्वानि हरंतीह नरा
[45] नरकनिर्भया[:] बह्मस्वानि तु ये मोहात्पच्यंते नरकेषु ते ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां ।
[46] दिव्यं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रमिः[62] ॥ वापीकूपतडागैश्च वाजपेयसतै[63]रपि । गवां
[47] कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ॥ भूमिं य[64] प्रतिगृह्नाति[65] यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
[48] द्वावेतौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ चन्द्रार्कौ च तथा भूमिनभस्तापन[66] वानिलः ।
[49] तारकाश्चानलश्चैव धर्म्मराजस्तथैव च ॥ तिस्रः संध्यास्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो देवास्त्रयोमयः । अहोरात्रं
[50] च दानस्य एते वै साक्षिणः स्मृताः ॥ हर्त्ता देवस्य यो भूमिं ब्राह्मणगुरोरपि[67] यो हरेत् । स्वदत्तां पर-
[51] दत्तां वा स याति नरकं नरः ॥ सर्व्वं वा भूमिहरणाद्धृतमेव न संसयः । भूमिहर्त्ता वसेत्तस्मान्नरके
[52] कालमक्षयं ॥ यावत्सूर्यससांकौ[68] च यावद्भूधरसागराः । तावत्पुत्रप्रपौत्रादिभ्यः[69] ग्रामः पाल्यो नृपो-
[53] त्तमैः ॥ पूर्व्वलोकैः प्रदत्त देव ब्राह्मण[70]सहितं पालनीयः राजनुतुष्टेन[71] निरन्तरं ॥ इति सासनं
[54] समाप्तं ॥ पातलकरणी भरथनायक प्रतिहस्तक प्रेकरयेण लिखितं । स्तंब्बुसुतः सेकारियानैयकेन[72]
[55] घटितं ॥ मंग्लं[73] महाश्री ॥

Translation.

Om! Hail, Victory and Prosperity! May that venerable happiness-conferring god who creates the lord of the three worlds, who is possessed of the lustre of magnanimity, who is worthy of being adored in their minds by contemplating sages of great austerities, and who generally does not appear even to the gods: (*may he*) confer prosperity on the Lord of Y a d u p a t i.

There was, in the beginning, a famous king (*named*) D ṛ i ḍ h a p r a h â r a, like the illustrious Vishṇu, (*who was*) the crown of his race and came from the town of D v â r â v a t î, (*who was*) powerful in breaking the heads of the foot-soldiers and the elephants of his enemies and who made famous on the earth C h a n d r â d i t y a p u r a previously existing.

To him was born the illustrious king S e u ṇ a c h a n d r a, best among men, who always obtained a good name in (*his*) country and among (*his*) infantry, by whom was founded the town of S e u ṇ a p u r a in the good S i n d i n e r a.

After him came his son D v â d i y a p p a, the lamp of his family and depository of good qualities. After him came the illustrious Great B h i l l a m a, a veritable moon on the earth. After him came king Ś r î r â j a an ornament on the earth. Before him was the illustrious king V a d d i g a, a Hari on earth; and therefore

58 पति° should be प्रति° or परि°. 59 Read धर्मसेतुः 60 Read वा. 61 Read यशस्कराणि.
62 Read कृमिः 63 Read शतै°. 64 For य read यः 65 Read °हृणा°. 66 For तापन read तापनो. but this breaks the metre. It is also redundant if अर्क precedes. 67 The original verse must read ब्राह्मणस्य च यो हरेत्. but गुरोरपि has been added here without reference to metre. 68 Read °शशांकौ. 69 °पौत्रादिभ्यः should be °पौत्रेभ्यः otherwise the metre breaks. 70 The word दाय seems to have been dropped after ब्राह्मण. 71 For राजनु° read राज्ञानु°. 72 For नै° read ना°. 73 For मंग्ले read मंगलं.

he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions.

(5). Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhanjha, Lasthiyavvâ by name, possessed of the (*three*) good qualities of virtue, liberality and hospitality, who was of the Râshṭrakûṭa race, as being adopted (*by them*) at the time of the rule of the young prince (*during his minority*), and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with its seven *aṅgas*, was an object of reverence to three kingdoms.

(6). (*Whose*) principal queen was always the beautiful Śrî Nâyiyalladêvî, adorning her family by her majesty, virtuous, produced from the mine Gôgirâja of the Châlukya dynasty and a head of feudatory chiefs, who was really the jewel of a woman produced by the creator for the head of feudatory chiefs.

(7). The embracer of whose body was the illustrious king Têsuka, (*and*) from him was produced king (*dharâdhara*) Bhillama, with the title of *maṇḍalîka*, the clever Yâdava adorning by the lustre of the glory of his race the three worlds and worshipping the feet of the destroyer of evil-doers (*Vishṇu*) on the surface of the earth.

By whom, a Râma in the battle-field, who made a great mark was Âhavamalla, an Indra on the earth, killed by the blow of the sword of his mighty arms . . . .

. . . .[74]

Whose dutiful wife on earth was Hâmmâ, the *Satî* Avvalladêvî, who has joined her beautiful body with his (*the king's*), whose virtues are as clear as those of Lakshmî, the daughter of king Jayasiṁha, sister of king Âhavamalla, of the Châlukya dynasty, excellent in points which specially relate to the body.

King Seuṇachaṇdra, born in this dynasty, was great in point of religiousness; by him, with might for his sword, (*his father*) Bhillama having died, all kings on the circle of the earth were subdued, and the kingdom with its royal dignity was raised as the three worlds were raised by Hari in the form of a boar.

On Thursday the fourteenth of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, in the cycle year Saumya, and Śaka year nine hundred and ninety-one, 991, was given the village of Chinchuli in the Sinhi division of twelve villages—by the much devoted and illustrious Mahâmaṇḍaleṣvara Seuṇachandra with hands raised to the head, in company with good men inciting to charitable purposes (*and*) in the knowledge of the whole retinue (*family*) while Śrîdhara (*was*) the great general, the illustrious Vâsudêvaiya the great counsellor, the illustrious Bhâbhiyaka the chief of ministers, Śrînâyaka the minister of peace and war, the illustrious Haravaiyanâyaka, head of the Pâtala Department,[75] the illustrious Âpaiyâka in charge of the foreign department,[76] and the illustrious Âmâditya, head officer of the sub-division[77] to the royal priest Śarvadêvâchârya, greatly devoted to his preceptor, knowing the principles of many treatises on Śaivism, clever in grammar, able in (*giving*) initiation and in presenting (*introducing*) to the gods, the disciple of the illustrious Sômadêvâchârya, a great Śaiva of the *Gotra* order,[78] devoted to the control of the outer and the inner senses, to the study of sacred books, to meditation and worship,—as a maintenance and as a preceptorial donation[79] after washing his (*the donee's*) hands and feet.

The boundaries of the village are to the east a hill slope, to the south-east a stream (*flowing*) to the north and belonging to the hill, to the south the Chinchâlâ pond, to the south-west the hill slopes to the east of the village of Vadagambhâ, to the west the borders of the hill plain,[80] to the north the hill slopes

[74] This verse is full of attributes which make no sense, as the grammar is hopelessly bad. The general meaning is that the king killed Âhavamalla.

[75] करण means a department and पातलकरणी is the functionary in charge of the Pâtala department. What Pâtala means is not known, but the word occurs in other copper-plates also.

[76] राजाध्यक्ष probably means what in other inscriptions is signified by राजस्थानीय i. e. an officer acting for the king, or connected with (other) kings, something like our 'foreign secretary.'

[77] महत्तर and महत्तम are generally used to mean subdivisional officers. Âmâditya is here mentioned as if the Sinhi sub-division were under his charge. All these officers are mentioned in the nominative case, though grammar requires the locative case as in other inscriptions.

[78] The पाशुपत order of Śaivism has many sub-divisions, of which *gotra* may be one.

[79] भणित्व गुरुदक्षिणा cannot be made out. Perhaps the compound may be solved भणित्वार्थं गुरुदक्षिणा. भणित्व may be भरणत्व maintenance (?)

[80] The text is तलस्थली पर्यंत ; तलठेली is probably the prâkrit form of तलस्थली.

belonging to S i n d i village and a banyan tree and to the north-east the N i g u d i y â l â pond of the M a h u y a village and Sevai (?). The village marked with these eight boundaries should be reserved, crowded with rows of trees with its boundary and borders, with its wood, grass and water, with all its means productive of wealth, devoid of all such injuries as the destruction of *vidula*[81] and other things made by his own or foreign armies, *akaravâtottarah*,[82] and with all its enjoyments.

Râmabhadra repeatedly solicits all future kings, that this is a bridge for merit common (*to all kings*) and should at times be continued by them. He respectfully and with folded hands says all this, that all virtuous kings, whether of my own or other dynasties, shall continue this my charitable gift. The gifts conferring merit, happiness and glory made by former kings are like something enjoyed (i. e., *remains of offerings*), and no good man takes them back. The earth has been enjoyed by numerous kings, Sagara and others; but the merit of the gifts goes to him in whose possession it is (*at a particular time*). All religious merit that is attained by (*making*) gifts at Gayâ, Gôdâvarî Prayâga and other places, can be also attained by continuing (*a gift of*) land. There is no more happy provision for the next world than a gift of land; therefore one should continue a gift of land with all respect. Land contains jewels, corn, water and cowpens; therefore by making a gift of land one becomes a giver of all (*these*). Those men who, regardless of hell, take away the property (*assigned to*) gods, and who through stupidity take away the property of Brâhmaṇas, are tormented in hell. He who confiscates land assigned by himself or by others grovels a worm in dung for a thousand gods' (*divya*) years.

He who confiscates land does not become pure by (*building*) step-wells and reservoirs, not by hundreds of *Vâjapêya* sacrifices nor by giving crores of cows. Both the receiver and the donor of land do what is meritorious and certainly go to heaven. The (*divine*) witnesses at day and at night to a gift are the Moon and the Sun, the Earth, the Sky, Wind, Stars, Fire, Dharmarâja, the three *Sandhyâs*, the three *Vêdas*, the three gods and the three Fires. He who resumes land assigned to gods or to a Brâhmaṇa preceptor, whether by himself or by another, goes to hell. Undoubtedly confiscation of land means the confiscation of everything; therefore any one who confiscates land lives in hell for an endless period. A village (*grant*) should by the best of kings be continued to sons, grandsons, &c., as long as the Sun and the Moon, Mountains and the Ocean exist. A village should be continued by kings always pleased, with all grants made to Brâhmaṇas and gods by previous men. Grant finished. Written by Prekaryya, a writer of Bhanâyaka, the Pâtala Karaṇî. Engraved by Sekareyanâyakâ, son of Stambu. Welfare and great prosperity.

Remarks.

This being the first inscription hitherto known of this dynasty, and the language of the copperplate very inaccurate we are not able to derive from it much satisfactory information. Still what it gives, so far as I can interpret it, is of importance in bringing to light a Yâdava dynasty of which we had previously no knowledge, and should the Nâsik zilla yield us more copper-plates of this dynasty, we may be able to extend our knowledge of the subject.

This inscription records the gift of C h i n c h o l i in the S i n h i petty division of twelve villages by king S e u ṇ a c h a n d r a to the royal family priest Ś a r v a d ê v â c h â r y a, the pupil of S o m a d ê v â c h â r y a. The Âchârya appears to have been a P â ś u p a t a as he is described in the plate as 'acquainted with the numerous principles of Śaiva lore.' The grant is dated Śaka 991, on Thursday the bright half of Śrâvaṇa in the Saumya *saṁvatsar*. About the first king D r i ḍ h a p r a h â r a the inscription says, *Dvârâvatîpattanadâyâtah* 'arrived from the city of Dvârâvati' and *Chandrâdityapuram prasiddhamakarot prâksambhavam yo bhuvi* 'who made famous the already existing Chandrâdityapura.' It would appear from this that he was the first king of this dynasty, and that he made C h a n d r â d i t y a p u r a his capital.

[81] The meaning of this expression is not clear. विकुल means शारकाण्ड. Probably विदुल was one of the articles levied from every village in times of war, and the grant allows the donee an exemption from this taking away of arrows and other ammunition in times of war.

[82] Exempt from कर and वातोत्तर. The sense is not clear, but exemption from taxes is intended. वात is used in other inscriptions. Compare संवातभूतप्रत्ययं. *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX., p. 239.

Though I cannot identify this Chandrâdityapura with any modern place, it should be looked for somewhere in the present Nâsik zilla because Dṛidhaprahâra ruled, I believe, over almost the whole of the present Nâsika collectorate. My reasons for this are (1), that the village of Chincholi, of which the grant is made, is still known by the same name, and lies about twelve miles south-east of Nâsik on the high road from Sangamnêr; (2), that I identify Sindinêra in which Dṛiḍhaprahâra's son Seuṇachandra is described as having settled Seuṇapura, with Sinnar, a place of antiquity about twenty miles south of Nâsik and still the head-quarters of a tâluka; (3), I have another inscription of, probably, this very dynasty, from a Jaina temple at Anjanêri, about fifteen miles south-west of Nâsik, which shows that in Śaka 1063 (A. D. 1141) a Yâdava king named Seuṇachandra was ruling there. And lastly, I believe, the most important of my reasons, is the following passage in the *Nâsakakalpa*, of Jinaprabhasûri:—

"Now when the sage Divâṇa (Sk. Divyâna) burnt Bârâvai (Dvârâvati) and when the Yâdava dynasty was on the point of being exterminated, the sage respectfully rescued from the flames of the burning city the pregnant wife of the Yâdava Kshatriya Vajrakumâra. She came and lived under the refuge (i. e., in the temple) of Chandraprabhasvâmin (the eighth Tirthankara). When her burthen was mature, she gave birth to a son in the Kuntivihâra. He was named Daḍhapahâra (Dṛidhaprahâra) and when he came of age he grew a mighty warrior, able single-handed to fight a hundred thousand combatants. It so happened at one time that thieves stole away (*the village*) kine; and Daḍhapahâra triumphing over the thieves brought them back. The Brâhmaṇa and other inhabitants of the city, finding in him a great hero, gave him *Talâraghaya*. Subsequently Daḍhapahâra punished the robbers and became a great king. In this city the Yâdava dynasty took root once more, and with great respect they repaired the temple of Chandraprabhasvâmî."[83]

I do not see anything against believing that the Dṛiḍhaprahâra of the grant, and the Daḍhapahâra of this extract are one and the same. The plate simply says that he arrived from Dvârâvati and made famous the old town of Chandrâdityapura; this extract tells us also about how he was born, his great reputation for valour in his early years, how he got Talârghaya (?) in reward for his heroic service to the village or city where he lived, and how finally he was appointed king.

What the original place was from whence he came is not stated, but it appears from our plate that he made Chandrâdityapura his capital. If Chandrâdityapura takes its name from Chandraprabhasvâmi it may be Anjanêri where there is a good large temple of that Tîrthaṅkara, with the wall inscription noticed below; or it may, and I think with greater probability, be Chandrapura or Chândora, about forty miles north-east of Nâsika.

After Dṛiḍhaprahâra came his son Seuṇachandra. He is described as *tasmâdabhût*, 'produced from him,' and may, therefore, be supposed to be his son. The only thing else mentioned about him is that he founded Seuṇapura in Sindinêra. It may either mean that he founded the town of Seuṇapura in the sub-division of Sindinêra (Sinnar) or it may be, the suburb[84] of Seuṇapura in the city of Sindinêra (Sinnar).[85]

The third king is Dvâdiyappa, distinctly mentioned as Seuṇachandra's son. After

[83] इओ अ दीवाणरिसिणा बारवईए दड्ढाए उवक्खीण प्पाए जायववंसे वज्जकुमारो नाम जायव खत्तिओ आसि। तस्स गब्भवई भज्जा सा बारवईए डज्झमाणीए बहुभत्तिपुव्वं दीवायणरिसि मुक्कलाविता चंदप्पहसामिणं चेव सरणमागया पुन्नेसमए पुन्नवंतं पुत्तं तत्थेव पसूआ दढपहारित्ति से नाम कयं सो अ अइक्कंत बालभावो संपत्तजुव्वणो जाओ। महारहो इक्कंगेणावि सुहडलक्खेण समं जुद्धं काउं समत्थो अन्नाया तत्थ चोरेहिं गावीओ हरिआओ ताओ सव्वाओवि इक्केण दढपहारिणा चोरे निज्जिणिऊण वालिआओ। तओ तं अइपयंडपरक्कमं पासिऊणं बंभणाइ नयरलोयेण तस्स तलारघयं दिण्णं निग्गहिआ तेणे चोरघरडाइणो जाओ सो कमेण महाराया तत्थेव नयरे जायववंसस्स बीयं तत्थ उद्धरियंति सबहुमाणं चंदप्पहसामिणो तेण भवणमुद्धरिअं.

[84] *Pura* means both 'town' and 'suburb. The Gujarât word for suburb is paruṇ.

[85] Sindinêra, originally Sindinagara, is 'the date tree city.' The practice of calling cities from the trees found at the site of settlement is very common all over India. Baroda or Vaḍodara is Vatapadra, 'the banyan tree city; Pimpalner or Pimpalnagara is 'the pipal tree city;' Limbdi is 'the lime tree city;' Billimora is Bilvamula or 'the Bel root city'; Koth or Kapitha is 'the pipal (city).'

him comes Bṛihadbhillama or 'the great Bhillama,' and as there is a *tatah* at the end of verse 3, there is nothing against supposing that he is the son of Dvâdiyappa, at least I have put him as such in the genealogical table. The next king is Śrîrâja. His relationship with Bhillama is not clearly given. The text simply has *Śrirâjastadanantaram* 'Śrirâja after him.' He was perhaps Bhillama's brother. The fifth king is Vaddiga. His relationship with Śrîrâja cannot be made out from the text which runs, *Árvâktasya babhûva bhûtalaharih Śrivaddigâkhyo nripah.* 'After him the illustrious Vaddiga, a Hari on earth, became king.' *Árvâktasya,* or more correctly *arvâktasya,* would mean 'before him,' i. e. before Śrîrâja. This is possible if Vaddiga followed his father Bhillama, and his kingdom was usurped by his uncle Śrirâja.[56]

In describing Vaddiga his wife is said to be the daughter of Jhaṇjha, by name Lachchhiavvâ. This Jhaṇjha was the fifth of the North Konkan Śilhâras, and his date, I think, fits well in with this. Lachchhiavvâ is mentioned as 'of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, who was *dhârita* in the non-age of the young prince, and (*who was*) worthy of being revered by three kingdoms.' Literally translated verse 5 appears much confused, but some inferences may be derived from it. I think Bhillama's son Vaddiga died, leaving a young boy. After a time, Śrîrâja probably usurped the kingdom, but only temporarily, for the Râshṭrakûṭas, overlords of the Śilhâra Jhanjha, appear to have taken up the cause of the daughter of their feudatory, and assisted her in opposing Śrirâja and recovering the throne, at the same time regarding Lachchhiavvâ as their daughter, as appears to have been the custom for overlords in India.

The next verse (6), is still more confusing. The description of a queen is given without even name or a word about the king her husband. The queen is described as the daughter of the Châlukya noble, Gôgirâja and as the best of three sisters. Her name is Nâyiyallâ, and she is described as the crowned queen of a Sâmanta. It is usual in such grants first to describe the king and then his queen, but in the present case I think the name and description of the king, her husband, is perhaps dropped by some mistake of the original scribe. The mention of Têsuka below is a difficulty hard to explain. He is called *tasyâṁgaślishṭâ,* or taking *ślishṭâ* to be *ślêshṭa* the language being throughout ungrammatical, it would mean 'the embracer of her body.' In fact Têsuka would then be her husband. But it is such difficulties as these which prove the necessity of another inscription of the same dynasty, and till other evidence is forthcoming I take Têsuka to be the son of Vaddiga; but this I do with great hesitation as the language is too ungrammatical and inaccurate to make sense of. The eighth king, Bhillama II., is said to have come from him (*tatah*), and I have no doubt he was Têsuka's son. He is described as worshipping the feet of the destroyer of evildoers *dushkritimardana*. Probably this is the name of his Ishṭadêva, and it may have been used like *Daityasûdana* to mean Vishṇu. There are more details about this king, which seem on the whole to mean that he fought with Âhavamalla, a great Châlukya king (1040-1069). This king seems to have gained a victory over him, and the fact of his having assumed 'universal sovereignty, or *chakravarttipada* among kings, would seem to show that he attained power and extended his dominions; at least that his kingdom was in a very flourishing state under his rule. And in connection with his victory, it seems quite in consonance with Râjput practice that he married the sister of Âhavamalla and daughter of Jayasiṁha, by name Avvalâdêvî, such marriages being regarded as cementing ties after hostilities. The ninth king is Seuṇachandra II. He is said to be 'born in the same family' (*tadvamṣodbhava*). He may be the son of Bhillama II, or perhaps a son of a noble, or he may simply be one of the same dynasty. The last appears to have probably been the case, since he is described as having obtained the kingdom, having conquered all the kings of the earth, which would seem to show that after his death Bhillama's numerous conquests were probably lost, his own kingdom was in trouble, and that it was regained by Seuṇachandra after fighting with other kings.

Seuṇachandra's date is given as Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069. Vaddiga is mentioned above as the son-in-law of Jhanjha, and Jhanjha's date appears from Ma'sûdî to be somewhere

[56] It may be that Vaddiga succeeded his father and died in his nonage. But this does not appear probable.

about Ś. 838.[35] Jhanjha must have been a contemporary of Vaddiga, or perhaps a little earlier. Assuming Vaddiga's date, therefore, to be about Ś. 860, we have about 131 years left for four kings (assuming one to be missing) or 33 for each. Similarly counting for the previous four generations an average of about 30 years, we have Dṛiḍhaprahâra about Śaka 740 or A.D. 818.[36]

This would make Dṛidhaprahâra nearly contemporary with Kapardi, and it would seem that the Yâdava dynasty in the north-east was contemporary with the Ṭhâṇa Śilhâras.

How many kings reigned after Seuṇachandra and how long the dynasty continued to rule is not known, but further copper-plates will, it is to be hoped, guide us to more accurate information.

The second inscription of this dynasty is from a ruined Jain temple in Anjanêri, about fifteen miles south-west of Nâsika. It would appear that after Seuṇachandra II, kings of the same dynasty continued to rule for nearly three-quarters of a century. The inscription is on a sand-stone slab fixed on the right wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. The letters are very clearly cut in good Nâgari, and are well preserved. A reduced facsimile is given in the accompanying plate. The language is Sanskrit, both prose and verse, but the grammar is faulty.

Transcript.

(1) ॐ पंच परमेष्ठिभ्यो[1] नमः । स्वस्ति श्रीशकसंवत् १०६३ दुंदुभिसंवत्सरांतर्गतज्येष्ठसुदि पंचदश्यां सोमे अनु-

(2) राधानक्षत्रे सिद्धयोगे अस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदिवसपूर्व्वायां तिथौ समधिगताशेषपंचमहाशब्द-द्वारावतीपुरपरमे-

(3) श्वरविष्णुवंशोद्भवयादवकुलकमलकलिकाविकासभास्करयादवनारायण सामंतपितामह सामंत-ज्ञमरा इत्यादिसमस्त-

(4) निजराजावलीविराजितमहासामंत श्रीसेउणदेवविजयराज्ये तत्पादप्रसादावाप्तमहामहत्तमः प्रता-पसंतापितवैरिवर्ग्गः

(5) संग्रामशौंड[:] शूरवैरिघटाविमर्द्दनकण्ठीरवः अनवरतदानार्द्रीकृतदक्षिणकरप्रकोष्ठः निशित-निस्तृंश[2]विदारितारा-

(6) तिकरिकुंभस्थलगलितमुक्ताफलमंडितरणांगगण[3]मनस्विनीमानोन्मूलनकंदर्पः दर्प्पाधर्म्मरहितः सौ-र्योदार्यदयादाक्षि-

(7) ण्यधर्म्मगुणसत्योत्साहमंत्रशीलसंपन्न[:] प्रजापालनानंदशत्रुपराजयानंतोषितकीर्तिप्लावितदिग्व-लयः[4] अनेकराजनीतिशा-

(8) स्त्रोक्तविवेकवर्द्धितबुद्धिकौशलसहस्त्रविज्ञानप्रभुत्वमंत्रोत्साहशक्तिसामर्थ्यरूपलावण्यविचित्रवक्तव्यता-भोगोपभोगराष्ट्रकोश-

(9) लाद्यनेकविषयगुणगणालंकृतशरीरः व्यर्थीकृतप्रतिपन्थिमनोरथः संग्रामविजयलक्ष्म्यालानस्तंभः रत्नायर[5] इव अनंतगां-

(10) भीर्ययुक्तः हिमादरिव[6] अपरिमितमहिमान्वितः षाड्गुण्यसंपन्नाविपर्ययताम्भिष्ठः[7] देवद्विजगुरुवराचा-य[8] साधुपूजाभिरतः दीनान-

[35] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, pp. 33-46; *Prairies d'or*, tome II, p. 85.

[36] It would be more in accordance with other cases to give 210 years to eight generations, and carry back Dridhaprahâra to about Ś. 780.—ED. I. A.

[1] Read °ष्टि° for °ष्ठि°. [2] Read निस्त्रिंश. [3] Read रणांगण.

[4] This sentence does not make good sense. If a द be supposed to have been omitted after पराजयानं° the reading would be शत्रुपराजयानंदतोषितः which make sense. [5] Read रत्नाकर. [6] Read हिमाद्रि. [7] This sentence makes no sense. [8] For °चाय° read °चार्ये°.

YÂDAVA INSCRIPTION DATED ŚAKA 1063.

Bhagwanlal Indraji, fecit.

Scale— 1/3 of the original.

(11) थोद्धरणक्षमः[9] रविरिव प्रतिदिवसोपचीयमानोदयः परिहासप्राकारः इंद्रिगुण[10]विशिष्टश्रीपाणुमडउरीसर्व्वव्यापारे कुर्व्व-

(12) ति सतीत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीसेउणाख्येन महानृपेण प्रधानयुक्तेन विचार्य भक्त्या देवाय चंद्रद्युतये प्रदत्तं हट्टद्र-

(13) यं भारविवर्जितं च श्रीसाधुवत्सराजेन स्वकुलतिलकभूतेन देवद्विजगुरुवराचार्यपूजाभिरतेन श्रीलाहडसाधुना सह दशर-

(14) थसाधुना स्वकीयं हट्टदानं कृतं तथा गृहदानं च कृतं । चन्द्रप्रभाय देवाय कंदर्पदहनायच । विशुद्धदेहरूपाय सर्व्वसत्त्वहिताय च ।। त-

(15) था नगरे वर्षं प्रति द्रम्मपंचकं कृतं आयुः पुत्रा धनं सौक्ष्यं[11] सौभाग्यं राज्यमक्षयं । आभिश्रेष्ठ्यं[12] यशः स्वर्गं भूमिदो लभते फलं ।। बहु-

(16) भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता सगरादिश्च[13] राजभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमितस्य[14] तस्य तदा फलं ।। दाता चैवानुमंता च स्वर्गस्योपरि तिष्ठति । हर्ता हारइ-

(17) ता[15] भूमिः[16] पच्यते रौरवे ध्रुवं ।। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच वसुंधरां ।[17] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां[18] जायते कृमिः ।। श्रीकोलश्वरपंडितान

(18) सुतेन दुष्टगणकगजकंठीरवेण साधुगणकचरणारवृंद[19]मकरंदलुब्धषट्पदेन श्रीदिवाकरपंडितेन हट्टशासनं सैलपट्टे[20] लिखित-

(19) मिति — — मंगलं महाश्री.

Translation.

Salutation to the five Paramêshṭis.[88] Hail and Prosperity! In the Śaka year 1013 and in the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* on Monday the fifteenth of the bright half of Jyêshṭhâ in the Anurâdhâ constellation, in the Siddha conjunction, in the above mentioned year, month, fortnight and day, in the triumphant rule of the illustrious Seuṇadeva, who has obtained the five great titles, the lord of the city of Dvârâvati, descended from Vishṇu, the sun expanding the lotus bud-like Yâdava family (*like*) a Nârâyaṇa among the Yâdava, the grandfather of Sâmantas (feudatory chiefs) and the Jamarâ of Sâmantas,[89] &c. &c., thus adorned by all his royal titles, while the illustrious Pâṇumaḍdauri, who has attained (*the dignity of*) a *mahâmahattama*[90] by his (*kind*) favour, who, by his fierce majesty has put down his enemies, daring in battle, a lion in killing the (elephant) troop-like brave enemies, the forepart of whose arm was wetted by his ever-continued gifts,[91] who has adorned the battle-field by the pearls dropping from the temples of the elephants of his enemies torn by (*his*) sharp sword,[92] a Kâma in destroying the pride of arrogant women, free from vice and injustice, possessed of valour, liberality, mercy, cleverness, virtue, good qualities, truthfulness, energy, policy and good conduct, satisfied by the pleasure arising from protecting his subjects and defeating his enemies, who has filled all the quarters with his glory, his person adorned with various kinds of cleverness and intelligence increased by advice mentioned in numerous treatises on royal policy, and (*adorned*) by good sense, and by the three powers of greatness, polity and energy, by strength, beauty, symmetry, variety of wit,

[9] Read दीनानाथो°. [10] Read इंदृग्गुण°. [11] Read सौख्यं. [12] Read आभिश्रैष्ठ्यं°. [13] This is grammatically wrong; the usual construction is राजभिः सगरादिभिः [14] Read °स्तस्य. [15] Read हिरायता. [16] Read भूमेः [17] Read षष्ठिं. [18] Read विष्टायां [19] Read °विंद°. [20] Read शैल°.

[88] The five *Parameshṭis* are the principal objects of reverence to the Jains. Even their principal *mantra* ordains an obeisance, *namaskâra* to the five *Parameshṭis* :—

नमो अरहन्ताणं नमो सिद्धाणं नमो आयरियाणं नमो उवज्झायाणं नमो, लोये सव्वसाहूणं *i. e.*, salutation to the Arhats, salutation to the Siddhas, salutation to the Achâryas, salutation to the Upâdhyâyas, and salutation to all sages of the world.

[89] पितामह is used to show that they are honoured like grandfathers. The same construction is met with in other inscriptions. जमरा is probably a local form of यमराज and a very locally used attribute therefore सामन्तजमरा means the chastiser or controller of his feudatory chiefs.

[90] *Mahâmahattama* is used to mean the head officer of a district. The title was sometimes given to ministers.

[91] The custom of throwing water from the palm of the hand when giving gifts is well known.

[92] Poets generally describe pearls dropping from the temples of elephants.

different enjoyments, royal policy and by good qualities in various matters, who foiled the intentions of his enemies, the tying post of the triumphant glory obtained in battles, possessed of (*great*) depth like the ocean, possessed of unmeasured greatness like the Himâlayas, possessed of the six qualities, and upholding them without any change, devoted to the service of gods, Brâhmanas, elders, good preceptors and sages, able to deliver (*from misery*) the poor and helpless, like the sun, his rise increasing every day, a fort of mirth (?) while he—possessed of these qualities,—was managing all (*state*) affairs, at that time Seuṇadêva the great king with (*his*) minister, having considered, gave, through devotion, to the lord (*Tîrthaṅkara*) Chandraprabha, two shops free from burdens. And to lord Chandraprabha, the destroyer of Kâma, whose body and features are pure, the benefactor of all beings, the merchant,[93] Vatsarâja, the front mark (*best*) of his family, devoted to the worship of gods, Brâhmaṇs, elders and good preceptors, with merchants Lâhada and Dâśaratha gave their own shop and house. And in the city settled five *Drammas*[94] a year. The giver of land obtains as the fruit, long life, sons, wealth, happiness, good luck, a permanent kingdom, greatness, glory and heaven. Earth has been enjoyed by many kings, Sagara and others; he to whom it belongs at a particular period, to him goes then the fruit. The giver (*of land*) and adviser of the gift reside in heaven, (*while*) he who takes away or advises taking away land suffers torment in the Raurava hell. He who resumes land given by himself or by another, becomes a worm in dung for sixty thousand years. This, a commandment about shops, was written on stone by the illustrious Divâkara Paṇḍit, the son of the illustrious Kolashvara Paṇḍit, a lion towards elephant-like bad astrologers, and like a bee covetous of honey given up to the lotus feet of good astrologers. Welfare and great prosperity!

Remarks.

This would show that on Monday the fifth day of the bright half of Jyêshṭha in Śaka 1063 Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, king Seuṇachandra III gave three shops in the city (probably Anjanêri) for maintaining the temple of Chandraprabha the eighth Tîrthaṅkara; and that a rich merchant named Vatsarâja with two others, Lâhada and Daśaratha, gave a shop and a house for the same purpose. The officer, *mahâmahattama*, in charge of the town where the temple stands, who has a host of useless adjectives, has a very odd sounding name—Pânumaddauri. I have never come across another so strange.

As the Seuṇachandra of this inscription has got the same name and attributes as the Seuṇachandra of the copper-plate, i. e. *Dvârâvatipuravarâdhîśvara, Vishṇuvaṃśodbhava, and Yâdavakulakamalavikâsabhâskara,* I make no doubt that he is a descendant of the same Yâdava family. It appears that a period of seventy-two years has elapsed between the two Seuṇachandras; in other words, there must be two, probably three kings between them about whom we have no information. How long after Seuṇachandra III, the dynasty continued to rule is a matter for future inquiry.

From the materials already available the following genealogy may be traced :—

1. Dridhaprahâra, cir. Śaka 740
2. Seuṇachandra
3. Dvâdiyappa
4. Bhillama — 6. Śrirâja
5. Vaddiga md. dr. of Jhanjha Silhâra, Ś. 838.
7. Têsuka md. dr. of Gôgirâja a Châlukya, Sâmanta
8. Bhillama (II.) md. dr. of Jayasiṁha Châlukya by the sister of Âhavamalla.
9. Seuṇachandra (II.) Śaka 991.

... ...
... ...
... ...

(13 ?) Seuṇachandra (III.) Śaka 1063.

[93] The word in the original for merchant is *sâdhu*. It is met with in mediæval inscriptions. The modern corruptions from it are शाहु and शाह, used as a title for merchants.

[94] This coin seems to have been then current, and was almost certainly the *Gadhaiya* coins, of the corrupt Sasanian type. These *Gadhaiya* coins were current under that name under the Anhilvâḍa kings and the Mâlwa Parmârs.

The Dêvagiri Yâdavas,—neighbours of these Yâdavas,—also called themselves *Dvârâvâtipuravarâdhiśvaras*, *Vishṇuvamśodbhavas*, &c. &c., and so far as we know their first king was a Bhillama, a name corresponding to the one we find in this genealogy. It is not improbable that the Dêvagiri Yâdavas may be a branch of these Yâdavas, and future inscriptions may shed more light on this.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 86.)

XX.

Chinghiz Khân was now a very potent chieftain. He was the master of the wide steppes of Mongolia and Sungaria, from the Khinggan chain in the east to the Altai in the west, while Dauria and China formed his northern and southern boundaries respectively. Like previous nomadic leaders who had secured a like power, he now turned his attention to the great Empire on the south, which has survived so many catastrophes and changes, and the continuity of whose history from the earliest times of recorded history is to-day one of the puzzles of the political philosopher. Chinghiz, in assailing China, was not merely satisfying the cravings of ambition, but had the further purpose of revenging private wrongs, and the murder of his not remote ancestors whose death we described in an earlier page. China at this time comprised two empires. Its southern portion was ruled by a native dynasty known as the Sung, while its northern portion was ruled by a race of foreigners known as the Kin, or Golden Tartars. The Sung dynasty was founded about the year 960, and for a while controlled the fortunes of a large part of southern China. Its Northern portion, comprising sixteen districts in the provinces of Pe'chih-li, Shan-si, and Liau-tung, had for some time been occupied by the Khitans, a race who were closely allied to the Manchu Tartars but had some Mongol and perhaps Turkish blood mixed with them. They were masters of Tartary from the Altai to the Yellow Sea, and the Sung Emperors also paid tribute to them. About the year 1114 the power of the Khitans was shattered by the revolt of a people of Manchuria identical in race with the present Manchus, who, under their chief, Aguta, speedily conquered the districts of Northern China held by the Khitans, and, after numerous victories gained over the Sung Emperor, secured the cession of a large district hitherto ruled by the latter and the payment of a considerable tribute. Aguta gave his dynasty the title of Kin, or the golden, and his people are generally known as the Golden Tartars. The boundary between the Kin and Sung empires was fixed at the rivers Hoai and Han. The great provinces of Pe'chih-li, Shan-si, Shang-tung, Honan, and the southern part of Shen-si were dominated by the Kin Tartars. Their capital was Yenking, situated near the modern Peking, and they called it Chung-tu, *i.e.*, Imperial city of the centre. The Mongols called it Khanbaligh, *i.e.*, the City of the Khan, or the Imperial Residence. In addition to it they held four other cities which were dignified as Imperial residences, *i.e.*, Liau-yang-chau in Liau-tung, called the Eastern capital (Tung-king), 2, Tai-tung-fu in Shan-si, called the Western capital (Si-king); 3, Pien-leang or Kai-fung-fu on the southern bank of the Yellow River in Honan, called the Southern capital (Nan-king), and lastly Ta-ning-fu on the river Loha, north of China, which was called the Northern capital (Peking).[1] The Kin Tartars, while they ruled a much larger area in China than the Khitans, were much less powerful than the latter in the steppes of Mongolia and Tartary. They were acknowledged as masters, no doubt, in Manchuria, the old home of their race; the Khitans, who still lived in Liau-tung and its borders also acknowledged their supremacy, but the various tribes west of the Khinggan range and north of the mountain buttresses limiting China on the north retained the very slightest ties towards the new masters of China; and were not, as in the time of the Khitans, immediately subject to them. It is from the time of the Kin domination in China that the Mongols, in fact, first began to assume shape as an independent community, and we have seen how they

[1] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 121 note.

showed their independence before Chinghiz Khân was heard of.

We will now turn to the latter's famous campaign against the Kin empire. Although the Mongols were virtually independent of the Kin Tartars, it seems that they paid them a certain tribute, and we are told that when the Kin emperor, Taiho, *i. e.* Chang-Tsung, who reigned from 1189 to 1208, sent Yun-tsi, who was his uncle, and who held the fief of Wei, in Honan, to receive their tribute at Tsing-chau, *i. e.* Kuku Khoten, Chinghiz, who despised him, omitted the usual ceremonies of welcome, and when Yun-tsi returned home he tried to persuade his nephew, the emperor, to send an army to punish him. The latter would not consent. At length, in 1208, he was succeeded by Yun-tsi, otherwise called Chong-hei. On his accession an officer was sent to apprise Chinghiz, and to demand tribute. Instead of kneeling down to receive his orders in the usual way, Chinghiz asked him on whose behalf he had come. When he replied Yun-tsi; the Mongol chief turned towards the south, spat in the air, and replied scornfully that he had understood that hitherto an emperor of China was the son of heaven,[2] but he did not see how an imbecile like Chong-hei could use such a title. He accordingly mounted on horseback and withdrew. When Yun-tsi heard what had happened he was much enraged, but he was afraid to declare war, and determined to put the Mongol chief to death when he came to do homage. Chinghiz having heard of this made up his mind to break completely with the Kin court.[3] Chinghiz had grievances ready to his hand. We have seen how the Kin authorities had put to death some of his relatives in an ignominious way before his own accession. It would seem they had repeated the offence more recently, and according to the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen,* in 1206, when they put to death one of his relations named Ching-pu-hai, called Sien-pu-hai-han by De Mailla. We are further told that in the previous reign some Kin officers who had deserted had incited him to attack the Kin empire, on the ground that its ruler was haughty and proud and hated by his people.[4] Palladius reports a Chinese legend that a deserter incited Chinghiz Khân to march, on the ground that the Kin emperor was continually degrading and killing his relatives.[5] Chinghiz having determined to attack the empire sent Chepe to make a preliminary raid, with orders to march eastwards if he should succeed in defeating the invaders. His duty was no doubt that of reconnoitring the country and he presently returned with the fruit of his pillage. The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* says he was accompanied by the Khitan chief Yeliu Kohai who, we are told, was a great Mandarin among the Kins, and had been sent as an envoy by them to Chinghiz with whom he was so charmed that he determined to join him, which he did after putting his wife and children in safety.[6] Chinghiz now prepared for a vigorous campaign the following year. Before setting out, according to Rashidu'd-dîn, he called his followers around him, and recalled to them how his ancestors had suffered great indignities and hardships at the hands of the Chinese monarch. He said through the favour of God he had triumphed over his various enemies, and through the help of the same God he would conquer this empire also, and raise the reputation of the Mongols to the highest point. They applauded this speech, and it was determined first to send an envoy to the Altan Khân or Golden Khân, as the Kin Wangti was known to the Mongols, to bid him submit, and in case he should refuse, to apprise him that war must be the consequence. For this duty, Jafar Khoja was selected.[7] The *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* describes him as a Musalman trader. Rashid speaks of him as one of Chinghiz Khân's principal people. Rashid has reported his message in rhetorical language, and makes him remind the Altan Khân how God had selected him and his family to lead the other Mongols, and how his authority had in a few years extended over a wide area, and that the penalty of resisting him was the utter destruction of house and goods, wealth and dependents. His power was now so well established that he was ready to march against China with an army numerous as the waves, either to secure peace or to enforce war.

[2] Alluding to the title of Tien-tsi which the Chinese Wangtis affect.

[3] Douglas, pp. 59 and 60; Hyacinthe, pp. 43—45; De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 43 and 44; Gaubil, p. 14; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 122 and 123 notes.

[4] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 41 and 42; Gaubil, p. 14.

[5] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, note 536.

[6] Douglas, pp. 58 and 59; Hyacinthe, pp. 42 and 43; Gaubil, p. 14.

[7] Abulghazi calls him Chakar Khoja.

If the Altan Khân was willing, he invited him to a conference, where the affairs of China might be settled, and where he undertook to remit to him again the kingdom on his acknowledging him as his Padishah. If he did not care to meet him in person he was to send him some precious gifts, and also to send his sons as hostages. If he did this all would be well, if not they must appeal to the sword until God should deck whom he would with the crown of good fortune and sovereignty, and whom he would also with the mantle of indigence and wretchedness. This dictatorial message was naturally resented by the Wangti or Emperor. He reminded Chinghiz in his reply that he would find him and his people very different to a tribe of Turks, that if he had the intention of attacking him he would not prevent it, but he was ready for him, and would make him suffer accordingly. Jafar Khoja, we are told by Rashidu'd-dîn, returned with this answer, and carefully took observations of the various roads, towns, and fortresses, mountains and men on his route. The *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* says he was imprisoned by orders of the Altan Khân, but managed to escape after he had been confined for some time, and rejoined his master by a secret route.[8] This Jafar Khoja who is made a Musalman by the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, and who, if he was a Khoja, was undoubtedly a Musalman, was perhaps no other than the Chapar, the Guebir or Fire worshipper of the Chinese writers, whom we have met at an earlier stage of this inquiry, and whom we shall meet again. Having made his various preparations for the campaign, Chinghiz, before setting out, we are told by Rashidu'd-dîn, climbed a high mountain, where loosening his girdle and hanging it about his neck, he untied the fastenings of his tunic and kneeling down, prayed in these words :— "O Thou who knowest the deepest secrets; Thou knowest the secret of this Thy servant, give heed to his ardent prayer! O Almighty God! to whom the truth is as patent as the sphere of Heaven! O Thou who orderest the light and the day as well as darkness and night! O Eternal God! thou knowest that it is not I who have begun the fight and the struggle of war, but that the dust of discord and strife has arisen from the Khitan Khân, who put to death my excellent forefathers Ukin Barkhak and Anbakhai Khân without their having committed any fault or crime. I only seek retribution and revenge for their blood. If right be on my side, grant me from above strength and victory, and order my generals and secret counsellors the Peris and Divs of the earth,[9] to aid me." We are further told Chinghiz spent several days and nights in these ardent prayers, and then returned to lead his army.[10] The author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, whose story just begins to be of service at this time, but who although an earlier is a very inferior authority to Rashidu'd-dîn, tells this tale *more suo*. He says that Chinghiz collected all the Mongols at the foot of a mountain and separated the men from the women, and the children from their mothers; and that for three days and nights all remained bareheaded and fasting, and no animal was allowed to give milk to its young. Chinghiz himself entered a *khargah*, or felt tent, and put a tent-rope about his neck and did not come out for three days and nights, during which time the people called out continually, Tengri, Tengri, *i. e.* God! God! On the fourth day he came out of the tent and declared that Tengri had given him the victory, and that they should now get ready to attack the Altan Khân. Having spent three more days in feasting he accordingly set out.[11] The mountain where this took place was perhaps the well-known Mount Darkhan, south of the Kerulon, which is closely connected with the traditions of the great conqueror, and is much revered by the Mongols. Its name of Darkhan ('smith') is said to have been given to it because Chinghiz Khân once forged iron at its foot.[12] Timkofski visited it on his way to China and mounted to its summit. He tells us that on its extreme southern height there is a great stone *obo*, erected by the Mongols, who go there every summer to celebrate the memory of Chinghiz Khân. He adds that from its summit there is a prospect over a boundless plain. Towards the east are eight salt lakes, further on the same side are the blue mountains of the Kerulon, while to the west is an immense tract covered with pointed eminences.[13] The anvil of Chinghiz

[8] Erdmann, pp. 317 and 318; Abulghazi, pp. 94 and 95; *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 954. [9] *i. e.* the good and evil genii.
[10] Erdmann, pp. 318 and 319; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 123 and 124.
[11] *Op. cit.* p. 954.
[12] Timkofski, vol. I, pp. 146 and 158.
[13] *Id.* p. 166.

is said to be still preserved on this mountain and to be made of a particular metal called *Buryn*, which has the properties of iron and copper, being hard and flexible.[15] The Kin court was as usual deluded into a false security. Na-ha-mai-chu who commanded on the frontier warned his master Yun-tsi of the increasing power of the Mongols, how they had subdued the surrounding tribes; how the king of Hia had given his daughter in marriage to their leader; and how they were busy manufacturing arms of all kinds and exercising their young people in the art of war. Yun-tsi fatuously replied to his warnings that there was no ill-will between him and the Mongol sovereign, why then should he be afraid, and persuaded that Na-ha-mai-chu must have himself aroused the anger of the Mongols he had him arrested and put in prison.[16] Meanwhile Chinghiz left the banks of the Kerulon in March 1211, and marched across the Gobi steppe. He was accompanied by his four sons, Juchi, Jagatai, Ogotai, and Tului, and very probably also by the Idikut of the Uïghurs and the chief of the Karluks, and he was certainly in alliance with the leader of the Onguts or White Tartars. To protect his *ordus* or home camps, and to restrain the recently conquered tribes, he left the Kunkurat Tuguchar, also called Dilan Turkhatu Tukhujar, who was probably a near relative of his, with a contingent of 2,000 (!!) men.[17] The *Huang-Yuan* merely says Chinghiz sent Tokhu-chara with 3,000 troops to watch the western frontiers.[18]

So far as we can make out the Mongols on this famous march followed the route taken in our own day by the Russian traveller Timkofski, and described in his travels, and they doubtless passed near the same point—the low rampart of earth which is marked on the map as traversing the Mongolian desert from east to west near Mount Ongan, and which is said to have formerly divided China from independent Mongolia. Timkofski says this rampart extends very far from east to west, and seems to join the heights from which the Orkhon flows.[19] "At the station of Tulga," (north of Chaghan Balgassun) says Timkofski, "a caprice of nature has placed in a valley three rocks, turning towards the east, north, and south, which resemble great heaps of stones piled upon each other. At the foot of each of these rocks is a well, the water of which has a nitrous taste. The inhabitants call them Gurban Tulgotu,[20] and pretend that Chinghiz Khân encamped here when at war with China. At a distance to the south-east of the station is a great *obo*."[21] The approach to China from the Gobi has been graphically described by the same traveller. He says:—"Two versts further we reached the chain of mountains which separates Mongolia from China. On their summits there is a stone rampart, with square brick towers, a certain distance from each other. They are nine sagines high and three sagines square at the base. From this point China presents its grandest forms. To the south-east and west the horizon is bounded by mountains covered with snow, the summits of which rise above the clouds. We descended for five versts by a narrow road, very dangerous at this season, as far as the Chinese village of Nor-tian; on the right hand the above-mentioned rampart runs along the heights; on the left side is a steep precipice; farther on towards the east are rude and lofty mountains, which give the country a wild appearance. Such is the aspect of the country at the place where we descend from the high steppes of Mongolia into the lower land of China."[22]

The Mongol campaign is very difficult to follow, nor is it possible to reconcile the various authorities. It would seem that their plan involved operations against Ta-tung-fu, the Western capital, and also against Yen-king, and that two armies were employed for the purpose; one of them commanded by Chinghiz in person, the other by Chepe Noyan, who had made the preliminary raid the year before. We will first refer to the latter. Chepe's raid just mentioned frightened the Kin emperor, who released his general Na-ha-mai-chu, and sent Nien-khuru,[23] with a message of peace to the Mongols, but all his advances were rejected, and he therefore ordered the generals, Tungi Tsiangianu, Wanyan-Khosho and Khesheri-Khushakhu, the

[15] *Id.* p. 173.
[16] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 44 and 45.
[17] Raverty says 10,000, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* p. 656; Erdmann, pp. 200 and 319; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 123.
[18] *Op. cit.* p. 182.
[19] *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 259.
[20] The three tripods.
[21] *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 266.
[22] Timkofski, vol. I, p. 272 and 273.
[23] The Nien-hohota of De Mailla.

last of whom was Governor of Tai-tung-fu,[24] to watch the Mongol movements, and prepare to repel them. When these generals arrived at Wu-shau-pau (the Wu-sha-pka of Hyacinthe, and the U-cha-pao of De Mailla), which they had previously occupied, they had barely time to take defensive measures when the Mongols attacked and captured the place.[25] The Mongols also occupied the town or camp of Wu-yue-ing, (called U-yue-ing, by De Mailla) and sacked the little town of Bai-din-tsen[26] situated a league to the east of Tai-tong-fu, to which they proceeded to lay siege. In the course of seven days Khushakhu, who commanded there, made a sortie with the garrison and traversed the besieger's lines. He was hotly pursued by a body of 3,000 men as far as Tsui-ping-kheou. D'Ohsson says as far as Chang-ping-chau, a little north of Peking.[27] The *Kang-mu*, as reported by the authors just named, tells us the Mongols also captured the Si-king or western capital, *i.e.*, Tai-tung-fu, but this is hardly reconcilable with what followed, and it would rather seem that Chepe having overrun the northern part of Shan-si joined the main army under Chinghiz, to which we will now turn.

The Kin emperors had a fortified post of some importance north of the great wall and about thirty English miles north-west of Kalgan, which was called Fu-chau. Palladius identifies this place with the ramparts now known as Kara Balghasun. We are told that this town was of great importance during the period of the Kin dynasty whose emperors had a palace there, while Ch'ang-ch'un in a poem calls it Little Yen.[28] This frontier post was apparently the first point for which Chinghiz Khân made and which he captured. The Mongols now crossed the Ye-khu-lin, *i.e.*, the mountains separating China and Mongolia, and captured the district-cities of Ta-shui-lo and Fin-li.[29] These are probably the towns called Tai-su and Ba-u-ini by Rashidu'd-dîn.[30] The *Kang-mu* tells us the Kin generals Wanian Kieukin and Waian Wannu had received orders to post themselves near the mountains Ye-khu-lin. Douglas says at the meeting of the waters near Suen-ping in the modern prefecture of Siuan-hwa, a third general, Wanian Hosho, followed them with the main army. Informed of their advance, Chinghiz marched upon Kho-el-tsui.[31] A Kin officer named Mingan, who was sent to reconnoitre his position, deserted to him and informed him of what was taking place in the opposite camp. He determined to attack at once, speedily defeated the enemy, whose cavalry trampled upon the infantry, and many of them were killed. Advancing further into the country the Mongol advance guard caused so much terror that Wanian Hosho with his men hastily withdrew, and were pursued as far as Khoei-khi-pkhu or Hoei-ho-pao, a fortress on the river Hoi, where they were cut in pieces and Wanian Hosho barely escaped towards Siuan-te-fu.[32] Douglas has abstracted another account of this battle apparently from the *She-wei*, from which it would appear that it was Mu-khu-li, Chinghiz Khan's famous general, who was the hero of the struggle; we are told he chose a number of dare-death warriors with whom he charged the enemy who was speedily routed and pursued as far as the river Hwuy, i. e. the Hoi, and countless corpses strewed the line of retreat.[33] The *Huang-yuan* refers at some length to this struggle, which it says took place in Ye-khu-lin.[34] It calls the two Kin generals in command of the main army, the Jaotao Giugin and the Tsian-Tsian Veinu. The commander of the reserve he calls the Tsan-Jen Khusha.[35] This account makes a Khitan general address Giugin and say: "It is reported that they have just destroyed Fu-chau and are dividing the spoil among the troops; their horses are grazing on the steppe; let us attack them when they don't expect us; we shall have to surprise them with swift cavalry." Giugin replied that this plan was dangerous, and said it was better to move the cavalry and infantry together which would be completely successful. Chinghiz, hearing of their approach moved to Khuan-err-

[24] Called Tokitsien Kianu, Wanyen-husha, and Heshelei hushahu by De Mailla.

[25] Hyacinthe, pp. 47 and 48; Douglas, pp. 61 and 62; De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 45 and 46.

[26] Called Pe-teng by De Mailla.

[27] *Kangmu*, cited by Hyacinthe, p. 48; Douglas, p. 62; De Mailla, p. 45 and p. 46; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 129 and 130.

[28] *i.e.* Little Peking. Bretschneider, *Arch. and Hist. Researches on Peking*, &c. p. 59, note 108; *Notes on Med. Travellers*, &c. note 17.

[29] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, p. 138; Hyacinthe, p. 46.

[30] Erdmann, p. 319.

[31] The Hoan-eulh-tsui of De Mailla.

[32] *Kang-mu* in Hyacinthe, p. 50 and 51; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 130 and 131; and De Mailla, tome IX, p. 47.

[33] *Op. cit.* p. 67.

[34] Vide *ante*.

[35] The editor says in a note that Jaotao, Tsian Tsian, and Tsan Jen are titles.

tsui to meet them. Giugin addressing Min-an-ni-i.e. Mingan, one of his officers said, "Thou wast formerly an envoy to the North and knowest Tai-tsu Khuandu.[36] Go forth in front of the army and ask him the reason for his invasion. In what the Kin empire has offended him that he has undertaken the present war. If he will not listen then abuse him. Mingan accordingly suddenly whipped his horse and went over to the enemy. Chinghiz told his men to bind him, and that he would interrogate him after the battle." The battle which followed was a very bloody one, and ended, we are told, in the destruction of the Kin army. After the fight Chinghiz, addressing Mingan, said, "I was not at variance with thee, why didst thou defame me before every one." Mingan replied, "I long entertained the intention of submitting myself, but fearing it might be difficult I merely did what I was ordered, otherwise how could I have seen thy celestial face"? Chinghiz was content with his answer, and had him set free.[37] Rashidu'd-din, as usual, tells a very similar story. Erdmann reads the names of the Kin generals as given by him, Kiukin Nazdu, Haju-tai-wanneh, Watu-naurd and Gemgun, and says they posted themselves in the mountain Hin-ngan-dian near Karaunjidun close by a Khitan force commanded by Bakhu-seh who had the conversation above reported with Kiukin Nazdu. He says when Chinghiz heard of the enemy's march his men were eating their food. They set out at his orders, laying down their kettles, and marched with two *tuks* or standards to Kon-yuen-chau, where they halted and ranged themselves in battle array. Here took place the incident already reported, of which Mingan was the hero. The slaughter was so great in the fight which followed that the beasts and birds of prey had a grand feast for a whole year. The Mongols afterwards pursued the enemy, had a struggle with the rear-guard of the Khitan division commanded by Nushteh, at a place called Khubtu Khabu, and put this also to flight. These battles, in which some of the principal officers of the Kin and Khitan troops fell, became very famous in the traditions of the Mongols.[38] After his victory Chinghiz Khân advanced upon and occupied Siuan-te, now called Siuan-khua-fu.[39] Bretschneider tells us that under the Kin dynasty this town was called Siuan-te-chu, after the Mongols captured it it was called Siuan-ning-fu. In 1263 it was called Siuan-te-fu, but in 1266 its name was again changed to Shun-ning-fu.[40] Marco Polo calls the town Sin-da-chu, and tells us it was famous for its manufacturers of arms.[41] Colonel Yule tells us that it is said to have been a summer residence of the later Mongol sovereigns, and fine parks full of grand trees remain on the western side. It is still a large town, and the capital of a Fu, about 25 miles south of the gate on the great wall at Chang-kia-kau, which the Mongols and Russians call Kalgan. There is still a manufacture of felt and woollen articles there.[42] Timkofski passed through the town and tells us the crenellated wall which surrounds it is thirty feet high, and put him in mind of that of the Kremlin. It consists of two thin parallel brick walls, the intermediate space being filled up with clay and sand, the wall is flanked with towers. The travellers passed through three gates to enter the city, the first was covered with iron and large nails. At the second was the guard-house; thence there stretched a broad street bordered with shops of hardware and warehouses of carts, along which is the great triumphal gate. The town is called Sumê[43] by the Mongols. Timkofski describes it as thinly peopled, but during the Ming dynasty it was much more populous, and contained a garrison of 100,000 men to restrain the Mongols. The best felts and other woollen articles such as the caps worn by the Chinese peasants are manufactured here.[44] Klaproth describes the town as of the first rank, and as the capital of the 16th and last district of the province of Chihli or Pe'chihli, having under its jurisdiction three cities of the 2nd rank and seven of the 3rd. It is 24 li in circumference, and has seven gates. Its walls were covered with brick in 1440, and repaired in 1676. It is situated on the left bank of the river Yang-ho, a tributary of the Sang-kan. The Yang-ho is crossed by two bridges, and there is a third five li to the south of the city. The district produces gold, silver, rock crystal, agate, marble, loadstone, lime, coal, alum, blue

[36] *i.e.* Chinghiz Khân.
[37] *Op. cit.* pp. 183 and 184.
[38] Erdmann, pp. 320 and 321.
[39] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, 138 and note 539.
[40] *Arch. and Hist. Researches*, &c., 58, note 105.
[41] *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 276.
[42] *Id.* 286, Yule's note.
[43] Rich temple.
[44] Timkofski's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 293 and 294.

vitriol, mushrooms, and a great quantity of musk, while small leopards, bears, chamois, and another kind of wild goat[45] are found there.[46] The Mongols next captured the city named Tsin-ngan-hien in one place and Te-hing-fu in another by De Mailla, who has made two places out of the two names. It is called Te-sing-fu by Hyacinthe and Tih-hing by Douglas. It is now called Pao-ngan-chau, and is situated north-west of the bifurcation of the rivers San-kang and Yang-ho. Timkofski tells us this town is surrounded with an excellent stone wall, and that it is pretty well built according to the rules of Chinese architecture. It has in the centre a large triumphal gate with four entrances. The principal occupation of the inhabitants is carpenters and joiners' work.[47] Here Chinghiz seems to have been joined by Chepe, who had overrun Northern Shan-si as we have described. At all events we find the latter mentioned in the next operations. The *Kang-mu* tells us the Mongols laid siege to the town. They met with a more serious resistance than they expected, and were defeated at the first assault. Chinghiz Khân's fourth son, Tului, and Chiku-fuma, called the Khân's Chiki by Hyacinthe, piqued at the resistance, led the way on to the ramparts covered by their shields, and cut a way for their soldiers, who poured a volley of arrows on the defenders, and the place was at length taken. Its capture was followed by that of several other towns of the department, but eventually the Mongols withdrew, and these places once more fell into the hands of the Kin.[48] After reaching Tsin-ngan-hien the Mongols advanced as far as the fortress of Kiu-yung-kuan whose governor, Wanian Fu-chau, frightened by the fugitives who arrived there, fled.[49] Douglas adds to the other accounts that Chepe pursued the fugitives southwards through the wall and advanced on the capital.[50] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in describing these events, tells us that Chepe and Guigunika were sent forward. Chepe arrived at Tsui-yun-kuan. Noticing that the garrison had fortified itself, he said they must be enticed out. He therefore pretended to lead his army back. The Kin troops noticing this retreat led their forces out and pursued Chepe, who drew them after him as far as Suian-de-fu into a mountain hollow, where he turned upon them and defeated them, after which the main body of Chinghiz' army arrived and obtained a victory over the strongest regiments of the Kin, namely, the Khitans and Churchit.[51] When Chinghiz reached Tsui-yun-kuan the roads were covered with heaps of the bodies of the slain as with rotten trees. Chepe took Tsui-yun-kuan, and Chinghiz traversing the pass encamped on the Lunkhutai.[52] The Kiu-yung or Tsui-yun-kuan or pass here named is the famous pass leading into the plain of Peking, called the Nan-kau pass by Europeans. It is situated about 40 miles from Peking, and is remarkable, *inter alia*, for a famous Mongol archway figured by Colonel Yule,[53] containing an inscription in six languages, which has been illustrated in more than one paper by my learned friend Mr. Wylie. Timkofski passed through the place, and describes it as commanding the defiles between two branches or lines of the great wall. He has a graphic description of it: "After having passed an arched gate," he says, "which is under the principal tower, we entered a large court. I felt a degree of pleasure in climbing upon the wall, the ascent to the top of which is by steps made for the use of the soldiers on duty." "Notwithstanding the many centuries which have elapsed since the erection of this wall[54] it was built with so much skill and care that, far from falling to ruin, it looks like a stone rampart produced by nature itself to defend the northern provinces of China, Pe'chihli, Shan-si, and Shen-si, from the invasion of the Mongols, who have not entirely lost their warlike character."

"The wall is properly composed of two thin walls the tops of which are crenated; the interval is filled up with earth and gravel. The foundations consist of large unhewn stones; the rest is of brick; its height is 26 feet, and its breadth at the top 14 feet. Towers, in

45 ? Saigas.

46 *Id.* 293 note.

47 *Id.* vol. II, pp. 300 and 301.

48 De Mailla, pp. 49 and 50; Hyacinthe, pp. 54 and 55.

49 Hyacinthe, p. 51; Douglas, p. 62; De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 47 and 48.

50 *Id.* pp. 62 and 63.

51 Churchi, often corrupted into Nuichi, is the name by which the Kin Tartars were known when living in Manchuria. Palladius tells us the Khitans formed whole corps in the service of the Kin, and were quartered on the frontiers of China and Mongolia.

52 This name means a dragon and a god. *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, pp. 138 and 139 notes.

53 *Marco Polo*, vol. I, page 444.

54 It was built about 200 B.C.

which there are many cast-iron cannon, are placed at about one hundred paces from each other. The great tower is decayed from age, the gate is much damaged, as well as the adjacent wall. No care is taken to keep it in repair." This great barrier, as Timkofski says, no doubt formed a very formidable barrier to the nomad horsemen of Mongolia, but the mountains and defiles which it traverses form an almost equally efficient protection. Especially difficult is the road where the fortress of Kiu-yung is. Our traveller tells us that the interior of the famous gate there is finely built, and that its walls are adorned with sculptured representations of heroes. He adds that Chinghiz Khân was not able to make himself master of it, but was obliged to return to Mongolia and to enter China by forcing a passage from the west.[55] This statement is at direct issue with the evidence furnished by the *Yuan-shi*, as we have seen. The capture of the Kiu-yung Pass naturally caused considerable panic among the Kin authorities, who began to fear even for their capital, and an order was issued forbidding any of the young men capable of bearing arms from leaving the place.[56] It would seem that the invaders suffered some minor reverses in the district, for we read that the Kin emperor, frightened by the Mongol approach, their scouts having advanced as far as the walls of Chung-tu, determined to retire to Kai-ping-fu, but his troops having promised to oppose the enemy to the death, and having defeated them several times he changed his mind.[57] The *Huang-yuan*, in describing these events, again corresponds to some extent with Rashidu'd-dîn's narrative. It merely tells us in regard to Chinghiz Khân's advance that he took Dashui-li and conquered Ushapu, and the three Jous (*i.e. chaus*) Chan, Khuan and Fu.[58] Rashid says the Mongols first advanced to the river Il, or Til, and took the towns of Tai-su and Ba-u-ini.[59] To revert to the more profitable Chinese authorities, we are told that discipline was now breaking down sadly in the Kin empire. It is true that the pusillanimous general, Wanian Hosho, was punished by being degraded, but the army deemed the punishment too light.[60] The emperor himself was a very weak person. Tu-shan-i, who commanded at Hoei-ning-fu, having learnt that the Mongols had advanced as far as the Department of Yen-king (*i. e.* of the modern Peking) sent an army of 20,000 men under Ukusun-utun to the rescue. The emperor was so pleased with his zeal that he summoned him to the Court and created him a minister, but he would not listen to his warnings when he urged upon him the importance of protecting Liau-tung, which was so far away, and argued that if attacked by the Mongols it must succumb unless succour was sent to it, and advised that one of the principal officers should be sent to put it in a proper state of defence. His easy master merely said there was no necessity to create alarm among the people.

Meanwhile the Mongols were not idle. Chinghiz Khân sent his three sons, Juchi, Chagatai, and Ogotai, who each took a separate force and a separate route and captured the towns of Yun-nei, Tung-sheng-chau, Vu-chau or U-chau Su-chau or Sho-chau, Fong-chau or Fun-chau and Kin-chau or Sing-chau, six districts north of the great walls of Shan-si, and, as suggested by D'Ohsson, probably situated between the frontier mountains of Ongu and the Chinese border in the country watered by the river Turghen which falls into the Yellow River where Koko-Khoten and the ruins of other towns still remain.[61] They also secured the towns of Te-hing or Te-sing, Kung-chau or Hong-chau, Chang-p'king, Khuai-lai, or Hoai-lai, Tsing-shan, Fong-shun, Mi-yun, Fu-ning, and Tsi-ning. Towards the east they conquered all the country of Ping-chau and Luan-chau, towards the south they advanced as far as Tsing-chau and Tsang-chau.[62] Thus from Lin-khuan in Liau-si south-westward as far as Sin-chau and Tai-chau all the country was subject to the Mongols.[63] The *Huang-yuan* tells us the three sons of Chinghiz above named destroyed the towns of Yuin-nei Dun-shen, Vu, Siuan, Nin, Fin, and Tsein-chau.[64] Rashid tells us that after conquering Tai-su and

[55] *Op. cit.* vol. I, pp. 308 and 311.

[56] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 47 and 48.

[57] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 47 and 48; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 131 and 132.

[58] *Op. cit.* pp. 182.

[59] Erdmann, 319.

[60] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 132.

[61] The *Kang-mu*; see Hyacinthe, p. 49; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 132 note; De Mailla, tome IX, p. 46.

[62] Hyacinthe and De Mailla, *loc. cit.*

[63] Hyacinthe, p. 49. De Mailla translates this last clause differently, and reads from Lin-chau and Hoang-chau as far as beyond the river Liau, south-west as far as the country of Hin and Tai, all was subject to the Mongols.—*Op. cit.* vol. IX, p. 46.

[64] *Op. cit.* p. 183.

Ba-u-ini, the Mongols went further and secured the towns of Nu-chau, Tu-khing-chau, Kin-chau, Suk-chau, and Khi-chau, names corresponding pretty closely to those above quoted from the *Kang-mu*. He says the three princes also secured the towns of Wei-chau, Ton-chin,[65] Nu-chau, Sun-chau, and Yene-kin-chau. They also conquered the great city of Sebgin whose district furnished 70 tomans, *i.e.* 700,000 fighting men. It was not besieged, but the inhabitants surrendered themselves freely.[66] Raverty says it was the country of Khurjah or Khurjat, by which he understands Corea, which furnished 700,000 fighting men. If the name is reliable it seems to point to Manchuria, the country of the Churchis; if it be not in fact a mere synonym for the Kin empire, the name Sebgin of Erdmann, he reads as Sukin or Sunkin.[67] The *Yuan-shi* adds that the success of the three brothers brought many adherents to the Mongol side, including several Kin officials.[68] The most important ally, however, secured by the invaders was Yeliu Liuko, a chief of the Khitans, who is called Yeluie-luige by Hyacinthe, Yaylu Lewko by Douglas, and Yeliu-lieuco by De Mailla.

We have seen how the Kin Tartars became masters of northern China by conquering the Khitans who were its previous masters. The Khitans had their chief seats in the province of Liau-tung, and after they had lost their empire in China they seem to have retained a certain *solidarité* there under their own chiefs. At this time the most important Khitan chief was Yeliu Liuko just named, who was a tributary of the Kin empire. The Kin Tartars were naturally somewhat dubious about the loyalty of these Khitans, and we are told the emperor Yong-tsi had given orders that wherever there were any Khitan families there should be settled at least twice the number of those of their own race, the Churchis. This surveillance caused great irritation among the Khitans, of which Chinghiz Khân heard and determined to avail himself.[69] When he planned his campaign against China he accordingly sent Uachin, Prince of Hongkila, *i.e.* of the Konkurats, who was his brother-in-law, to Liau-tung, to rouse the Khitan chiefs on that side, and arrange for a joint attack upon the empire. He found Yeliu-liuko at the head of 100,000 men.[70] Yeliu-liuko had been in the service of the Kin emperor and was in command of a thousand men and lived at Tsien-u on the northern frontiers. Fearing that his suspicious patron might blame him if the frontier post he commanded should be lost, he fled to the district of Long-ngan, written Lun-an by Hyacinthe, where he speedily collected 100,000 men and took the title of grand general.[71] Douglas says he proclaimed himself generalissimo with a general named Eta as second in command, and that his movement met with such success that the tents of his troops covered more than a hundred Chinese miles of country.[72] Chinghiz heard of this rebellion while he was meditating an attack on China, and we are told he sent Uachin, Prince of Hongkila,[73] to make enquiries and arrange a common plan of operations against the empire. De Mailla says he sent Anchin Noyan and Hontoko.[74] The two were doubtless the two brothers of Chinghiz Khân's wife Burteh, who are called Alj Noyan, and Hukhu Noyan by Rashidu'd-dîn.[75] Douglas, by mistake, makes Chepe the envoy on this occasion. We are told that having questioned Yeliu-liuko he professed that he had rebelled against the Kin and in favour of Chinghiz, and that he would ere this have been to do homage to him if his horses and herds had been in a fit condition to make the journey. Anchin Noyan asked for some token of his good faith, and they accordingly climbed the mountain Yen-shan. Gaubil, who calls the mountain Kin, says the Chinese geography puts it 45 or 50 leagues north of Mukden the capital of Liau-tung. Here they sacrificed a horse and a white cow, turned towards the north, broke an arrow between them, and the Khitan chief swore to be faithful to the Mongols, who in turn swore to help him, and Anchin promised to propose to Chinghiz that after its conquest Liau-tung should be made over as a fief to Yeliu-liuko.[76] When the Kin emperor heard of the outbreak of Yeliu-liuko he despatched Wanian Husha with an

[65] ? Fong-shun of the Chinese writers.
[66] Erdmann, pp. 319 and 320.
[67] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 956 note.
[68] Douglas, 63.
[69] Gaubil, pp. 14 and 15.
[70] Id. p. 16.
[71] De Mailla, IX, 50.
[72] *Op. cit.* p. 64.
[73] Vide *ante*.
[74] *Op. cit.* p. 50.
[75] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc. vol, I, pp. 99-200.
[76] De Mailla p. 50 and 51; Gaubil p. 16; Douglas pp. 64 and 65.

army of 60,000 men against him which was purposely exaggerated to a million. Douglas says that a reward was offered of a pound of gold for every pound of the rebel's bones, and a pound of silver for every pound of his flesh. De Mailla adds that a large sum and also a post was offered to any one who would bring his head. Yeliu-liuko sent to inform Chinghiz Khân, who despatched 3,000 men commanded by Anchin Noyan, Putuhoan, and Alutuhoa to his aid. They joined him in the district of Ti-tsinor, and it was not long before the Kin troops appeared. Annu, the nephew of Yeliu-liuko, who commanded the advanced guard of the Khitans, began the fight, and broke the ranks of the Kin troops, who were presently in full retreat, abandoning all their baggage, which Yeliu-liuko sent to Chinghiz Khân, retaining nothing for himself. He now took the title of prince of Liau.[77] Douglas says Chinghiz Khân conferred on him the title of king, while that of queen was conferred on his concubine, Yoloshe. Finding force unavailing against the rebel, the Kin emperor sent an envoy to buy him over, but neither was this manœuvre successful, and the envoy returned strongly impressed with the opinion that Liuko was too firmly seated on his throne to be easily overturned. This report only added to the rage of the emperor, who, determining to make yet another attempt at coercion, despatched an army of 400,000 men against the rebellious province. This was also defeated, and its commander Wannu fled with the remnants of the army to the Tung-king or Eastern capital, the city now called Fung-tin-fu or Mukden. Liuko now took up his residence at Hien-ping, to which town he gave the name of Chung-king or Central Capital.[78] Chinghiz Khân now apparently sent Chepe to his assistance. He proceeded to attack Liau-yang, the capital of Liau-tung, which was then known as Tung-king or the Eastern capital. After several efforts to secure it, finding that it did not yield to a direct attack, he had recourse to a ruse and retired for a while as if he was giving up his design. After having retired for six days he left his baggage and returned by forced marches with some of his best mounted troops, ordering each trooper to take a led horse with him, surprised the town, where his advent was not expected, and captured it.[79] The *Huang-yuan* says that Chebi (as he is there styled) knowing the place was fortified within, having with his men destroyed the wall, retired 500 li. The Kin thought he had withdrawn altogether. He then ordered each of his men to take a led horse and having returned in 24 hours attacked the place and laid it waste savagely.[80] Rashid says the same thing virtually, merely adding that he was induced to return by hearing at each station on his retreat that the citizens had given themselves up to security. He withdrew for fifty parasangs, and then returned.[81] Liuko now definitely took the title of king of Liau-tung and adopted the style of Yuen-tung as that of his regnal years.[82]

Let us now return to Chinghiz Khân. He seems to have left his son, Jagatai, with an army in the neighbourhood of Siuan-hwa-fu, with which he captured the sub-prefectural city of Fung-shing.[83] The Mongols also secured during the year 1212 the towns of Chang-chau and Huan-chau, situated north-east of Peking.[84] When the general Hesheliei-hushahu abandoned the western capital to the Mongols he went to Yu-chau, and having taken 5,000 taels, together with many robes and other treasures from the treasury there, and also appropriated a large number of horses belonging to private people and mandarins, which he, without orders, distributed among his followers, he went on to the fortress of Tsi-king-kuan whence he went to the Nan-king or Southern capital, where the emperor instead of reproving him declared him to be one of the best generals in the army. He became elated with this, and asked for an army of 20,000 men with which to march to Siuan-ti. He was only given 3,000, and was ordered to encamp at Hoei-chuen. This is the account given by De Mailla[85] apparently from the *Kang-mu*. In the *Yuan-shi* we read that after his campaign already described, Chinghiz Khân had to meet a fresh Kin army, 300,000 strong, under Hoshele and Kiukien, called Kheshere and Giugan by Hyacinthe. The two armies met at Kuanertsui (written Tsuan-ell-tsui by Hyacinthe, and called the

[77] DeMailla, tome IX, pp. 51 and 52.
[78] Douglas, p. 66.
[79] *Yuan'ch-ao pi-shi*, p. 139; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 135; Douglas, p. 68.
[80] *Op. cit.* p. 183.
[81] Erdmann, p. 320.
[82] Douglas, p. 68.
[83] *Id.*
[84] Hyacinthe, p. 53; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 132.
[85] *Op. cit*, tome IX, pp. 48 and 49.

mountain Ye-hu, 7 or 8 leagues west or west-north-west of Siuan-hoa-fu by Gaubil), and in the subsequent fight the Kin troops fled. Following up this success Chinghiz, in the autumn of 1212, laid siege to Tai-tung-fu, the western capital, and enticed the Kin general, Gotun,[86] who had been sent to raise the siege, into the Meyu Pass,[87] where he exterminated his troops. Chinghiz now renewed the siege, but was presently wounded by an arrow from the walls in an assault in which he lost many men, and accordingly drew off his troops and withdrew northwards into Mongolia.[88] The Kin troops profited by his retreat and reoccupied Paogan, Siuan-hoa, *i.e.*, Siuan-ti-fu and Kiu-yung.[89] Douglas says they reoccupied Seuen-ping, Terhing-fu, and several fortified positions.[90] The result of the campaign was, therefore, rather a gain of prestige than of territory. The Kin troops were beaten in several important engagements. Several of their most important positions were captured, and their internal weakness was amply proved.

As Gaubil says, the order of the Mongol conquests in the years 1211 and 1212 is not the same as told in the *Tong-kien-kang-mu*, *Nien-isse*, and other histories.[91] The order of events is, therefore, in some respects conjectural, and I do not profess to have cleared up all the difficulties of the story, which is, in fact, very involved.

[86] Called O-tun by Hyacinthe.

[87] Me-gu-kheu of Hyacinthe.

[88] Douglas, pp. 67 and 68; Hyacinthe, pp. 53 and 54; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 132 and 133.

[89] Gaubil, p. 18.

[90] *Op cit.* p. 68.

[91] *Op. cit.* p. 18 note 1.

ON DR. HOERNLE'S VERSION OF A NÂSIK INSCRIPTION AND THE GÂTHÂ DIALECT.

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In the middle of 1874 I spent about six weeks in deciphering and translating the inscriptions in the caves at Nâsik, and prepared a paper and submitted it to the International Congress of Orientalists held in London in that year. The paper has been published in the *Transactions* of the Congress. The reading of those inscriptions was a work of great difficulty, since some of them are in the Pâlî or Prâkṛit dialect, and others contain a mixture of Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit. The letters, too, in several of them, are faintly cut. I could derive very little assistance from the labours of my predecessor in the field, for, except the one which is almost entirely in Sanskṛit, the inscriptions were misread by him. I could, therefore, never look upon my work as final, and was aware of its imperfections. Besides, the paper was printed in London, and as I could look over one proof only, there are a good many misprints. I have, therefore, long been thinking of revising the paper, and publishing it separately; but no opportunity has yet presented itself, and I now learn that Dr. Bühler has re-read and re-translated the inscriptions. What I have been able to do is to re-write my remarks on the relations between the Ândhrabhṛityas and the Satrap kings; and these I have embodied in a paper I have written for the *Bombay Gazetteer*. Since the time my translations appeared in the *Transactions* of the Congress, I have found one or two better readings proposed by other scholars. Similarly there is one proposed by Dr. Hoernle in his paper, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, ante pp. 27 f, to which I should attach great weight if I were to revise the paper. But that scholar has at the same time found fault with my translation of the inscription which is the subject of his paper, and which is one of the easiest in the series. He thinks I have mistranslated it. I desire therefore to discuss the matter here, so that scholars at large may be able to judge whether Dr. Hoernle has mistranslated it or I.

The inscription is No. 17 of Mr. West's series. Dr. Hoernle thinks he has discovered an important fact, viz. that the inscription is in the Gâthâ dialect. This, in my opinion, does not come to more than saying that it contains a mixture of Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit, or that there are some ungrammatical forms in the inscription. For I believe the Gâthâ dialect does not deserve to be called a dialect with distinctive characteristics. My views on it as well as on the language of these inscriptions, both of which I also consider alike, I have given in the *Wilson Lectures* which I delivered in 1877, but

which, owing to several unfortunate circumstances, I have not yet been able to publish. I quote them here from my manuscript.

"In many other ancient monuments existing in the country, we often find inscriptions which are principally in two languages, the Sanskṛit and the Pâlî or Prâkṛit, understanding by this last term a dialect derived from Sanskṛit. Those in the latter (Pâlî) are mostly connected with Buddhism, though some Buddhistic inscriptions also—such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathurâ several years ago—are in Sanskṛit. In the caves at Kâṇherî, Nâsik, Junar, Nânâghâṭ, Kârleṅ, and some other places in this Presidency and in the Bhilsâ topes, we have Pâlî or Prâkṛit inscriptions. Most of these are short, but at Nâsik we have long ones in the caves of Ushavadâta and Gotamîputra. The language of these latter is Pâlî, and but a few forms are peculiar, such as *datta* and *kita* for which the Pâlî has *diṇṇa* and *kaṭa*,—past passive participles of the roots *dâ* and *kṛi*, and *be* for the numeral 'two,' instead of the Pâlî *dve* or *duve*. In Ushavadâta's cave we have one inscription (almost) entirely in Sanskṛit, the rest are in Pâlî or Prâkṛit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskṛit words, and the conjuncts *pra*, *tra*, and *ksha* often appear. In these and the smaller inscriptions we have such words as *bâra* for *dvâra*, *bârasaka* for *vârshika*, *barisa* for *varsha*, *udisa* for *uddiśya*, while the Pâlî forms of these words are *dvâra*, *vassika*, *vassa* and *uddesetvâ*. Some of these inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pâlî could hardly have been the vernacular. It had, however, become the sacred language of the Buddhists,—the mendicant priests, for whom the caves were intended, and even educated lay members of that persuasion understood it, and hence it was used in these inscriptions as Sanskṛit was in others. The style of Gotamîputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Aśôka's edicts. And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of the kings who caused the charters to be engraved acted under the command of, *i.e.* wrote to the dictation of, "respected persons who were the compilers of all such documents." It thus appears that the Pâlî was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of other inscriptions which, like those of Gotamîputra and his son, were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons not knowing Sanskṛit or Pâlî well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of both, would confound together Sanskṛit, Pâlî and vernacular words. Even in our days we find this phenomenon in the *patrikâs* or horoscopes written by our Jośîs or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskṛit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of both, and the Sanskṛit words and forms in which are incorrectly written. And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. Unlike those of the Singalese and Burmese Buddhists these are written in Sanskṛit, but in such works as the *Lalîtavistâra*, or the Life of Buddha, we find along with prose passages in pure Sanskṛit a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskṛit. Thus, for instance, we have—

सर्वशुभकर्महेतोः फलमिदं शृणुतास्य कर्मस्य[1] ॥
पूजारहो भवितुं सर्वजगे अनुबन्धत इममनन्तयशं[2]॥

"You will here see that *Karmasya*, *jage*, and *yaśaṁ* are, as in the Pâlî, treated like nouns in *a*. *Arha* is dissolved into *araha*, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as *kileśa* for *kleśa*, *śiri*, for *śrî*, *hiri* for *hrî*, &c. But generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskṛit, and not assimilated as in the Pâlî. So also you have *chodenti*[3] for *chodayanti*, *Mâyâya*,[4] gen. sing. of *Mâyâ*, *upajanitvâ*,[5] *śuṇishyati*,[6] *nirîkshatha*,[7] imperative second pers. pl., *Śametha*[8] for *Śamayata*, &c., and even such words as *manâpa*,[9] which are Pâlî in every respect. But along with these Pâlî characteristics, there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness. For instance, the case terminations are often omitted as in *kâma sevati*[10] for *kâmaṁ sevate*, *sugata*[11] for *sugataṁ*, when governed by *pûjayitum*, *moksha bhoshyati* for *moksho bhavishyati*, &c. Such con-

[1] *Lalit. Vist.* p. 40, l. 14.
[2] *Ib.* p. 50, l. 6.
[3] *Ib.* p. 14, l. 9.
[4] *Ib.* p. 31, l. 7.
[5] *Ib.* p. 40, l. 17.
[6] *Ib.* p. 62, l. 1.
[7] *Ib.* p. 41, l. 10.
[8] *Ib.* p. 42, l. 4.
[9] *Ib.* p. 51, l. 15.
[10] *Ib.* p. 31, l. 11.
[11] p. 51, l. 10.

structions as *kshântyâ*[12] *saurabhyasampannâh* for *kshântisaurabhya*,[13] *Śîlasamâdhi tatha prajñamayam* for *Śîlasamâdhiprajñâmayam* are often to be met with."

"This language has, therefore, no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as *karma*, *jaga*, and *yaśa* above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in the Pâlî and the Prâkṛits made nouns in *a*. But *yaśas*, the original Sanskṛit form, is also used as in *kîrtiryaśaścha*,[14] and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved. Along with such a Pâlî form as *śuṇishyâti* noticed above, such a Sanskṛit one as *śṛiṇvanti*,[15] is found. It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language; but that the writers of the Gâthâs knew the spoken language or Pâlî, and that they were imperfectly acquainted with Sanskṛit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar. They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular. At the time when the Gâthâs were written, the claims of the Pâlî to be considered a separate language were probably not recognized, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men, but they knew it imperfectly, and hence produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen."

I give this rather long extract to show that in my opinion we should not in these inscriptions look for the characteristics of a settled or fixed dialect. The inscription under discussion was composed by one who wished to write Sanskṛit, but did not know the language quite in the form which was finally given to it by the great grammarians and other authors. Hence, along with Sanskṛit, we should expect to meet with a few Pâlî or vernacular forms of words. I will now proceed to consider Dr. Hoernle's translation, and his objections to mine.

In the first line occurs the compound *suvarṇadânatîrthakareṇa*, used as an epithet of Ushavadâta. I translate it, "who presented gold and constructed flights of steps." Dr. Hoernle calls this a curious juxta-position. Why, I do not know. The inscription attributes such gifts and charitable deeds to Ushavadâta as have been considered peculiarly meritorious by Hindus from that to the present day, and are laid down in works on the *Dharmaśâstra*, with certain rituals to be used in making them. The giving away of a hundred thousand cows and of villages, feeding a hundred thousand Brâhmaṇs, furnishing Brâhmaṇs with the means of marrying, and all the rest, which are credited to Ushavadâta, are such; and among the meritorious deeds of this nature is the deed of giving *suvarṇa* or gold, which is quite an independent gift. *Suvarṇadâna* is mentioned as one of the ten chief *dânas* or religious gifts, in all treatises on the subject, and among them in Hemâdri's *Dânakhaṇḍa* (p. 564-75, Ed. in Bibl. Ind.). *Tîrtha* is 'a flight of steps' to a reservoir or stream of water, and is so explained by the native lexicographers, and is used in that sense in literature. Mallinâtha, commenting on a verse in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, which contains that word, says, "as there are many people to enter a reservoir of water to which a *tîrtha* has been constructed but the maker of a *tîrtha* is rare, so, &c."[16] The making of a *tîrtha*, like that of constructing a bridge, is considered a meritorious deed. In a passage from the *Âditya-Purâṇa*, quoted by Hemâdri, in the work mentioned above, *tîrtha* is named along with *taḍâga* 'a tank,' *kûpa* 'a well,' *setu* 'a bridge,' &c., as a thing the maker of which goes to heaven and lives there for crores of years (p. 155). *Suvarṇadâna* or the gift of gold and the construction of a flight of steps or a *ghâṭ*, were the two religiously charitable deeds of Ushavadâta at Bârṇasâyâ, and therefore they are here put together. The inscription is an historical record, and not a work of imagination. If it were the latter one might well ask what is the necessary connection between them which led the author to put them together. But the muddy state of the river might have led the son-in-law of Nahapâna to construct a *ghâṭ* there, and *suvarṇadâna*, being one of the several modes of charity which Hindu opinion held sacred, was made by him there as he made other gifts in other places.

The other objection brought forward by Dr. Hoernle is that "*dânakareṇa* is, he imagines

[12] p. 41, l. 9. [13] p. 51, l. 18. [14] p. 50, l. 17. [15] p. 111, l. 7. [16] Canto II, v. 3.

a rather unidiomatic expression." I suppose he means that the use of the root *kri* with *dâna* is not sanctioned by idiom. But in Hemâdri's *Dânakhanda* we have (p. 3, v. 17), *tatkritadânavârilaharî*, "the waves of the water [poured on the occasion] of the gifts made by him"; (p. 34), *yat kanyâsu pitâ kuryât dânaṁ pûjanam archanam*, quoted from the *Brâhma Purâṇa*; (p. 90), *dânamâchamanam*, &c., *prauḍhapâdo na kurvîta*, quoted from Śâtyâyana; (p. 688), *yat kiṁchit kurute dânaṁ tadânantyâya kalpate*, extracted from the *Vahni-Purâṇa*; and (p. 996), *dânaṁ tena prakartavyam*, quoted from the *Bhavishyôttara*. In these and a variety of other instances the root *kri* is used with *dâna* and therefore my way of dissolving the compound cannot be objected to on the score of idiom.

Now Dr. Hoernle's translation of the compound which, he says, is also Dr. Bühler's, is—"gave gold to build a sacred bathing place." This destroys the religious sense of *dâna* and makes the expression *suvarṇadâna* quite useless. Certainly the other works of Ushavadâta,—the rest-houses, tanks, wells, &c.,—were not constructed or dug by him with his own hands. He paid gold or money to get them also constructed or dug. Why then should the expression *suvarṇadâna* be used here, and not in those places? And what are bathing places as different from the *ghâṭs* or flights of steps, and whence do you get them?

The next expression with my translation of which Dr. Hoernle finds fault is *chatuśâlâvasadhapratiśraya*. He thinks that one kind of building only is intended by this compound, but beyond saying that in this Dr. Bühler agrees with him, he gives no reason whatever. But *pratiśraya*, as I have stated in a note, is what in these days is called an *annasattra*, *i.e.* a house where travellers put up and are fed without charge. Dr. Hoernle calls it a rest-house. I have no objection to the word, provided he means what I mean; for Hemâdri, (p. 152), explains *pratiśraya* as *pravâsinâm âśrayaḥ*, *i.e.* a shelter-house for travellers. Again, the *Vahni-Purâṇa* as quoted by him, (p. 673) has—

प्रतिश्रयं सुविस्तीर्णं सदन्नं सुजलान्वितम् ।
दीनानाथजनार्थाय कारयित्वा गृहं शुभम् ।
निवेदयेत्पथिस्थेभ्यः शुभद्वारं मनोहरम् ॥

"Having caused to be constructed for poor and helpless persons a *pratiśraya* [in the shape of] a good house, very commodious (wide), having food and plentiful water, provided with a good door, and charming, he should dedicate it to travellers."

The establishment of such houses for poor travellers, *i.e.* the founding of *pratiśrayas*, forms an independent charitable deed of great merit (see Hemâdri, *Dân.* pp. 673-677). There is another in the shape of giving houses to poor persons (pp. 646-663). Houses so given are sometimes spoken of as *âvasathas*. Thus Vêdavyâsa, as quoted by Hemâdri (p. 646), has—

रम्यमावसथं चैव दत्वामुं लोकमाश्रितः ।

"Having given away a charming house, (*âvasatha*), he attained the other world." In the *Ânuśâsanika-parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* an account is given of several former kings having performed certain charitable deeds and obtained their fruits in the next world, and among them one is spoken of as "having given away charming houses to the twice-born and gone to heaven"—

रम्यांश्चावसथान्दत्वा द्विजेभ्यो दिवमागतः ।

Ânuś. chap. 137, v. 10, Bomb. ed.

Similarly the *Brâhmâṇḍa Purâṇa* as quoted by Hemâdri (p. 162), says that by giving away charming *âvasathas* or houses, one attains the fruit of the *Râjasûya* sacrifice. The extract from the *Mahâbhârata* given on the next page by the same writer contains a verse in which the giving away of *vihârâvasathas* or pleasure houses, is associated with the giving away of gardens and wells.

Thus then, *âvasathadâna* and *pratiśrayadâna* are two different things, and therefore the compound does not express one thing only. Now *chatuśśâla* might be taken as an attribute of *âvasatha*, but even here, seeing how gifts of different things are associated in the other compounds used in this inscription, I think it is better to take that also separately.

The next expression in dispute is *Ibâ-Pârâdâ-Damaṇa-Tâpî-Karabeṇâ-Dâhaṇukânâvâpuṇyatarakareṇa*. Dr. Hoernle takes *nâvâpuṇyatarakareṇa* as one compound, and *Ibâ—Dâhaṇukâ* as another. This last is, according to him, in the accusative case. I would ask 'What is the accusative governed by?' But this is not

a difficulty with Dr. Hoernle, for he says "the accusative is used for the locative." He thinks this is a rule of the Gâthâ dialect; and to prove that rule he adduces four instances only,—two from the *Mahâvastu* and two from the *Lalitavistâra*,—though he says this substitution of the one case for the other is "particularly frequent." I am sorry the *Mahâvastu* is not at hand, but the first reference to the *Lalitavistâra* I have verified. There the words are *yathâbhipretaṁ Râjagṛihaṁ vihṛitya*, "having diverted or enjoyed himself in Râjagraha in accordance with his wishes." Now *Râjagṛihaṁ* is, according to Dr. Hoernle, by a Gâthâ rule, an accusative used for the locative. In Sanskrit proper the accusative, he thinks, would not be put here. He appears to me to follow the Editor of the work, and since the latter professes to explain what he considers peculiar Gâthâ expressions in the footnotes, and since here in a footnote the Editor does give *Râjagṛihe* as an equivalent for *Râjagṛihaṁ*, his conclusion is that the accusative is here used for the locative. But Patañjali, the great grammarian, commenting on a *Kârikâ* to Pâṇ. I. 4. 51 says:—

देशश्चाकर्मकाणां कर्मसंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ।

i.e. the place where an action denoted by an intransitive root is performed is to be called a *karma* or object, and as such should be put in the accusative case. The instances he gives are *Kurûn svapiti*, 'he sleeps in the Kurus,' *Pañchâlân svapiti*, 'he sleeps in the Pañchâlas.' This observation of Patañjali and the first instance are given in the *Siddhânta Kaumudî*. In virtue of this rule of Sanskrit then, not of the supposed Gâthâ dialect, *Râjagṛiha*, in the passage from the *Lalitavistâra*, being the place where the action denoted by the root *hṛi* with *vi*, which is intransitive, is performed, the name of the town is regarded as an object and put in the accusative case and so we have *Râjagṛiham*. In the other reference to the *Lalitavistâra* the line mentioned is at page 476 instead of page 467. Here Dr. Hoernle has quite misunderstood the editor's note. In the text we have the compound *tvachamâṁsaṁ*. In a footnote the editor explains this as *tvaṅmâṁse*, which he must have meant for the dual nominative of the Dvandva compound of *tvach* and *mâṁsa*. But from the termination *e*, the Doctor thought the editor meant it to be a locative. The locative would make no sense here, the case wanted is the nominative. In the text, though *tvach* is treated like a noun ending in *a*, the compound is *samâhâradvandva*, as it should be according to Pâṇ. II, 4.2; but the editor seems to have thought it wrong, and so has given the ordinary Dvandva instead. Now in the two instances from the *Mahâvastu* given by Dr. Hoernle, the words in the accusative are *avîchiṁ*, which is a kind of Buddhistic hell, and *dhâraṇîṁ*, which, I suppose, is the word that signifies "the earth." If these are governed by verbs or participles implying "motion," they are regular Sanskṛit accusatives; if not, they also must be brought under the rule we have been considering. It is possible that the rule which primarily is taken by Patañjali's commentators to apply to names of places, such as Kurus, Pañchâlas, Râjagṛiha, &c. may in later usage have been extended, and made applicable to places generally, such as the earth and the Buddhistic hell; but that the accusative in these cases is to be accounted for in either of these two ways and no other, appears certain. Then again, Dr. Hoernle thinks that there are two accusative forms in this inscription itself which violating the rules of Sanskṛit grammar, prove his Gâthâ rule. One of them is *tîram* in the expression *ubhato tîram*. This, however, is in perfect accordance with the rules of Sanskṛit grammar, for, under Pâṇ. II, 3. 2, Patañjali gives a *kârikâ*, and comments on it thus:—

उभयसर्व इसेताभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यां द्वितीया वक्तव्या ।

i. e. a noun that is in syntactical connection with *ubhayataḥ* and *sarvataḥ* should be put in the accusative case: in other words, *ubhayataḥ* and *sarvataḥ* govern an accusative. The instance given by him is *ubhayato grâmam*. The *kârikâ* is given in the *Siddhânta Kaumudî*. The other accusative form relied on by Dr. Hoernle is *varshâratuṁ* in the expression *gato'smi varshâratuṁ*. This accusative is to be explained by Pâṇ. II, 3. 5, which teaches that a noun expressing duration should be put in the accusative case. The sense then would be that Ushavadâta went to the place mentioned *for* the rains. Now if it should be objected that in *gato'smi varshâratuṁ*, duration is not what is meant, but simply the time *when* he went, this might be considered to be an extension of the original Sanskṛit rule, but not a violation of it. This is what I meant by saying in a note

in my paper that *varshâratuṁ* is used for *varshâritau*.

Thus then the rule laid down by Dr. Hoernle that the accusative is promiscuously used for the locative is not at all proved; nor do I think there can be such a rule. There may be an extension in a few cases of some of the special rules about the use of the accusative, as must be expected from the operation of the law of analogy[17] but a promiscuous substitution of the one case for the other is not possible under any ascertained laws of the growth of human speech. In the case in dispute, therefore, the supposed accusative *Ibâ—Dâhaṇukâ* must be justified on other grounds. It should be stated what it is governed by. An accusative must be governed by a verb, a participle, a preposition or a particle of that nature, and if it is an accusative expressive of length, distance, or duration, it must depend on the word, the length, distance or duration of the thing denoted by which it expresses. None of these requisites exists in the present case, and therefore to take *Ibâ—Dahâṇukâ* as an accusative is clearly a mistake.

So then, if we take *nâvâ* to be the Pâlî form of the Sanskrit *nau*, we shall have to consider the whole expression given above as one compound, and there is no question the compound would be awkward and unintelligible; while if we take *nâvâ* as an instrumental, and *Ibâ—Dâhaṇukâ* as a compound with the genitive termination *nâṁ* omitted by mistake, the construction is natural and simple, and the sense plain. Besides, if the names of the rivers are to be taken as parts of the compound, and consequently attributively joined to the word *tara*, and thus subordinated to it, they cannot be referred to by the pronoun *etâsâṁ* immediately afterwards. And since the rivers are independently spoken of by the genitive *etâsâṁ*, it is very likely that their names were independently put in the genitive case before. And the omission of *nâṁ* is very natural; for the engraver did actually cut one *nâ* in the stone, and thought he had cut both. Dr. Hoernle translates the expression *nâvâpuṇyatarakara* by "maker of a sacred ferry of boats." He thus takes the first part as a genitive Tatpurusha equivalent to *nâvânâṁ puṇyataraḥ* (supposing *nâvâ* to be a word ending in *â*). Now *taraḥ* means "crossing," wherefore the compound would express "the sacred crossing of boats." This to my mind conveys no sense. *Tara* has hardly a conventional (*rûḍha*) sense as distinguished from the etymological (*yaugika*). And even supposing it denotes "a boat," which it does not, what can "the sacred boat of boats," mean? And why should the ferry-boats be called sacred? Dr. Hoernle says, because "they were set apart for a special sacred purpose, viz. to carry pilgrims across." But what is the necessity of restricting the good done by Ushavadâta to pilgrims? Ferry-boats are a necessity in the case of all, just as water is, and as an establishment for giving water is opened by charitable persons for all human beings, so are ferry-boats placed for the use of all. There is no ground whatever for supposing that their use was so restricted, nor is it reasonable to suppose it was. But Dr. Hoernle's objection to the interpretation of *puṇya* as "religiously meritorious," is that the establishment of boats is "no more so than the other acts specified in the record." The objection has force no doubt, and therefore I would divide and read the words thus *nâvâ apaṇyatarakareṇa*. *Paṇya* is used in the sense of something one has to pay in exchange for what he purchases[18]; and *tarapaṇya* is a word given by the native lexicographers in the sense of what is paid for being taken across a river, *i.e.* the fare of a ferry-boat. *Apaṇyatara*, therefore, is a *tara* or crossing for which one has not to pay anything, *i.e.* a free carriage across; and that is what Ushavadâta provided by placing boats on the rivers. The translation of the whole expression therefore is *lit.* "who by means of boats caused a free passage across the rivers Ibâ, &c.," *i.e.* "who established free or charitable ferry-boats." This is the sense of the words I have used in the translation of the inscription in my paper, though I do not now remember whether I read and construed the compound as I do now, and cannot understand how there is no note on it, and how the translation of a few words in this line has dropped away, as Dr. Hoernle points out. The sense this construction gives appears to me to be so appropriate, that here again I must accuse

[17] Hemachandra notices such an extension in his Prâkrit grammar.

[18] महता पुण्यपण्येन क्रीतेयं कायनौस्त्वया *i.e.*, "You have purchased this boat of your body by paying a heavy price for it in the shape of good deeds."

the engraver of a mistake. Instead of stopping after he had cut a square with the upper line wanting, to represent *pa*, he prolonged the right hand side below the line and made *pu* of it. He was more familiar with the word *puṇya* than *paṇya*, and had to engrave it once before, and hence his mistake is not unnatural.

In the transcript of the inscription in my paper *ya* appears in brackets after *ubhato*. Thereupon Dr. Hoernle thinks I read *ubhaya* for *ubhato* and construe *ubhayatîraṁ* as a compound. But if taken as a compound it would have to be considered as in the accusative case. The accusative, however, cannot be syntactically connected here. I do not think it was difficult to make out that what I meant was to give the correct Sanskṛit form of the word, which is *ubhayato* and not *ubhato*, and that the bracketed *ya* was printed after *to* instead of between *bha* and *to* by a mistake.

The next expression is *sabhâ-prapâ-kareṇa*. Dr. Bühler and I understand *sabhâ-prapâ* as a Dvandva, but Dr. Hoernle thinks "the compound may be explained *much more* simply as a common Tatpurusha," and takes it to be a dative Tatpurusha. Why is a dative Tatpurusha much more simple than a Dvandva? On the contrary, I should think it one of the most difficult, since Pâṇini and his commentators allow it only in a few cases. A dative Tatpurusha is possible only between two nouns, the first of which, having the sense of the dative, denotes a certain material, and the second a thing made of that material, and between any noun in the dative sense and *artha*, *bali*, *hita*, or *rakshita*.

It is wrong to suppose that we can compound any words in any sense. The Sanskṛit idiom sanctions certain compounds only, and in a certain sense, and rules about these have been given by the grammarians, and they are generally followed by Sanskṛit writers, though not invariably. A compound that violates the rules strikes the ear at once as bad. You cannot, for instance, form such a compound as *Brâhmaṇapayaḥ* in the sense of *Brâhmaṇâya payaḥ*; and no more can you have *sabhâprapâḥ* in the sense of *sabhâyai* or *sabhâbhyaḥ prapâḥ*. Both the compounds would be quite unidiomatic. And what is the sense that we get? Ushavadâta constructed "watering places for the assemblies, *i.e.* for those assembled to cross over the rivers." Why need persons assemble in numbers to cross a river, and even if they did, who would think of calling them a *sabhâ*, except metaphorically? A *sabhâ* is much more formal than that. The word has the sense of "a regular assembly," or "a meeting," with a certain purpose. A crowd of persons who have casually gathered on the road do not constitute a *sabhâ*. The word denotes also "a hall," or "a house." The first sense does not answer here, but the second is appropriate.

The clause to be next discussed is the one beginning with *piṁḍitakâvaḍe*, and ending with *parshabhyaḥ*. Dr. Hoernle translates *Râmatîrthe charakaparshabhyaḥ* by "the Parshads (or congregations) going to Râmatîrtha." He takes *charaka* as a verbal derivative like *kâraka* and *hâraka*, since he understands it in its etymological sense, and attaches to the root its primary signification, viz. to "move or wander." But if it is used as a verbal derivative, the vowel should have taken *vṛiddhi* and the word become *châraka*. *Charaka*, therefore, has a special sense, and I believe is never used simply in the sense of "one who moves." In the quotation from the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* given by Böhtlingk and Roth in their *Lexicon*, *sub voce*, which is *Madreshu charakâḥ paryavrajâma*, the word *charaka* is explained by Śaṁkarâchârya and others as *adhyayanârthaṁ vrata-charaṇâch charakâḥ*, *i.e.* "they were called *Charakas*, because they were observing (*char*) a vow for the sake of study"; and the very use of the verb *paryavrajâma*, which means 'we wandered,' shows that *charaka* had even then acquired a secondary and conventional (*rûḍha*) sense. It has other special senses also, but the word I maintain is not used in the primary and etymological sense attached to it by the Doctor. Besides, the compound is by no means good, since the word *charaka* which has been subordinated to *parshad*, is what is called *sâpeksha*, *i.e.* connected with the word *Râmatîrthe*, which is not in the compound. A subordinate member of a compound should not, as a general rule, be thus connected with an independent word, though a *sâpeksha* compound is allowable when the sense is not rendered obscure thereby. *Ṛiddhasya râjapurushaḥ*, for instance, in which *râja* is connected with *ṛiddhasya* will not do, though *Devadattasya gurukulam* is admissible.

Dr. Hoernle here says that "in Sanskṛit we

should expect the accusative *Râmatîrthaṁ,*" instead of the locative *Râmatîrthe*, which he accounts for by a Prâkṛit usage; *i. e.,* according to him the rules of Sanskṛit grammar require that the expression should be *Râmatîrthaṁ Charakaparshadbhyaḥ*. I suppose he means that the accusative will be governed by the word *charaka*. Here there is a double mistake. When a verbal or participial form of the root *char* is used in the primary sense of the root, viz. "wandering," the place wandered over is oftener put in the locative than in the accusative.[19] So that the locative is not only not wrong according to the idiom of Sanskṛit, but is decidedly better. But even if we suppose that the "place wandered over" is always considered as the object of the action, and put in the accusative, as in the case of the root *gam*, still by a general and very rudimentary rule of Sanskṛit grammar, the agent or object of an action is put in the genitive case when any verbal derivatives are used (Pâṇ. II, 3.65), except those enumerated in Pâṇ. II, 3.69. Thus *ghaṭaṁ kârakaḥ* is certainly not Sanskṛit, and so *Râmatîrthaṁ charakaḥ* cannot be. They ought to be *ghaṭasya kârakaḥ* and *Râmatîrthasya charakaḥ*, supposing this latter word were unobjectionable in other respects, as it certainly is not. And now as to the sense of the expression. Why should "going to Râmatîrtha" have been rendered a *sine quâ non* of the recipients of Ushavadâta's gift? The congregations resided in Govardhana, Śôrparaga, and other places. Why should it have been considered necessary that they should 'be in the habit' of going to Râmatîrtha to be fit to receive the cocoanut trees? Thus, in every way Dr. Hoernle's construction and translation are untenable.

I still think *charaka* is a mistake for *charaṇa*; for then the expression *charaṇaparshadbhyaḥ* would mean "to the conclaves of learned men belonging to the several *charaṇas* or bodies of students of each *Vêda* or *Śâkhâ*." But *Charaka* also will make sense, though it is not so appropriate; for it would mean "the bodies of persons who had undertaken certain vows," or "of persons belonging to the *Charaka śâkhâ*." In the last case the sense is restricted, and in the other I do not understand why the observers of the vows meant should be spoken of as forming a *parshad* which is rather a technical term as applicable to the learned leaders of a *śâkhâ*.

Then Dr. Hoernle sees no reason why Dr. Stevenson and I should read *parshadbhyaḥ* instead of *parshabhyaḥ*. For myself I may state that I visited the caves in person, and compared Mr. West's transcripts with the originals. On looking into my copy of the transcripts I now find *bhyaḥ* corrected to *dbhyaḥ*, though there is a mark of interrogation against this. I am not sure therefore that *dbhyaḥ* exists there, but I thought I saw it, and hence put it in.

Again, the Doctor says:—"the word *nâḷigera* has greatly puzzled Dr. Stevenson and Prof. Bhandarkar." Though his identification of the word with the Sanskṛit *nârîkela* is not improbable, so far as the sound of the word is concerned, I must confess I still continue to be greatly puzzled. For, if Ushavadâta presented thirty-two cocoanut trees in the village of Nânaṁgola, this village must be on or near the sea coast, for cocoanut trees do not grow above the Ghâṭs. But among the grantees was the body of the learned Brâhmaṇs of Govardhana near Nâsik, and it was one of the four congregations at least to whom the thirty-two trees were given, so that about eight must have fallen to its lot. Now the presentation of eight cocoanut-trees at a place more than sixty miles distant from where the persons to whom they were presented lived, and separated from it by a high mountain range, is a thing of a very unusual character. The Brâhmaṇs of Govardhana would have preferred some other trees or something else nearer home, if Ushavadâta really wished to confer a favour upon them. And if the Govardhana conclave consisted of several individuals, the grant was of hardly any practical value to any one of them. And what could be the reason why *thirty-two cocoanut trees* in one and the same village were given to bodies of men living in different places?

Dr. Hoernle thinks it objectionable to take *dharmâtmanâ* as an epithet of Ushavadâta in the sense of "benevolent," or "charitable," and translates it "out of religious principle." In Sanskṛit usage *dharmâtman* is always used as an epithet of a person, and taken as a Bahuvrîhi in

[19] See अरण्ये चचार *Ait. Brah.* VII, 14 & 15, and the many quotations given by B. and R. in the *Lexicon*, *sub voce*.

the sense of *dharmaḥ âtmâ yasya*, *i.e.* "one whose very self, or soul, or nature, is charity or benevolence, or virtue."[20] In our modern vernaculars also, the word is used in that sense. If understood as *dharma'śchâsau âtmâ cha*, *i.e.* as a *karmadhâraya*, it would mean by (his) self or nature, viz. benevolence, &c., which comes to the same thing as before, though the compound and its use would be unidiomatic. If taken as a genitive Tatpurusha, '*dharmasya âtmâ*,' the sense would be "by the nature or self of benevolence &c." In this sense it would not do here at all; for Ushavadâta gave away what he did because benevolence was *his* nature, not on account of *the nature of* benevolence, which would be unintelligible. Dr. Hoernle is "inclined to think that it is probably a Buddhistic technical term"; but he gives no reason for this. I wish he had given one instance at least. He says *dharmâtmanâ* is very widely separated from Ushavadâta, whose epithet it is taken to be. The same objection might be brought against the epithet that immediately precedes, viz. °*sahasrapradena*; but notwithstanding that, Dr. Hoernle himself construes it with Ushavadâta. The thing is, after the word Ushavadâta, you have in the inscription nothing but a string of epithets, and *dharmâtmanâ* is the last of them. Between this and the preceding epithet you have only the name of the place where the monastery was excavated, so that really the epithet in question is not far removed. The other objection is, that the word occurs in another inscription (West's No. 11, not 4), where the Doctor thinks it impossible to construe it with the person named. To be able to construe it with the person, I have taken the word to be *dhaṁmâtmano*,—led to it by some stroke above the *nâ*. But if that reading is not allowable, we should complete the first sentence with *Indrâgnidatasa*, and translate:—"Of Indrâgnidatta, the Northerner &c." *i.e.* after the genitive some such word as *dânaṁ* or *deyadhammo*, should be understood, as it has to be done frequently.[21] The second sentence begins with *dhaṁmâtmanâ*, and the instrumental is to be connected with *khânitaṁ*, the sense being "this cave was caused to be excavated by the pious one."

Then Dr. Hoernle speaks of my reading of two words in the last line, *Bhaṭṭârakâ âññatiyâ*, and thinks the final *â* of *Bhaṭṭarakâ* is unintelligible. But it exists in the original notwithstanding. The initial *â* of the next word is that which is written below the line. I transferred it to its proper place, taking it to be a correction, as Dr. Bühler does. Dr. Hoernle and he, however, read it as *a*, but in my corrected copy of Mr. West's transcript I find *â*, and there is no query after it as in the case of *parshadbhyah* noticed above, and that it must be *â* I will show presently. Dr. Hoernle thinks that the *a* below the line is meant to indicate the division of the compound. Why was that considered necessary here and not in *gatosmi*, which occurs immediately afterwards and in *chatuśâlâvasadha*, which we have in the second line? It appears to me that the engraver first cut the words *Bhaṭṭârakâñâtiyâ*, and somebody afterwards found that it was capable of being taken as *Bhaṭṭâraka añâtiyâ*, equivalent to Bhaṭṭâraka *ajñaptyâ*, meaning "without the knowledge of the lord," but that was not what was meant. What was intended was *Bhaṭṭâraka âñâtiyâ* for *Bhaṭṭâraka âjñaptyâ*, *i.e.* "by the command of the lord"; and in order that there might be no mistake about it, he thought the best way was to separate the words, as he had done in the case of *taḍâga udapâna* in the second line, and put in the initial *â* which was so important. After he had done that, it was necessary to obliterate the stroke representing *â* in the last syllable of *Bhaṭṭârakâ*, but as this was difficult he did not attempt it.

Now as to the gap between *Mâlaye* and *Hirudhaṁ*, I thought I saw some letters like *sâyiṁ* in it when I visited the caves, and therefore it did not occur to me to say the gap contained nothing, and to connect *hi* with *Mâlaye*. Dr. Hoernle's reading *Mâlayehiṁ* is however very likely and good, and I feel no hesitation in saying so, as I have felt none in expressing my disagreement with him on every other point except, to a certain extent, the identification of *nâḷîgera* with *nârîkela*, and in pointing out his mistakes.

Poona, 14*th March* 1883.

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[20] See the references *sub voce* in B. and R.'s *Lexicon*; and *Mahâbhârata* Ânuśanika, Bomb. Ed., chap. 139, v. 10, *Dharmâtmâ Kṛishna*; chap. 140, v. 2, *dharmâtmâ vṛishabhâṅkaḥ*; chap. 142, v. 39, *dîkshâṁ charati dharmâtmâ*, *ib.*, v. 57, *sukhaṁ vasati dharmâtmâ*; chap. 143, v. 45, *vipro bhavati dharmâtmâ* &c. &c.

[21] See No. 10 Karleṅ, and No. 21 Junar, ***Arch. Sur. W. India***,—*Cave Temple Inscriptions* No. 10; ***Bhilsa Topes*** Nos. 103, 136, 147, 174, No. 1 Tope &c.

THE FIRST PLATE OF A VALABHÎ GRANT OF UNKNOWN DATE.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined incomplete Valabhî grant has been edited from a paper-cast which I owe to the kindness of Professor Bühler, to whom it was sent by Râo Bahâdur Gopâljî S. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector of Kâṭhiâvâḍ. The plate from which the cast is taken was found at Gopnâth, and measures 14 by 10 inches. To judge from the facsimile, the preservation of the plate is not particularly good, and the letters of the first and last line and at both ends of most other lines are somewhat damaged.

The grant is dated from Valabhî. Like other Valabhî grants, this one must have originally consisted of two plates. The second plate, which was fastened to the first by two rings as the holes at the base of the latter prove, has been lost, and together with it the date and the names of the donor, the grantee, and the object granted. By comparing the preserved first plate with the first plates of other Valabhî grants already published, it will be possible to fix its date within certain limits. Our first plate contains the usual *vaṁśâvali* of the later Valabhî kings from Guhasena downwards, and breaks off in the description of Dharasena III, of which about one line must have been engraved on the lost plate. The grant cannot belong to one of the sons of Derabhaṭa, as the first plate of the grant of Kharagraha II. dated Val. S. 337,[1] bring the *vaṁśâvalî* down to Dharasena IV. Thus it must have been issued by either Dharasena III, or Dhruvasena II., or Dharasena IV. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the first plates of the grant of Dhruvasena II, dated Val. S. 310 and of the grant of Dharasena IV. dated Val. S. 330[2] break off almost at the same point as our first plate, while the first plate of another grant of Dharasena IV, dated Val. S. 326[3] comprises about two and a half lines more of the *vaṁśâvalî*.

The characters perfectly resemble those of the published grants of Dhruvasena II. and Dharasena IV. It deserves notice that the superscribed *repha* (ᅮ) at the beginning of a group of consonants is placed at the right side of the group if there was no room left for it at the top;[4] in धनुर्द्धरः, l. 10, and सर्व्वविद्या°, l. 14. For the same reason the secondary form of the vowel *i* (ि) has once been placed at the right side of a group, in °बुद्धि°, l. 6.

Transcript.

[1] ओं स्वस्त वलभतः प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा मत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभागससक्तप्रहारशतलब्ध-

[2] प्रतापात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहे-

[3] श्वरश्रीभटार्क्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवँशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृ-
ति खड्गद्विती-

[4] यबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपा-

[5] दनख[र]श्मिसँहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्थराजशब्दो रूपका-
न्तिस्थैर्य्यगा-

[6] [म्भी]र्य्यबुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपर-
तया तृ-

[7] णवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलप्रर्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितवद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभु-

[1] Edited by Professor Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 76.

[2] Edited by Professor Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 12, and vol. VII, p. 73.

[3] Edited by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I, page 14.

[4] The modern Telugu alphabet has gone one step further by placing the *repha* behind the group before which it is pronounced.

Line 1, Read ओं स्वस्ति वलभीतः, °मित्राणां मैत्र°, and °मण्डलाभोगसंसक्त°.—L. 2, the second â of °नुरागा° and the *au* of °मौल° obliterated.—L. 3, â of °वंशान् obliterated.—L. 4, â of °प्रकाशित° faint; read °निकषस्तत्प्र°.—L. 7, read °फलः प्रार्थना° and °विद्वत्°.

[8] वन[म]ण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादनख[म]यूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवी-
[9] जलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकै-
[10] [र्गुणै]स्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदाया-
[11] नामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरकाधिवासस्य सँहताराातिपक्षलक्ष्मीप-
[12] रिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमापसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः
[13] सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्र-
[14] द्यतिभासुरतरान्सपीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि
[15] सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः सम[ग्र]लोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशय-
[16] सुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृ[त]युगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधो-
[17] ज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानरूढ**धर्म्मादित्य**द्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्या**नुजः
[18] तत्पदानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी स्कन्धासक्तां पर-
[19] मभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्प-
[20] द्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमे-
[21] कां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितिप्रति[क्रि]योपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगु-
[22] णसँहति प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्न्नीचजनाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्न[त] हृदयः प्रख्यात-
[23] पौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशय गणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्रहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसख्याधिग-
[24] मः परममाहेश्वरः **श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य** तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जन-
[25] मनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वसम्पदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुसन्धानाशमाहिताराातिपक्षमनो-
[26] [र]थाक्षभङ्गः सम्य[गुप]लक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्र[कृ]र[तिकृ]-
[27] [त्रि]मप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतयपताकाहरण[प्रत्य]लोदग्रबाहुदण्डवि[ध्वन्सि]त[नि]खि[ल]-

L. 8, मो of °प्रमोदः obliterated.—L. 11, *anusvâra* of उपप्लवानां very faint; read °रेकाधिवासस्य.—L. 12, read विक्रमोपसंप्राप्त°.—L. 14, read °द्युतिभासुरतरांस°; °भासुरतरन्सा° looks like °भासुरेतरान्स°.—L. 17, read °निरूढ° and °तस्यानुजस्तत्पादा°.—L. 18, read राज्यलक्ष्मीं.—L. 19, read तदाज्ञा and खेट°. L. 21, read °सादित°.—L. 22, read °संहतिः. L. 23, read °तिशयो and °संख्या°.—L. 25, a dot stands over the line between नू and स of विगतानुसन्धाना°. All the facsimiles of the earlier grants read विगतानुसंधानाशमाहिताराति°. Later on this *lectio doctior* was changed into °संधानासमा° (Grant of Śilâditya III., *Ind. Ant.* vol. V., p. 207) and °संधानसमा° (Grants of Śilâditya V. and VI., *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 16, and vol. VII, p. 79).—L. 26, f. read परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिम°.—Line 27, Most letters obliterated read °समरशतजय and °विध्वंसित°.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF TRIVIKRAMA.

SIR,—In Mr. Pâṭhak's interesting paper on Pûjyapâda, *ante* p. 21, occurs the following statement: "Trivikrama; Śaka 800 (A Prâkṛit grammar)." Would Mr. Pâṭhak be so good as to inform us, (1) Whether this Trivikrama is the same as that mentioned by Prof. Pischel as posterior to Hemachandra (see his edition of Hemachandra, preface, p. vi, and *Dissertatio Inauguralis*, p. 8)? (2) If so, what grounds has Mr. Pâṭhak for placing Trivikrama in Śaka 800? (3) Does "Śaka 800" mean that Trivikrama lived in the 8th century of the Śaka era, or that he wrote his grammar in that particular year (*i.e.* the year 800 of the Śaka era)? (4) Where does Trivikrama mention Pûjyapâda? Will Mr. Paṭhak quote the work and the passage where the mention occurs?

3rd February, 1883. R. H.

A short reply to Dr. H.'s queries.

(1) As I have no copy of Prof. Pischel's *Hêmachandra*, I am not in a position to answer this query. (2) My opinion as to the date of Trivikrama is based on the *praśastis* of the *Âdipurâṇa*, the *Uttarapurâṇa*, and Trivikrama's grammar. (3) The statement referred to means that Trivikrama was a contemporary of the Râshṭrakûṭa emperor Amôghavarsha I. and his son. (4) In the first *pâda* of the first *adhyâya*, we read कौमार जैनेंद्र पांणिनीयादि व्याकरणेषु यथोक्तं तथैव व्य(वे)दितव्यं Here the mention of the *Jainêndram* is equivalent to the mention of Pûjyapâda, according to *Vṛittaviḷâsa*.

Belgaum High School. K. B. P.

ÂWÂN, A DERIVATION.

The Âwâns are a Muḥammadan tribe in the Râwal Piṇḍî District. The name is variously spelt in Panjâbî, Awâṇ, Uâṇ and Âwâṇ. General Cunningham (see *ante*, vol. X, p. 244, and *Proc. A. S. B.* 1881, p. 50), wishes to identify them with the Jodhs of Bâbar, but Colonel Johnstone has shown that the Jodhs are a part of the Muḥammadan Râjpût tribe of Janjûâs in the Râwal Piṇḍî District. (See Sherring's *Hindû Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, p. 69). Whoever they may be, it is more than probable that they are aboriginal Panjâbîs, converted to Islâm like their neighbours the Gakhars, Dhûnds, Satîs, &c. Like the other tribes they give themselves a fanciful Muḥammadan origin, and say they are descended from the persons who had charge of Maḥmûd of Ghaznî's camp. (See *Calcutta Review*, vol. CL, pp. 272-275). In accordance with this view the derivation of their name is thus given. In Persian *aiwân* means primarily a portico, verandah, gallery, balcony: and thence a palace, or more properly the women's part of the palace and grounds attached; thence the women's part of a royal camp, a long or large tent. The Âwâns and their neighbours say that their ancestors accompanied Maḥmûd's camp and settled in the Râwal Piṇḍî District, and thus got the name *aiwân*, camp-men. It is pretty obvious, that there is no historical foundation for this derivation of the name, but as these native derivations are often seriously received as true, it is just as well to record them if only to show their improbability.

R. C. TEMPLE.

RÂJAPITÂMAHA—THE SÎLÂRA TITLE.

Râjapitâmaha, which literally means 'Grandfather of kings,' occurs along with their other titles in three copperplates of the Sîlâras.[1] Mr. Wathen who translated one of these suggested 'Like a Brahmadêva among kings' as the meaning of the title; Mr. K. T. Telang who translated another, rendered it as 'the grandfather of the king,' but observed:—'May रायपितामह, then mean "like a Brahmadeva among kings"—"first among kings"?

I think the following passage from the *Kumârapâla Charita* leaves no doubt that the literal meaning of राजपितामह is the meaning intended:—

अथान्यदा श्री चौलुक्यचक्रवर्त्ती सर्वावसरे स्थितः कोंकणदेशीयस्य मल्लिकार्जुनस्य राज्ञो मागधेन राजपितामहेति बिरुदमभिधीयमानमशृणोत्. यथा

जित्वा प्राग् निखिलानिलापतिवरान् दुर्वारदोर्वीर्यतः
कृत्वा चात्मवशंवदानविरतं तान्पौत्रवत्सर्वदा ।
धत्ते राजपितामहेति बिरुदं यो विश्वविश्वश्रुतं
सोयं राजति मल्लिकार्जुननृपः कोदण्डविद्यार्जुनः ॥

'One day, while the Chaulukya universal ruler (*Kumârapâla*) was sitting at ease, he heard a bard pronounce "*Râjapitâmaha*" as the title of Mallikârjuna, king of the Konkaṇa (*in the verse*), 'Thus shines king Mallikârjuna, (*like*) Arjuna in wielding the bow, who bears the title *Râjapitâmaha*, heard from universe to universe, having conquered all great kings by the irresistible might of his arms and made them obedient to himself *like grandsons*.'

Mallikârjuna, so far as is hitherto known, was the seventeenth king of the North Konkaṇa Sîlâra dynasty, and two of his grants are recorded on stones found at Chiplun in the Ratnâgiri zilla, and Bassein in the Ṭhâṇa zilla, which bear date respectively Śaka 1078 and 1082.[2] Mallikârjuna's defeat by Âmbada the general of Kumârapâla, (Śaka 1065-1096) is noticed by K. Forbes,[3] and a pretty long account of it is given in the *Charita*. RATIRÂM DURGÂRÂM DAVÊ.

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 359; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [O. S.] vol. V, p. 186; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, pp. 35, 38.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XIII, p. 426.

[3] *Râs Mâla*, (New Ed.), p. 145.

THE DHINIKI GRANT OF KING JÂIKADEVA, TOGETHER WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE VIKRAMA, VALABHÎ AND GUPTA ERAS.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

I.—THE GRANT OF JÂIKADEVA.

THE subjoined grant of Jâikadeva, lord of Saurâshṭra, was dug up during the famine relief operations of 1879-80 in the Undke talâo, a tank situated a mile to the north-east of the present village of Dhiniki,[1] but close to the ruins of old Dhiniki, in the Okhâmaṇḍal district of the Kâṭhiâvâḍ peninsula. It was subsequently, in 1881, brought to the notice of my friend Colonel Watson, President of the Râjasthânik Court, by Âjam Vajeshankar G. Ozhâ of Bhaunagar, who furnished to the former a paper impression of the plates. About the same time another rubbing was sent to me by the Deputy Educational Inspector of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, Râo Bahâdur Gopâlji S. Desai. On my communicating with Colonel Watson regarding the document, I received from him successively another rubbing, a photograph, and finally the original plates themselves, as well as numerous important notes on the historical and geographical questions connected with the grant. Colonel Watson also generously relinquished his intention of editing the grant and made over to me, when he learnt I was anxious to publish the grant, a valuable manuscript article which he had already written.

The grant is written on the inner sides of two plates, measuring 9¾ inches by 5, the thinnest and smallest I have ever seen used for a śâsana by a ruler of Western India. A small hole through the bottom of the first and the top of the second, shows that they were originally held together by a ring. It is doubtful if the ring bore a seal, because the cognizance of the king, a fish, is engraved at the bottom of Plate II. The preservation of the plates is very good, in spite of the muddy bed in which they must have lain for a long time. Only very few letters in line 2 of Plate I and in the first five lines of Plate II, have been partly destroyed by verdigris. Nevertheless the grant is difficult to read, and some of the names contained in it remain either very doubtful or absolutely undecipherable. One cause of this fact is the extreme slovenliness of the execution. A great many letters have been formed inaccurately and carelessly, and some have not even been finished. In a few cases the punch has also completely gone through the thin sheet of copper. It is perfectly clear that the kansâr who transferred the grant to the plates, must have been unskilled and unaccustomed to delicate work. Another circumstance which contributes to the difficulty of the document is that the clerk or Kârkûn who wrote the MS. copy must have been careless or in a hurry. This is shown by the displacement of the *mâtras*, or *e* strokes, which, as often happens in modern official documents, repeatedly stand over the wrong syllables, *e. g.* in *vude* for *vêda* (I. 6), *likhyenta* for *likhyante* (I. 10), and by the omission of many superscribed *rephas* and *anusvâras*.[2] The alphabet used is the literary alphabet of Western and, probably also, of Central India, which first occurs in the royal sign manual of the Gurjara grants of the 5th century A.D. A few years ago most epigraphists would have unhesitatingly condemned the Dhiniki śâsana, on account of the modern appearance of its characters, as a forgery of the 11th or 12th century. Now that Professor Max Müller's great discovery of the old palm leaves from Japan, the Valabhî plates of Śîlâditya II, dated Saṁ. 352,[3] and the excellent facsimile of Dantidurga-Khaḍgâvaloka's Sâmangaḍh plates, dated 675[4] are before the public, it is no longer possible to fall into such an error. On the contrary, it must be conceded that an alphabet closely resembling the modern Dêvanâgarî was in general use certainly during the 7th and 8th centuries, and probably at a much earlier date. Though it would seem that this alphabet was regularly used for literary purposes only, it cannot be denied that it sometimes was employed for śâsanas also. In order to test a new grant which shows not the archaic "cave characters," but a more modern looking

[1] The village is called Dhingi in the old maps, Dhaniki on the Trig. Surv. map, and bears also the names Dhinki and Dhanikâ. It lies south-east of Dvârkâ and close to the sea.

[2] Compare in these respects the Lûṇâvâḍâ plates of Śîlâditya V, *Ind. Ant* vol. VI, p. 17, seqq. and my Râṭhor grant, No. IV, to be published shortly in this Journal.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 305 f.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, pp. 110-112.

alphabet, it is only necessary carefully to compare it with the undoubtedly genuine śâsanas of the same period, which show the literary alphabet. If we apply these principles to the Dhiniki grant, which is dated Vikrama saṁvat 794 or A.D. 738, the undoubtedly genuine grant in the literary alphabet which comes nearest to it in point of age is Dantidurga's śâsana of Śaka saṁvat 675 or A.D. 753 (the Sâmangaḍh plates). If due allowance is made for the difference in the size of the letters and the careless execution of the Dhiniki plates, the characters of the two documents are almost identical. The only real differences which I can find occur in the shape of the letters *ṭa* and *tha*. In the Dhiniki grant the *ṭa* in *âghâṭâ* (I. 9) has the older round form with a horizontal top-stroke to the right of the letter, but twice in *ghâṭâ* (II. 1) and *mahâkshapaṭaliku* (II. 6), the modern Dêvanâgarî form ट. As regards the *tha*, it has once, in *karaṇâtha* (I. 9), the older form [illegible], and once in *paripaṁthanîyaḥ* a very peculiar shape ч, which possibly may be intended for the modern थ, though it is not impossible that it is merely owing to a blunder of the unskilled Kansâr. However that may be, these peculiarities cannot be used as arguments against the genuineness of the grant. They are merely instances of the rule to which I have repeatedly called attention, that in Indian epigraphy those forms which are constant in the later documents, occur sporadically in the earlier ones. The truth of this assertion for the case of the form ट *ṭa* is proved by the fact that my unpublished Râṭhor grant of Dhruvarâja, Akâlavarsha of Bharoch, dated Śaka saṁvat 789 or A.D. 867 shows *no other form* of *ṭa* but ट.

The language of the Dhiniki śâsana is not quite grammatical Sanskṛit, interspersed with a few Prakṛit forms and words, *e.g.*, *apechhya* (I. 6) for *apekshya* and the Gujarâtî *dhârâ* (I. 11-12), instead of *pâda*, "a hill-spur." Its wording differs considerably from that usually adopted by the rulers of Gujarât. For it begins with the date, gives no particulars of the donor's and the donee's families, and its chief portion (I. 1-9,) consists of a single sentence. As regards the first and second points, the published grants of Bhîmadeva I. and Vîsaladeva,[5] and some other unpublished Gujarât inscriptions furnish analogies. With respect to the third point, I am not able to adduce instances from Western India. But a good many grants from other parts of India, *e. g.*, the ancient Kadamba śâsanas[6] published by Mr. Fleet, especially Nos. I, III, VI, and VII, likewise omit the usual phrases *âjñâpayati*, *saṁbodhayati* or *anudarśayati*, *astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ mayâ* &c., and contain in their stead the simple *dattavân*. Some other minor peculiarities, such as the constant use of the word *nâman* after proper names (I. 7; II. 1, 6), the omission of the syllable *sa* in the compound *muntalla-(mudgala)-gotrâya*, the use of the verse *mayi râjñi vyatikrânte*, &c., of a *maṅgala* at the end of the inscription instead of the repetition of the donor's name are likewise not usual in Gujarât grants, but common enough on the śâsanas issued by kings of various other districts.[7] It appears, therefore, that the official who composed the text of the Dhiniki grant did not use one of the old forms current in Gujarât, but, for some reason or other, invented a new one, which, however, does not depart from the general traditions regulating the formalities to be observed in royal edicts.

The donor of the Dhiniki grant is the illustrious Jâikadeva, the lord of the province of Saurâshṭra, who assumes the proud titles *paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *parameśvara*, and thus claims to be an independent ruler, not owing allegiance to anybody. His capital was Bhûmilikâ, and his cognizance a fish. The name and the fish emblem connect him, it would seem, with Jâîka[8] the donor of the Morbî grant, and the fact that he held court in Bhûmilikâ indicates that he belonged to the Jeṭhvâs, one of the ancient Râjput clans, whose present representatives are the Râṇâs of Porbandar. For the word Bhûmilikâ exactly corresponds to the modern Bhûmlî or Bhûmbhlî. Though the map of Kâṭhiâvâḍ shows several towns and villages of

[5] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 193-210.
[6] *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX, pp. 235-249.
[7] See *e.g.* Dr. F. E. Hall's Chedi grant, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. XXXI, p. 120, l. 11; p. 122, vs. 41; the Kadamba grants and the Sâmangaḍh plates referred to above.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 257, Professor Bhâṇḍârkar reads Jâiṁka. But I think the third point in the *i* must be taken for the sign of the long vowel, which in olden times consisted of four points ⁚⁚ and hence must become later ⌣̈.

that name, Bhûmilikâ in Saurâshṭra can only be the deserted capital founded by the Jeṭhvâs in the Bardâ hills, which is still called Bhûmlî, Bhûmbhlî, or Ghûmlî,[9] and at the time of the Jeṭhvâ ascendancy must have been the capital of Saurâshṭra, *i.e.* the whole of south-western Kâṭhiâvâḍ. The conjecture, on the other hand, that the donor of the Morbî plate is in some way connected with the grantor of the Dhiniki śâsana considerably gains in probability by a tradition, prevalent among the Jeṭhvâs and in Kâṭhiâvâḍ generally, according to which Morbî was the oldest or one of the oldest seats of the Jeṭhvâ Râjputs, long before they founded Bhûmlî. This story, which Colonel J. Watson,[10] the first authority on the mediæval history of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, considers to be perfectly trustworthy, explains how it happens that the Bhûmilikâ fish emblem and the identical name Jâika have been found at Morbî. This is, however, the only point in which the Jeṭhvâ traditions can be made serviceable to the interpretation of our grant. In other respects the information derived from records of the Porbandar bards and from the present state of things, are rather puzzling than helpful. For though the bardic list enumerates 177 predecessors of the present Râṇâ Vikmâtjî (Vikramâditya), who are stated to have ruled at Morbî, Bhûmlî and other places, there is no Jâika among them.[11] As this list is evidently "made up," and as it is well known that Indian princes often bear many names, the absence of the name Jâika from the Porbandar list is not a very serious obstacle to the conjecture that Jâika of Bhûmilikâ belongs to the Jeṭhvâ family. But it precludes the possibility of our learning more regarding him.

Another matter is of somewhat greater importance. The modern tradition derives the origin of the Jeṭhvâs from the monkey-god, Hanuman, and it is asserted in Gujarât that, until recent times, the Râṇâs of Porbandar were *pûṁchheriâs, i.e.* carried in token of their descent a caudal appendage which was lost of late only, owing to the influence of the degenerate Kali age. Owing to his intimate connection with the Jeṭhvâs Hanuman is at present the emblem on the Porbandar flag, which does not show a fish. The solution of the difficulty which is thus raised may be attempted in several ways. We may either assume that the Jeṭhvâs have changed their cognizance, or that their coat of arms contained of old several emblems, both the fish and Hanuman, and that the latter has alone been retained in modern times. It seems to me that the second explanation is the more probable one. For both the fish and Hanuman belong to the cycle of the Vaishṇava legends, the former referring to the Matsyâvatâra and the second to the Râmâvatâra of Vishṇu. If the Jeṭhvâs, as is presumable, were and are Vaishṇavas, it is not improbable that they originally used both the fish and Hanuman. Colonel Watson, who agrees with me in this view, points out that the first mythical descendant of Hanuman is called in the bardic list Makaradhaj, *i.e.* "he who bears a *makara* in his banner." If *makara* denotes in this case a shark or other large fish, it is not impossible that the name refers to the Vishṇuitic legends and to the fish emblem on the banner. It deserves also to be noted that on the brackets of the columns of the Naulâkhâ temple at Bhûmlî,[12] the fish emblem occurs several times, side by side with representations of monkeys. These remarks will suffice to show that the modern tradition is not irreconcilable with the inference drawn from the statements of the two sets of plates, that their donors were Jeṭhvâs.

According to Dr. Burgess (*loc. cit.* p. 181, seqq.), the ruins of Bhûmlî furnish also some evidence that certain buildings of the town possess a high antiquity. He assigns the temple of Hanuman or Gaṇapati and some of the Vaishṇava temples at the neighbouring Son Kansârî, on archæological grounds, to the eighth or ninth century A.D. This collateral evidence as to the age of the towns of Bhûmlî, and consequently of the Jeṭhvâ rule in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, is so much the more valuable, as the oldest inscription on funeral monuments at Bhûmlî dates from Saṁ. 1118 or 1061-2 A.D. and the name of the Jeṭhvâs is mentioned in inscriptions and books of the 13th and 14th centuries only. The oldest mention of the name of the clan,

[9] See *Archæol. Reports W. India*, vol. II, pp. 181 ff.

[10] Watson, *Statistical Account of Porebandar*, p. 14, seqq.

[11] Watson, *loc. cit.* pp. 17-20.

[12] Burgess, *Reports*, vol. II, pl. xliii.

known to me, occurs in the *Vastupâlacharitas* of Râjaśekhara and Harshagaṇi where it is asserted[13] that Simha, the maternal uncle of Vîsaladêva Vâghelâ (Vikrama saṁvat 1300-1318) was a Jeṭhvâ. The evidence of the style of the Bhûmlî temples, taken together with that of the two grants is, however, strong enough to show that the advent of the Jeṭhvâs in Kâṭhiâvâḍ must fall at the latest in the sixth or seventh century. The question whether the Morbî and Dhiniki grant belong to the same person or have been issued by two homogenous kings will be discussed in the second part of this paper. It may suffice to state here that the data contained in the two grants alone do not admit of a definitive settlement of the question.

The date of the Dhiniki śâsana is given as Vikrama saṁvat 794, new-moon-day of Kârttika, Sunday, under the Nakshatra Jyeshṭhâ. The figure for the year probably refers, as is usual in Indian dates, to completed years, and the grant was therefore issued at the end of Kârttika (in Gujarât the first month) of Vikrama saṁvat 795. On this supposition the day of the week and the Nakshatra have been given correctly. For Kârttika vadi 15, 795 Vikrama, corresponds to Sunday, Nov. 16, 738 A.D., when the Nakshatra was Jyeshṭhâ. The grant further states that an eclipse of the sun occurred on that date. But this is a mistake. An eclipse of the sun, which, however, was not visible in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, happened on the new moon of the preceding month Âśvina, *i.e.*, on Saturday, October 18, 738 A.D.[14] The well-known fact that the grants were rarely written on the day when the donation was made,[15] permits us to explain the error with respect to the eclipse. It may be safely assumed that the village was given on the last day of Âśvina 794, when the calculated eclipse occurred,[16] and that the document was drawn up a month later, on the last day of the following month, Kârttika vadi 15, 795. The Kârkûn forgot to give the two dates separately, and thus made the same muddle as the writer of the Morbî plate, who asserts that the grant was made on the *fifth day* of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

The object of our grant is to convey the village of Dhenikâ to a Brâhmaṇa, called Îśvara, who belonged to the Muntalla, (read Mudgala), *gotra* and to a race the name of which is not decipherable. The correctness of the reading Mudgala is attested by the fact that the Mudgalas really have three *pravaras* as asserted in the grant.[17] Dhenikâ is, of course, the name of the ruined village, now called "old Dhiniki," where the plate has been found. According to the information collected by Colonel Watson and Râo Bahâdur G. S. Deśai, it was a place of great antiquity. The Râo Bahâdur informs me that the ruins contain a *pâḷio*, or funeral monument, which shows the date Saṁvat 779 Âsâḍ Sudi 2, or 722-23 A.D. If this statement be correct, it certainly furnishes collateral evidence that the village existed in the beginning of the 8th century. The uncertainty in the readings of the names of the boundaries given in the grant makes it difficult to identify them. If it is really true that the ocean is mentioned as the northern boundary, this statement may refer, according to the authorities quoted, either to a large creek, into which some streams, rising north-east and north of old Dhiniki, fall, or to the *Raṇ* between Okhâmaṇḍal and Kâṭhiâvâḍ, which formerly seems to have been more extensive than at present. There are also a good many *dhârs* "hillspurs or ridges" near Dhiniki, though none of them now bears the name Rohara which the plate mentions. As regards the remaining localities mentioned, I abstain from all attempts at identifications, because the basis afforded by the plate is too unsafe.

[13] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 190-191; vol. XI, p. 99.

[14] The astronomical data in this grant have been kindly calculated for me by Professor Jacobi of Munster, Dr. Burgess, and Mr. Hutcheon, of Stonehaven, and Dr. Schram, of the Vienna Observatory. All four gentlemen have independently obtained the same results. A separate calculation has also been made in order to ascertain if "Vikrama" could stand for Śaka, and a decidedly negative result has been obtained.

[15] See *e.g.* Nâsik No. 11 B; Burgess, *Reports*, vol. IV, p. 106.

[16] It may be noted that according to the modern treatises on *dâna*, bathing and gifts are unnecessary on the occasion of calculated eclipses which are invisible in India. But it is, of course, very possible that a king who wished to make a present, chose, in case no visible eclipse was available, the day of a calculated one, in order to secure greater spiritual merit.

[17] Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 382.

PLATE 1.

DHINIKI COPPERPLATE GRANT.

DHINIKI COPPERPLATE GRANT. PLATE 2.



Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति विक्रमसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु चतुर्नवत्यधिकेष्वंकतः ७९४ कार्तिकमासापरपक्षे
[2] अमावास्यायां आदित्यवारे ज्येष्टानक्षत्रे रविग्रहणपर्व्वणि । अस्यां संवत्सरमासप-
[3] क्षदिवसपूर्व्वायां तिथावद्येह **भूमिलिकायां सोराष्ट्रमण्डलाधिपतिः परमभट्टा-**
[4] **रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीजाइकदेवः** महामात्यभट्टनाराय-
[5] णधर्मसहायानुमतेन संसारस्यानित्यतां ज्ञात्वात्मधर्मयशोभिवृद्धये रवे-
[6] रुपरागसमये धर्मकालमपेछ्य चतुर्वदेविदे – – – संतानाय मुन्तल-
[7] गोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय इश्वरनाम्ने ब्राह्मणाय तद्धेनिकानामग्रामं सतृणका-
[8] ष्ठजलं सवृक्षमालाकुलं देवदायवेज्जं उदकपूर्व्वं **भूमिलिकामण्डलम-**
[9] ध्ये दत्तवान् ॥ इदानीं कालान्तरभुक्तिनिश्चयकरणाथमस्य ग्रामस्य चतुदि-
[10] शमाघाटा लिख्येन्त ॥ उत्तरभागे सामापखेत्रे समुद्रः । पूव्वभागे सवन-
[11] गरूजा नालिका रोहरधारासमेता । दक्षिणभागे सयलाशतकान्तग-
[12] रिचा नदी यावत् ॥ पश्चिमभागे पर्व्वतस्य धारा समुद्रगामिनी ॥

Plate II.

[1] एवं चतुर्घाटाविशुद्धां तद्धनिकाग्रामभूमिमीश्वर [ना]मा ब्राह्मणो भुं[ज]-
[2] न भोजंचा न नाकनापि परिपंथनीयः ॥ वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
[3] भगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ मयि
[4] राज्ञि व्यतिक्रान्ते योन्यो राजा भविष्यति तस्याहं करलग्नोस्मि शासनं
[5] न व्यतिक्रमेत् । लिखितमिदं शासनं महाक्षपटलिकन नेरहरि[ना]-
[6] म्रा मयेति । शिवमसु

श्री

Translation.

Om! Hail! (*When*) seven hundred years of Vikrama, exceeded by ninety-four, (in figures) 794 (*had passed*), in the second half of the month Kârttika, at the new moon, on a Sunday, under the constellation Jyeshṭhâ, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun—on that lunar day, which is preceded by they ear, month, half-month and solar day (*above mentioned*)—the lord of the province of Saurâshṭra, the supreme sovereign, king of great kings, and supreme lord, the illustrious Jâikadeva, gave—confirming the gift with a libation of water—to-day here in Bhûmilikâ with the approval of his chief minister Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa, his associate in the fulfilment of his duties, knowing the instability of worldly affairs and having regard to (*the fact that*) the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun is a time for charity, for the increase of his own merit and fame, to the Brâhmaṇa, called Iśvara (*Îśvara*) who knows the four *Vedas*, belongs to the Mudgala *gotra* and to the line of . . . ., and invokes Agni by the names of three ancestors, the village, called Dhenikâ (*situated*) in the province of Bhûmilikâ, together with

L. 1, read ओं. L. 2, read ज्येष्ठा;—the अ in अस्यां is almost effaced. L. 3, The first letter of पूर्व्वायां has not been finished, being only] instead of पू; read सौराष्ट्र L. 4, read भट्ट. L. 6, The two म of धर्मकालम° have not been finished; read °मपेक्ष्य; चतुर्वेद; मुद्गल; the three aksharas omitted look like मेस्तीष्य, which, however, is nonsense. L. 7, read ईश्वर°. L. 8, read °वर्ज्जं; पूर्व्वं. L. 9, °वान् looks like वाक्रा because two virâmas have been attached to the *n*. Read करणार्थम°; चतुर्द्दिशामा°. L. 10, All the names are exceedingly uncertain;—read लिख्यन्ते; पूर्व्वे°. L. 11-12, The names are very uncertain.

L. 1, read चतुराघाट वि°. L. 2, read °न् भोजयन्वा न केनापि. The odd mistakes have been caused by the non-completion of the *ya* and the connexion of the *prishṭhamâtra* before *ka* with the preceding *na*. L. 3, read सगरादिभिः. L. 5, read °केन नरहरि°. L. 6, read शिवमस्तु.

(*its*) grass, wood and water, and together with its trees and fields (*or rows of trees*); excepting (*former*) gifts to the gods. Now the boundaries of this village in the four directions of the compass will be described in order to ensure (*its*) possession in future times (viz.): to the north, the ocean (?) in Sâmâpakhetra (?); to the east, the Savanagarujâ water-course (?) together with (*the hillspur called*) the Roharadhârâ; to the Sayalâśatakâṅtagarichâ (?) as far as the river (?); to the west, the hillspur which runs towards the sea. If the Brâhmaṇa, called Îśvara enjoys the land of that village of Dhanikâ, which is defined by these four boundaries, or causes it to be enjoyed (*by others*), he must not be disturbed by anybody, (*for the Smṛiti says*):—"The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, Sagara and others, &c. (*and also*): "I beseech as a supplicant that other ruler who will be king when my kingdom has passed away, that he may not act against (*this my*) edict." This grant has been written by me, the chief keeper of the records, called Nârahari. May it be auspicious! Prosperity!

(*To be continued*).

SANSKṚIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 95.)

No. CXXVII.

I revert to the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, of which the last inscription published by me is the Waṇi grant of Gôvinda III.[1] The present inscription was published originally by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. pp. 292, &c. I re-edit it now from the original plates, which belong to the British Museum. They were handed to Mr. Prinsep by Mr. W. P. Grant, who got them from 'Beni Ram' of Baroda; "and whose account of the method of their discovery, as derived from that person, was that they were dug up in excavating the foundations of a house in that city."

The plates are three in number, each about 11″ long by 8″ broad at the ends and $7\frac{5}{8}$″ in the middle. The edges of the plates were fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is for the most part well preserved and legible throughout. There are two rings to this grant. The left-hand ring is a plain ring, about $\frac{1}{3}$″ thick and 3″ in diameter; if ever the ends of it were joined together at all, it had been cut again before the grant came under my inspection. The right-hand ring is about $\frac{3}{8}$″ thick and of an irregular shape, not circular; it had not been cut when the grant came under my inspection; but it was possible to pull one of the ends out of the socket and so to detach it from the plates. The seal, on this ring, is circular, about $1\frac{5}{8}$″ in diameter. In the centre of it there is a small countersunk surface, about $\frac{3}{4}$″ in diameter, on which there is, in relief, a figure of the god Śiva,—like the figure on the seals of Nos. CXXI. CXXIII. and CXXXI.,—with perhaps some small and now quite illegible letters under it. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

In this inscription the genealogy commences with Gôvinda I. He and his son Karka I. are mentioned without any historical references. Karka's eldest son, Indra II., is not mentioned. His younger son, Kṛishṇa I., is spoken of as ousting his relative, *i. e.* his nephew Dantidurga, in consequence of the latter having fallen into evil courses, and then appropriating the sovereignty to himself. And an allusion to his coming into hostile contact with the Chalukyas is made in the statement that he turned into a deer, *i. e.* repulsed and put to flight, the *Mahâvarâha* or 'the great boar,' which was the family-emblem of the Chalukyas; but, whether it was the Eastern, or whether it was the Western Branch of this family that he thus conquered, is not apparent. It is also said that he established himself at the hill or hill-fort of Êlâpura, his settlement on which is compared with the abode of the god Svayambhu-Śiva. This place has not been identified, I believe; but it seems to me not unlikely that it is Yellâpur[2] in the North Canara District, in the Western Ghauts. I understand, however, that Dr. Burgess is more inclined to identify it with the modern Ellûrâ, near Daulat-

[1] Vol. XI. p. 156.

[2] Lat. 14° 59′ N., Long. 74° 47′, E.; the chief town of the Tâlukâ of the same name.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. LONDON.

11a.

âbâd in the Aurangâbâd District, where there are such famous architectural remains. Èlâpura is called a *saṁnivêśa*, or 'encampment,' of Kṛishṇa I.; which seems to indicate that it was a place occupied by him on his campaign against the Chalukyas, who are referred to in the preceding verse. Accordingly, the choice of one or other of the above two places for identification with it will depend a great deal upon whether it was the Western Chalukyas, or whether it was the Eastern Chalukyas, against whom he was then warring. On the one hand, the Eastern Chalukyas were then in full power, and must have been formidable and active foes; and the Râdhanpur grant shows that by Śaka 729 (A. D. 807-8) they were attacked and subdued by Gôvinda III., which makes it probable that one of his immediate ancestors should have had hostile dealings with them. On the other hand, we have as yet no authentic and detailed accounts of the Western Chalukyas having continued to possess any real power after Kîrttivarmâ II., for whom we have the dates of Śaka 669 (A. D. 747-8) and 675, and who is clearly the ruler of the Karnâṭaka whose powerful army was defeated by Dantidurga, the nephew and predecessor of Kṛishṇa I. I have already published an inscription of Kṛishṇa's second son and successor Dhruva, from Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi District;[3] and I have recently obtained another of the same king from Narêgal in the Hângal Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The two together show that Dhruva quite established his power in the Western Chalukya dominions; but there is no evidence that the Râshṭrakûṭas had by that time penetrated further to the south, as they subsequently did, or to the west. And Yellâpur, thirty miles to the north-west from Hângal, is just the place where a stand would be made against them, or which they would be anxious to occupy as an important outpost. I do not, however, know of any remains at Yellâpur such as to answer to the buildings, whether temporary or permanent, that seem to be referred to in the present inscription.

Without making any mention of Gôvinda II., the eldest son of Kṛishṇa I., the inscription continues with his second son Dhruva, and with Gôvinda III., the elder of Dhruva's two sons. It refers to the fondness of Gôvinda III. for invading distant countries, and also speaks of him as taking away from his enemies the rivers Gangâ and Yamunâ,—which statement must be taken to indicate his conquest of the countries in that direction,—and also acquiring *insignia* of royalty in the form of those two rivers. Here, again, there is a distinct allusion to the Chalukyas, whether Western or Eastern. The Nerûr grants of Vijayâditya[4] mention the banners or signs of the Gangâ and the Yamunâ among the *insignia* of Vinayâditya; and they are mentioned also in the *Purâṇic* introduction to the grant of Râjarâja II.,[5] one of the Chôḷa successors of the Eastern Chalukyas, as being some of the ancient and hereditary *insignia* of the Early Chalukyas.

Thus far the inscription follows the main line, down to Gôvinda III.,—as far as we have already gone with the other inscriptions. It now introduces us, in the person of Gôvinda's younger brother Indra III., to what Dr. Bühler has named the Gujarât branch of the family. Indra III. is spoken of as becoming the ruler of the province of the lord of Lâṭa, which was given to him by Gôvinda III. Dr. Bühler has pointed out[6] that "Lâṭa corresponds to what we now would call 'Central and Southern Gujarât,'—to the country between the Mahî and the Konkaṇa"; but also that, "to judge from the position of the traceable localities in the Kâvî and Baroda inscriptions, Lâṭa was confined in the ninth century by narrower boundaries." He has also indicated that the expression of the text, which occurs in exactly the same form in the Kâvî grant, implies that Gôvinda III. had only recently conquered Lâṭa. The conquest of the Gurjara[7] king by Gôvinda III. is not mentioned in the Waṇi grant, which is dated on the full-moon of Vaiśâkha of the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 728; whereas it is mentioned in the Râdhanpur inscription, which is dated on the full-moon of Śrâvaṇa of the

[3] No. CXXII. Vol. XI. p. 124.
[4] Nos. LXXVII. and LXXVIII. Vol. IX. pp. 125 and 130.
[5] See the full transcription of this passage in Vol. VII. p. 244.
[6] Vol. V. p. 145.
[7] The form of this name in the present and other Râshṭrakûṭa inscriptions, and in inscriptions in the Canarese country, is Gûrjara,—with the vowel of the first syllable long by nature, *û*. But in the Gurjara inscriptions themselves, the vowel of the first syllable is short by nature, *u*; and this form, which is accepted by Dr. Bühler and by Prof. Monier Williams, is doubtless the correct one.

Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 729. This suggests the inference that it was between the dates of the two grants that Gôvinda III. conquered the Gurjaras, by whom Dr. Bühler understands the Châpôtkaṭas or Chauḍas of Aṇhilwâḍ, and annexed their outlying province of Lâṭa,—*i. e.* only five years before the date of the present inscription, which is one of the son of the Indra to whom Gôvinda III. gave the government of the province. In the present inscription Indra III. is also said to have himself, alone and unaided, defeated the Gurjara king; this must have been on the occasion of some subsequent attempt by the Gurjaras to recover the province. And he is also represented as entering into some alliance, protective or defensive if not offensive, with the *Mahâsâmantas* of the south against Śrîvallabha, *i. e.* Gôvinda III., who was then in the course of subduing them. The inscription then mentions Karka or Kakka II., also called Suvarṇavarsha I. and Lâṭêśvara, the son of Indra III. As pointed out by Dr. Bühler, the fact that Karka II.,—as also his younger brother Gôvinda IV., in the Kâvî grant,—does not use the regal titles, but styles himself simply *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*, implies that he and Gôvinda IV. were not paramount sovereigns, but only vassals of the Râshṭrakûṭa king of the main line. A further confirmation of this view is given by the present inscription in the verse that states that Karka's *svâmî* or "master" made use of his, Karka's, arm, for the protection of the king of Mâlava, as a door-bar to prevent an invasion by the king of Gurjara who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. The submission of the king of Mâlava to Gôvinda III. is recorded in the Waṇi and Râdhanpur plates. And the *svâmî* or "master" of Karka II., here spoken of, can be no other than Gôvinda III. himself; and the term is quite explicit as to the relations between him and Karka. Dr. Bühler says[8] that the manner in which this inscription speaks of Gôvinda III. indicates that he was dead at the time of its issue, *i. e.* in Śaka 734. But I do not see on what passage he puts this interpretation. And, as a matter of fact, this was not the case; for the Kaḍab grant, published by Mr. Rice at p. 11 above, shews that he was alive on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Jyaishṭha of Śaka 735; and the next inscription that I shall publish will show that his son and successor, Amôghavarsha I., succeeded to the throne in Śaka 736-7, and consequently that he himself was still alive up to that date.

The present grant is of the time of Karka II., and is issued from Siddhaśamî.[9] It is dated Śaka 734 (A. D. 812-3), on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha.[10] And it records a grant of the village of Vaḍapadraka, in the Aṅkoṭṭaka Eighty-four circle of villages, to a *Brâhmaṇ* named Bhânu or Bhânubhaṭṭa, of the Vâtsyâyana *gôtra*, and belonging to the *châturvidya* or society of *Chaturvêdîs* that had originally started from the city of Valabhî. Dr. Bühler[11] has identified Aṅkoṭṭaka and Jambuvâvikâ, one of the villages by means of which the boundaries of Vaḍapadraka are defined, with the modern Aṅkûṭ and Jâmbavâ, five or six miles to the south of Baroda. The other places mentioned remain to be identified.

Lines 70 to 74 contain a kind of postscript, to the effect that this same village had been given by some former king to the society of the *Chaturvêdîs* of Aṅkoṭṭaka,—that the enjoyment of it had been interrupted by some evil king or kings,—and that Suvarṇavarsha, *i. e.* Karka II., wishing to allot it again to any excellent *Brâhmaṇ*, as the reward of learning, selected Bhânubhaṭṭa, and gave it to him.

Transcription.[12]

First plate.

[1] Sa vê=vyâd=Vêdhasâ yê(dhâ)na(ma) yan-nâbhi-kamalaṁ=kritaṁ | Haraś=cha yasya kânt-êndukalayâ sa(ka)m=alaṅkritaṁ || Svasti svakîy-ânva-

[8] Vol. VI. p. 64.

[9] This place has not yet been identified, I believe. I have no maps to refer to; but can it be the modern 'Sidosan,' given in the *Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle*?

[10] It is to be noted that the cycle of sixty *saṁvatsaras* is not referred to in this grant, or in Kâvî grant of Gôvinda IV.; though it is referred to in the grant of Gôvinda III. dated Śaka 726 for 725, the Subhânu *saṁvatsara* (the earliest instance of its use that I have yet met with), No. CXXIII. in Vol. XI. p. 125,—and in all the subsequent dated Râshṭrakûṭa inscriptions from the south, except in the Kaḍab grant of Gôvinda III. This shows plainly that the Râshṭrakûṭas did not introduce the cycle from the north, but found it already in use in the south, though not among the Chalukyas.

[11] Vol. V. p. 145.

[12] From the original plates.

IIb.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

PLATES FULL SIZE; SEAL REDUCED ONE HALF.

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111a.

111b.

[2] ya-vaṅśa-karttâ Śrî-Râshṭrakûṭ-âmala-vaṅśa-janmâ | pradâna-śûraḥ samar-aika-vîrô Gôvinda-râjaḥ kshitipô babhûva || Yasy=â-

[3] [ṅ]ga-mâtra-jayinaḥ priya-sâhasasya | kshmâpâla-vêśa-phalam=êva babhûva sainyaṁ | muktvâ cha Śaṅkaram=adhîśvaram=îśvarâṇâṁ | n=âvandat=â-

[4] nyam=amarêshv=api yô manasvî || Putrîyataś=cha khalu tasya Bhava-prasâdât=sûnur=bbabhùva guṇa-râśir=udâra-kîrttiḥ |

[5] [yô] gauṇi(ṇa)-nâma-parivâram=uvâha mukhyaṁ | Śrî-Karkka-râja-subhaga-vyapadêśam=uchchaiḥ || Saurâjya-jalpê patitê prasaṅgâ-

[6] n=nidêśanaṁ[13] viśvajanîna-saṁpat | râjyaṁ Balêḥ pûrvvam=ahô babhûva | kshitâv=idânîn=tu nṛipasya yasya || Atyadbhu-

[7] tañ=ch=êdam=amaṁsta lôkaḥ Kali-prasaṁgêna yad=êka-pâdaṁ | jâtaṁ Vṛishaṁ yaḥ kṛitavân=idânîṁ | bhûyaś=chatush-pâdam=avighna-châ-

[8] [raṁ] || Chitraṁ na ch=êdaṁ yad=asau yathâvach=chakrê prajâ-pâlanam=êtad=êva | Vishṇau jagat-[t*]râṇa-parê manas-sthê tasy=ôchi-

[9] taṁ tanmaya-mânasasya || Dharmm-âtmanas=tasya nṛipasya jajñê | sutaḥ su-dharmmâ khalu Kṛishṇa-râjaḥ | yô vaṅśya-

[10] m=unmûlya vimârggâ(rgga)-bhâjaṁ [|*] râjyaṁ svayaṁ gôtra-hitâya chakrê || Brâhmaṇyatâ tasya cha kâpi s=âbhûd=viprâ yayâ |[14] kê-

[11] vala-jâtayô=pi | śrêshṭha-dvijanm-ôchita-dâna-lubdhâḥ | karmmâṇy=anûchâna-kṛitâni chakruḥ || Ichchh-âtirêkêṇa

[12] kṛishîba(va)lânâṁ | payô yathâ muñchati jâtu mêghê [|*] bhavên=manas=tad-viratau tath=âbhûd=yasmin=dhanaṁ varshsha(rsha)ti sêvakânâṁ ||

[13] Yô yuddha-kaṇḍûti-gṛihîtam=uchchaiḥ | sau(śau)ryy-ôshma-saṁdîpitam=âpatantaṁ | mahâ-varâhaṁ hariṇîchakâra | prâjya-prabhâvaḥ

[14] khalu râja-siṅgha(ṁha)ḥ | (||) Èlâpur-âchala-gat-âdbhuta-sannivêśaṁ | yad=vîkshya vismita-vimânachar-âmarêndrâḥ êta-

[15] [t*] Svayambhu-Śiva-dhâma na kṛitrimê(maṁ) Śrîr=dṛishṭ=êdṛiś=îti satataṁ bahu charchchayanti || Bhûyas=tathâvidha-kṛitau vyava-

[16] sâya-hânir=êtan=mayâ katham=ahô kṛitam=ity=akasmât | kartt=âpi yasya khalu vismayam=âpa śi-

[17] lpî | tan-nâma-kîrttanam=â(a)kâryyata yêna râjñâ |(||) Gaṅgâpravâha-himadîdhiti-kâlakû-

Second plate; first side.

[18] ṭair=atyadbhut-âbharaṇakaish=kṛita-maṇḍanô=pi | mâṇikya-kâñchana-purassara-sarvva-bhû-

[19] tyâ | tatra sthitaḥ punar=abhûshyata yêna Śambhuḥ || Nṛipasya tasya Dhruvarâja-nâmâ |

[20] mah-ânubhâvas=tanayô babhûva | tṛiṇîkṛitân=yasya parâkramêṇa [|*] pratâpa-vahnir=dvishatô dadâ-

[21] ha || Lakshmî-prasâdhana-vidhâv=upayôgi kṛityaṁ | yaś=chintayan=svayam=abhûd=aniśaṁ kṛit-ârtthaḥ | kiṁ v=âtra chitram=a-

[22] napêkshya sahâyam=îśaḥ sarvvaḥ pumân=nija-dha(va)dhûṁ sva-vaśâṁ vidhâtuṁ || Yô Gaṅgâ-Yamunê taraṅga-su-

[23] bhagê gṛihṇan=parêbhyaḥ samaṁ | sâkshâch-chihna-nibhêna ch=ôttama-padaṁ tat=prâptavân=aiśvaraṁ | dêh-âsammita-vaibha-

[24] vair=iva guṇair=yyasya bhramadbhir=ddiśô | vyâptâs=tasya babhûva kîrtti-purushô Gôvinda-râjaḥ sutaḥ ||

[25] Pradêśa-vṛitti-vyavasâya-bhâjâṁ purâtanânâm=api pârtvi(rtthi)vânâṁ | yaśâṅsi yô nâma jahâra bhûpô bhagna-pracha-

[13] The reading of the Kâvî grant, *nidarśanaṁ*, is preferable to this.

[14] This mark of punctuation is out of place. Its proper place would be after *abhût*, which, however, is joined in *Saṁdhi* with *viprâ*.

[26] ṇḍ-âkhila-vairi-vîraḥ |(||) Unmûlit-ôttuṅga-narêndra-vaṅśô mahânarêndrîkṛita-tuchchha-bhṛityaḥ svêchchhâ-vidhâyî charit-ânukâraṁ

[27] chakâra yô nâma vidhêḥ kshitîśaḥ || Hiñjîra-śiñjita-raṇach-charaṇân=arâtîn [|*] kurvvan=kshaṇêna vidadhê=dbhuta-karmma yaś=cha |

[28] chakrê tathâ hi na tath=âśu vadhaṁ parêshâṁ | Pârtvô(rtthô)=pi nâma bhuvana-tri(tri)tay-aika-vîraḥ || Kalpa-kshaya-kshaṇa-samudbhava-

[29] vâta-hêlâ-dôlâyamâna-kulaśaila-kul-ânukâraṁ | yan-mukta-chaṇḍa-śara-jâla-java-praṇunnâ | yuddh-âgatâ ripu-

[30] gajêndra-ghaṭâ chakâra || Bhrâtâ tu tasy=Êndra-samâna-vîryyaḥ | śrîmân=bhuvi kshmâpatir=Indra-râjaḥ [|*] śâstâ babhûv=â-

[31] dbhuta-kîrtti-sûtis=tad-[d*]atta-Lâṭêśvara-maṇḍalasya || Adyâpi yasya sura-Kinnara-Siddha-Sâdhya-Vidyâ-

[32] dharâdhipatayô guṇa-pakshapâtât | gâyanti kunda-kusuma-śri[15] yaśô yathâ sva-dhâma-sthitâ[ḥ*] sa-

[33] hacharî-kucha-datta-hastâḥ || Yên=aikêna cha Gûrjjarêśvara-patir=yyôddhuṁ samabhyudyataḥ śauryya-

[34] prôddhata-kandharô mṛiga iva kshipraṁ diśô grâhitaḥ bhît-âsaṁ[16]ṅhata-dakshiṇâ-patha-ma-

Second plate; second side.

[35] hâsâmanta-chakra[ṁ] yatô rakshâm=âpa viluṇṭya(ṇṭhya)mâna-vibhavaṁ Śrîvallabhên=âdarât || Tasy=âtmajaḥ prathita-

[36] vikrama-vairi-vargga-lakshmî-haṭhâharaṇa-santata-labdha-kîrttiḥ | Śrî-Karkkarâja iti saṁśrita-pûrit-âśaḥ[17] śâstr-ârttha-bôdha-

[37] paripâlita-sarvva-lôkaḥ || Râjyê yasya na taskarasya vasatir=vyâdhêḥ prasûtir=mṛitâ durbhikshaṁ na cha vibhramasya mahimâ

[38] n=aiv=ôpasargg-ôdbhavaḥ kshîṇô dôsha-gaṇaḥ pratâpa-vinatâ(tô)=śêsh-âri-varggas=tathâ nô vidvat-paripanthinî prabhavati krû-

[39] râ khalânâṁ matiḥ || Gauḍêndra-Vaṅgapati-nirjjaya-durvvidagdha-sad-Gûrjjarêśvara-dig-arggalatâṁ cha yasya | nîtvâ bhujaṁ vihata-

[40] Mâlava-rakshaṇ-ârtthaṁ svâmî tath=ânya[18]m=api râjya-chha(pha)lâni bhuṅktê || Tên=êdaṁ vidyuch-chañchalam=âlôkya jîvitaṁ kshiti-dâna-

[41] ñ=cha parama-puṇyaṁ pravarttitô=yaṁ dharmma-dâyaḥ [||*] Sa cha Lâṭêśvaraḥ samadhigatâśêshamahâśabdamahâsâmantâ-

[42] dhipati-Suvarṇṇavarsha-Śrî-Karkkarâjadêvô yathâ-sambadhyamânakân râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭ-âdhi-

[43] kârika-mahattar-âdîn=samanubôdhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ | yathâ mayâ Śrî-Siddhaśamî-samâvâsitêna mâ-

[44] tâpitrôr=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê Śrî-Valabhîvinirggata-tachchâturvvidyasâmânya-

[45] Vâtsyâyanasagôtra-Mâdhyandinasabrâ(bra)hmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Bhânavê bhaṭṭa-Sômâditya-putrây=Â-

[46] ṅkoṭṭaka-chaturaśîty-anna(nta)rggata-Vaḍapadrak-âbhidhâna-grâmê(ma)ḥ yasy=âghâṭa-nâni pûrvvatô Jambu-

[47] vâvikâ-grâmas=tathâ dakshiṇatô Mahâsênak-âkhyaṁ taḍâgaṁ | tathâ paśchimatô=Ṅkoṭṭakaṁ | tath=ôtta-

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15 This instance of the use of *śrî* in a *Bahuvrîhi* compound, without the *Samâsânta* affix *ka*, is somewhat unusual. But Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak has supplied me with an analogous instance, which is given in the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, Calcutta edition, 10th *ullâsa*, p. 422,—

Avitatha-manôratha-patha-
prathanêshu praguṇa-garima-gîta-śrîḥ |
sura-taru-sadṛiśaḥ sa bhavân=
abhilashaṇîyaḥ kshitîśvarô na kasya ||

16 This *anusvâra* is superfluous.

17 This passage, *Śrî-Karkkarâja iti saṁśrita-pûrit-âśaḥ*, is engraved over another passage, which is only imperfectly cancelled; the result is that the text appears somewhat mixed here, in the original and in the lithograph.

18 This letter, *nya*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[48] ratô Vagghâchchha-grâma êvam=asau chatur-âghâṭan-ôpalakshitaḥ sôdraṅgaḥ sa(sô)parikaraḥ sabhûta-
[49] vâtapratyâyaḥ sadaṇḍadaśâparâdhaḥ sôtpadyamânavishṭikaḥ sadhânyahiraṇyâdêyaḥ sarvva-
[50] râjakîyânâm=ahastaprakshêpaṇîya â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-sarit-parvvata-samakâlînaḥ putra-pau-
[51] tr-ânvaya-bhôgyaḥ pûrvva-pradatta-dêvadâya-brahmadâya-rahitô bhûmichchhidra-nyâyêna
[52] Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu ścha(cha)tus-triṅśa[d-adhikê]shu mahâ-Vaiśâkhyâṁ snâtv=ôda-
[53] k-âtisarggêṇa bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âtithi-pañchamahâ-

Third plate; first side.

[54] yajña-kratukriy-âdy-utsarppaṇ-ârtthaṁ pratipâditaḥ | yatô=sy=ôchitayâ brahmadâya-sthityâ bhuñjatô bhô-
[55] jayataḥ pratidiśatô vâ kṛishataḥ karshsha(rsha)yataś=cha na kênachit=paripanthanâ kâryyâ tath=âgâmi-
[56] [nṛipati*]bhir=asmad-vaṅśyair=anyair=vvâ sâmânya[ṁ*] bhûmi-dâna-[phala*]m=avagachchhadbhir=vidyul-lôlâny=anityâny=aiśvaryyâṇi tri(tṛi)ṇ-âgra-lagna-jala-
[57] bindu-chañchalañ=cha jîvitam=âkalayya sva-dâya-nirvviśêshô=yam=asmad-dâyô=numan-tavyaḥ pâli(layi)tavyaś=cha | yaś=ch=âjñâna-timi-
[58] ra-paṭal-âvṛita-matir=âchchhidyâ[d=â*]chchhidyamânañ=ch=ânumôda(dê)tê(ta) |[19] sa pañchabhir=mmahâpâtakair=upapâtakaiś=cha yuktas=syâ-
[59] d=ity=uktaṁ cha |[20] bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna | Shashṭiṁ varshsha(rsha)-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ | âchchhêttâ
[60] ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kṛishṇ-âhayô hi jâyantê
[61] bhûmi-dây-âpahâriṇaḥ |(||) Agnêr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhûr=vvaishṇavî sûryya-sutâś=cha gâvaḥ lôka-trayaṁ
[62] têna bhavêch=cha dattaṁ yaḥ kâñchanaṁ gâñ=cha mahîñ=cha dadyât || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya ya-
[63] sya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Yân=îha dattâni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârttha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirmmâlya-
[64] vânta-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ va yatnâd=raksha narâdhipa | mahî[ṁ]
[65] mahîbhṛitâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ || Iti kamala-dal-âmbu-lôlâṁ śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jîvitañ=cha
[66] ativimala-manôbhir=âtmanînê(nai)r=nna hi purushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâḥ || Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ Râmabhadrêṇa |
[67] Sarvvân=ôtân=bhâvinaḥ pârtthivêndrân bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ
[68] kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ || Dûtakaś=ch=âtra râjaputra-Śrî-Dantivarmmâ || Sva-hastô=yaṁ mama Śrî-Kakkarâjasya
[69] śrîmad-Indrarâja-sutasya || Likhitañ=ch=aitan=mayâ mahâsandhivigrahâdhikṛita-kulaputraka-Durggabhaṭa-sûnunâ
[70] Nêmâdityên=êti || Ayaṁ[21] cha grâmô=tîta-narapati-parîkshiṇ=Âṁkoṭṭaka-śrî-châturvvidyâya dattô=bhût [|*] tên=âpi

[19] and [20] In each case the mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[21] From here, down to the end, the inscription is written in characters of radically the same type, but of a debased style or carelessly executed,—perhaps approaching somewhat to the current characters of the period. This part of the inscription is difficult to read, and I am indebted in several places to the kind assistance of Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî,—especially in respect of the names of Vaṭapura in l. 72 and Triyâgêśvara in l. 74. But, even with his assistance, several passages remain very doubtful.—Mr. Prinsep's Paṇḍit, who transcribed this passage with great inaccuracy, disposed of it in the translation by "For the good of my father and his

[71] kurâja-janita-vilôpa-vichchhinna-paribhôgaṁ vijñâra-varam=anyasya vâ viśishṭasya kasyachid=bhavatu dvijamnana iti niśchitya

[72] Suvarṇṇavarsha-dîpa(ya)mâna[ṁ*] Vaṭa[22][pu*]ra-vâsinê Bhânubhaṭṭây=ânumôditaḥ [|*] śâlâtâpyaṁ gṛihîtvâ tâlâvârik-âdi-gaṇañ(?)=ch(?)=ô(?)ddi(?)-

[73] śya tâmbûla-pradâna-pûrvvakaṁ yathâlô(?)bha-sê(?)va(?)na(?)ṁ ch=â[23]bhâśy(shy)=âdiśya(?) pra(prâ)kṛitikam=api puraṁ i(?)ti

Third plate; second side.

[74] tathâ Triyâgê[24]śvara-paramâdhi(dhî)śa-pâda-mûlaṁ jânât=îti ||

Translation.

May he protect you, the waterlily in whose navel is made a habitation by Vêdhas; and Hara, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent moon!

(L. 2.)—Hail! There was a king, Gôvindarâja, the maker of his own lineage,—born in the spotless Śrî-Râshṭrakûṭa family,—a very hero in making gifts,—pre-eminently brave in war; whose army, he conquering single-handed and being fond of deeds of daring, had for its result (*only to be*) a mark of (*his being*) a king; and who, being possessed of wisdom, worshipped no other, even among the gods, save Śaṁkara, the supreme lord of lords.

(L. 4.)—And when he was wishing for a son,—through the favour of Bhava, there was born to him a son, abounding in virtuous qualities and possessed of great fame, who bore, (*as his*) principle (*title*), the lofty and charming appellation of Śrî-Karkarâja, together with (*another*) secondary and attributive name.[25] In talking about good governments, formerly, in sooth, the kingdom of Bali, the prosperity of which was for the welfare of all mankind, was (*that which would be cited as*) an illustration in discussion; but now (*it is the kingdom*) of this king in the world. And mankind considered it extremely wonderful that he made Vṛisha,[26]—who, by association with Kali, had come to have only one foot,—to be now possessed of four feet again, (*and so to be*) unimpeded in his motion. And it is not wonderful that he accomplished in a proper manner the protection of his subjects; for,—since Vishṇu, who is pre-eminent in protecting the world, dwelt in his mind,—this (*conduct*) befitted him, whose mind was (*thus*) identical with that same (*Vishṇu*).

(L. 9.)—Of that king, of virtuous disposition, there was born a pious son, Kṛishṇarâja, who, having uprooted his relative[27] who had resorted to evil ways, appropriated the kingdom to himself, for the benefit of his family. He possessed a certain friendliness towards *Brâhmaṇs*, by reason of which even those who were (*only*) once-born, (*becoming as it were*) *Brâhmaṇs* and being incited by (*his*) gifts which were worthy of the most excellent twice-born, performed the rites (*which are usually*) celebrated (*only*) by those who can recite the sacred texts. Just as, when a cloud discharges rain in excess of the wishes of the cultivators, their minds are (*intent*) upon the cessation of it, so was it when he showered down wealth (*in excess of the utmost desires*) of his servants. He, the most mighty one, a very lion of a king, transformed into a deer[28] the great boar,[29]

ancestors have I made this grant to the *Brâhman* Bhânu, who has served my family with his prayers for many years. May he enjoy the grant, and profit by it!" And he added, as a footnote, "N.B.—There are several counter-signatures, apparently autographs, in the last four lines of the last plate, which, besides that they are of doubtful reading, it would be of little interest to transcribe. On the outside are the words "'Tis for the good of my father and mother.'"

22 This letter, *ṭa*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

23 This letter, *châ*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

24 This letter, *gê*, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

25 *i.e.* some title like those ending in *varsha* borne by his descendants. In fact, the Kadab grant, ll. 34-5, mentions him under the name of Kannêśvara-Akâlavarsha.—Kannêśvara,—like Kannara, Kanhara, Kanhâra, Kandhara, and Kandhâra, all of which occur as the names of kings whose name in its Sanskrit form is Kṛishṇa,—is a popular substitute for Kṛishṇa.

26 Nandî, the bull of Śiva, as the personification of *dharma*, 'religion, virtue, or justice.' There is a play on the word *pâda*, in its meanings of 'a foot,' and 'one-fourth.' *Dharma*, which was complete and entire in the first or Kṛita *yuga*, is supposed to have been reduced to three-fourths in the Trêtâ *yuga*, to one-half in the Dvâpara *yuga*, and to one-fourth in the Kali *yuga*; and Karka I. is supposed to make it complete and entire again, as it was originally. Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak has brought to my notice that the same idea is referred to in the *Naishadhacharita* of Śrîharsha, Calcutta edition, Vol. I. p. 7,—

Padaiś=chaturbhiḥ sukṛitê sthirîkṛitê
Kṛitê=munâ kê na tapaḥ prapêdirê |

Mallinâtha's commentary on this is:—

Amunâ Nalêna Kṛitê Kṛita-yugê sukṛitê dharmê Vṛisharûpatvâch=chaturbhiḥ padaiś=charaṇaiḥ chaturbhâgaiś=cha sthirîkṛitê sati kê tapô na prapêdirê | sarvê=pi prâpur=êv=ity=arthaḥ.

27 *i.e.* his nephew and predecessor, Dantidurga.

28 *i.e.* "put to flight."

29 The family-emblem of the Chalukyas.

which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him. Having seen his wonderful encampment situated on the mountain of Êlâpura, the astonished immortals, who travel in celestial cars, always take much thought, saying:—"This is the abode of Svayambhu-Śiva, and no artificially made (*dwelling*); Śrî, (*if she could be*) seen, (*would be*) such as this." Verily even the architect who built it felt astonishment, saying:—"(*The utmost*) perseverance would fail to accomplish such a work again;[30] aho! how has it been achieved by me?"; (*and*), by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name. By means of it, Śambhu, who abode there,—though decorated (*already*) with the very wonderful ornaments which are the torrent of the Gaṅgâ and the rays of the moon and the *kâlakûṭa*-poison,—was still further decorated with rubies and gold and all other wealth.

(L. 19).—Of that king there was born a son, of great dignity, named Dhruvarâja; the fire of whose splendour burned up his enemies, who were turned into grass by his prowess. Thinking in person what it was useful to do in propitiating Lakshmî, he was always successful; and what wonder is there in that?, since every man, (*even*) without depending upon assistance, is able to reduce his own wife into a state of submission to himself.

(L. 22.)—Of him there was born a son, Gôvindarâja, the personification of fame, who, taking from his enemies the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, charming with their waves, acquired at the same time that supreme position of lordship (*which was indicated*) by (*those rivers in*) the form of a visible sign,—and by whose virtues, wandering about, as if possessed of superhuman power that was not provided with a (*corporeal*) body (*so as to be impeded*), the (*distant*) regions were pervaded. Verily he, the king, who destroyed all the fierce hostile heroes, took away the reputations even of kings of former times who applied themselves to travelling in foreign countries. Truly he, the king, imitated the behaviour of Fate,—uprooting races of lofty kings; making his humble servants into great kings; and disposing (*everything*) in accordance with his own will. He performed a wonderful achievement, making his enemies in a moment to have their feet jingling with the rattling of chains that are used for fastening the feet of elephants; verily not even Pârtha, the greatest hero in the three worlds, accomplished so quickly the slaughter of his foes. Driven forward by the speed of the fierce shower of arrows discharged by him, the troop of the lordly elephants of his foes, which came against him in battle, imitated the *kulaśaila*-mountains which are easily caused to swing to and fro by the wind that arises at the moment of the destruction of all things.

(L. 30).—His brother Indrarâja,—equal in bravery to Indra; a glorious king on the earth; the source of the production of wonderful fame,—became the ruler of the province of the lord of Lâṭa, which was given (*to him*) by that same (*Gôvindarâja*). Even to-day, through their partiality for (*his*) merits, the gods, the *Kinnaras*, the *Siddhas*, the *Sâdhyas*, and the lords of the *Vidyâdharas*, sing his fame, which has the glory of jasmine-flowers, (*through absence of mind*) placing their hands upon the breasts of their female companions, as if they were in their own homes. And by him, (*even though*) alone, the leader of the lords of the Gûrjaras,[31] who prepared himself to give battle, bravely lifting up his neck, was quickly caused, as if he were a deer, to take to the (*distant*) regions; and the array of the *Mahâsâmantas* of the region of the south, terrified and not holding together, and having their possessions in the course of being taken away from them by Śrîvallabha, through (*shewing*) respect obtained protection from him.

(L. 35.)—His son (*is*) Śrî-Karkarâja, who always acquires fame by violently ravishing the goddess of the fortunes of his enemies, who are renowned for their valour; who fulfils the desires of those who betake themselves to him; and who protects all mankind by his knowledge of the meaning of the sacred writings. In his kingdom there is no dwelling for any thief, and the production of disease has died out; there is no famine, and no excess of perturbation, (*and*) no occurrence of evil portents; all faults have disappeared; all his enemies have been reduced by his prowess; and no cruel thought of wicked people prevails

[30] *lit.* "(*there would be*) a loss or deficiency of energy or perseverance in (*accomplishing*) such a work again."

[31] See note 7 above.

to cause distress to the learned. And having, for the purpose of protecting (*the king of*) Mâlava, who had been struck down, caused his arm to become the excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gûrjaras who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga,—his master[32] thus enjoys (*his*) other (*arm*) also as (*embodying all*) the fruits of sovereignty.

(L. 40.)—By him, having seen that life is as unstable as the lightning and that the giving of land is the most pious act of all, this religious gift has been effected.

(L. 41.)—And he, Lâṭêśvara, the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* who has attained all the *mahâśabdas*, Suvarṇavarsha-Śrî-Karkarâjadêva, informs the *râshṭrapatis*, *vishayapatis*, *grâmakûṭas*, *âdhikârikas*, *mahattaras*, &c., according as they are concerned :—

(L. 43.)—"Be it known to you that,—by me, settled at (*the city of*) Śrî-Siddhaśamî,—in order to increase the religious merit and the fame, both in this world and the next, of my parents and myself,—seven hundred and thirty-four years having elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, on the great full-moon day of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha,—the village named Vaḍapadraka, which is included in the Aṅkoṭṭaka Eighty-four (*villages*), and the boundaries of which are, on the east, the village of Jambuvâvikâ; on the south, the tank named Mahâsênaka; on the west, (*the village of*) Aṅkoṭṭaka; and on the north, the village of Vagghâchchha,—this (*village*), thus defined as to its four boundaries,—together with the *udraṅga*, the *uparikara*, the *bhûtavâtapratyâya*, (*the right to*) fines and (*the proceeds of punishments inflicted for*) the ten (*classes of*) offences, (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, (*and*) that which is receivable (*in kind*) in grain and gold; not to be pointed at with the finger (*of appropriation*) by any of the king's people; to last as long as the moon and sun and ocean and rivers and mountains may endure; to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons; with the exception of grants previously made to gods and *Brâhmaṇs*; (*and to be held*) by the rule of *bhûmichchhidra*,—has, after bathing, been given, with copious libations of water,—for the purpose of keeping up the sacrificial rites of the five great sacrifices of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra*, and *atithi*, and other (*rites*),—to the *Brâhmaṇ* Bhânu, the son of the *Bhaṭṭa* Sômâditya,—who belongs to the society of the *Chaturvêdîs* that started from (*the city of*) Śrî-Valabhî, who is of the Vâtsyâyana *gôtra*, (*and*) who is a student of the Mâdhyandina (*śâkhâ*).

(L. 54.)—"Wherefore, no obstruction is to be made by any one to him who, according to the proper condition of a *brahmadâya*, enjoys (*this village*), or causes it to be enjoyed, or assigns it (*to another*), or cultivates it, or causes it to be cultivated. And so this, my gift, is to be assented to and preserved, just as if it were a gift made by themselves, by future [kings*], whether of my lineage or others, recognising that [the reward of*] a grant of land belongs in common (*to him who makes it and to all who preserve it*), and bearing in mind that riches are as transient as the lightning and are not enduring, and that life is as unstable as a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass. And he will be invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins, together with the minor sins, who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to (*its confiscation*)."

(L. 59.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas* :—"The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), and he who assents to (*such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!" Verily those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees in the forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*), destitute of water. Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to Vishṇu; and cows are the children of the sun; (*the whole of*) the three worlds would be given by him who gives gold and a cow and land! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! Those gifts (*of land*), productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here by kings in former times, are like that which is vomited forth from the remains of an offering to an idol; what good man would take them back again? O king! O best of kings!

[32] *i.e.* Gôvinda III.

carefully preserve land that has been given, whether by thyself or by another; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! Verily the reputations of others are not to be destroyed by men of very spotless minds, regardful of their own advantage, reflecting that wealth, and also human life, is as unstable as a drop of water on the petal of a waterlily! And it has been said by the holy Râmabhadra:—"Râmabhadra again and again makes his request to all these future princes, (*that*) this general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by them!"

(L. 68.)—And the *Dûtaka* in this matter is the *Râjaputra*[33] Śrî-Dantivarmâ. This is (*the signature of*) the own hand of me, Śrî-Kakkarâja, the son of the glorious Indrarâja. And this has been written by me, Nêmâditya, the son of the high-born[34] Durgabhaṭa, (*who am*) entrusted with the great (*office of the*) authority of peace and war.

(L. 70.)—And this same village was given by the *Parîkshî*[35] of a former king to the society of the *Chaturvêdîs* of Aṅkoṭṭaka. Therefore, also, when (*this grant*), the enjoyment of which had been broken off through the interruption produced by evil kings, was being given by Suvarṇavarsha, who resolved that it should be the reward of learning of some excellent twice-born man, (*this village*) was allotted to Bhânubhaṭṭa, an inhabitant of Vaṭapura.[36] Having taken . . . . ,[37] and, with gifts of betel-leaves on account of the *Tâlâvârikas*[38] and other classes, having said and ordered that it should be preserved according to desire, (*the king said*)—"Though (*this*) town is a natural and spontaneous[39] (*gift*), yet he[40] knows that (*the gift of*) it originates from (*my devotion to*) the feet of (*the god*) Triyâgêśvara, the supreme lord."

[33] Mr. Prinsep translated this word by "presumptive heir and brother of the king," thus introducing another name into the genealogy. But this translation cannot well be upheld.

[34] *Kulaputraka.* This, however, may possibly be a surname.

[35] "Examiner."

[36] This is perhaps another name of the Vaḍapadraka mentioned above,—the village granted.

[37] The meaning of *śâlâtâpyaṁ* is not apparent.

[38] Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî considers that *Tâlâvârika* may be equivalent to "*Talavâra*, an officer similar to the *Talâti* of the present day." *Talâti*, or rather *Talâṭî*, in the Marâṭha and Canarese countries means "a stipendiary (*i.e.* not hereditary) village-accountant." *Tâlâvârika* may be connected with *tala*, 'a leathern fence worn by archers on the left arm; the hilt or haft or handle of a sword,' or with *tâla*, 'a musical instrument of bell-metal or brass; a sort of cymbal played with a stick.' But I am inclined to look upon it as having much the same meaning as the Canarese *talavâra*, ancient form *talâra*, 'a village-watchman.' At any rate some class of officials is clearly meant.

[39] *Prâkṛitika.* Or perhaps it may mean "belongs to one of my subjects."

[40] *i.e.* the grantee.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 139.)

XXI.

We have seen how the Mongols during the year 1212 forced the frontiers of the Chinese empire and ravaged its northern borders, retiring again when their great chief, Chinghiz, was wounded. On their retreat the Kin troops reoccupied the districts they had lost, but their advantage was only of short duration. Their general, He-she-lie Hu-sha-hu, notwithstanding his ill-conduct, which we described, was partially reinstated in his command by the Emperor, and was ordered to post himself north of Yen-ching or Yen-king,[1] 3 or 4 leagues north of the pass of Ku-yong.[2] In vain the Emperor's counsellors, especially Chang-sing-sien, and the minister Tu-shan-i, governor of the capital, called Tuktan-i by Hyacinthe, deprecated this step; he proceeded to the camp and there began to make arrangements with his creatures Wanian Cheounu, Pucha-lukin and Ukulun-tula, (called Vanian-cheu Fucha-liegin and Ukhuri-dola by Hyacinthe,) to revenge the affront which had been put upon him after his withdrawal from Ta-tung-fu. Instead of making an effort to recover the pass of Ku-yong, he gave himself up to debauchery and hunting, awaiting an opportunity for revenge, and when the Kin Emperor sent to complain he threw down one of his falcons in a rage and killed it. He put to death Fu-hai, who commanded another division of troops, and who was devoted to the empire, amalgamated his army with his own, and then went to the capital pretending that its governor Tu-shan-i was meditating a revolt. He entered

[1] Situated north of the Great Wall.

[2] Gaubil, p. 15, note 4.

the city two hours before daybreak by the gate Tong-hiuen-men and penetrated as far as the gate Kuang-yang-men, which was in its western part. He was preceded by some horsemen who sowed alarm by crying out in a loud voice that the Tache, *i.e.* the Mongols, were at the gates of the town. Tushan-nanping and his son, Tushan-muliei, who were known for their zeal, and were related to the murdered Fu-hai, having rushed out on hearing this noise were put to death. Shan-yang, son of Fu-hai, and Shekunai, lieutenant-general, put themselves at the head of 500 Chinese, and tried to appease the tumult and laid about them, as did their men. Meanwhile Hu-sha-hu advanced to the gate Tong-hoa-men, which he forced, and having entered the palace and driven out the guard he took the title of governor of the empire and generalissimo of all the forces. He then had the Kin Emperor removed to the palace where he was born, and guarded by 200 men.[3] One of the princesses, named Ching-shi, who had charge of the Imperial seal secreted it, but was forced to give it up, and armed with this potent authority Hu-sha-hu used it to make several appointments. He then ordered the eunuch, Li-se-chong, to put the Emperor to death. His intention was to seize the throne, but fearing the animosity that such a step would give rise to, he consulted Tu-shan-i, the governor of Peking, who had been wounded in the foot in the recent *melée*, as to whom he should appoint. He was astonished at the coolness with which the latter said there could be no question about this, since Utubu was the elder brother of Chong-hei and grandson of the Emperor Ulo, in addition to which he was universally beloved and would bear the sceptre gloriously. Hu-sha-hu sent to find this prince at Chang-te-fu in Honan and had him proclaimed Emperor.[4] Gaubil[5] calls Utubu "the prince Sun;" so does Douglas. These events took place in the spring and summer of 1213. At the same time we read how Yeliu-liuko, the Khitan chief, whose rebellion we have described, had himself proclaimed king of Liau and took for the title of his reign the name of Yuen-tung.[6] He speedily conquered the whole of Liau-tung, and took up his residence at Hien-ping.[7] In the autumn of the same year Chinghiz Khân having recovered from his wounds, once more assailed northern China. He again captured Suan-te-fu, now called Suan-hwa-fu, and thence advanced upon Te-sing-fu[8] now known as Pao-gan-fu. The army were led at the attack on this latter town by his youngest son Tului, and by his relative Chiki, the son of Alju, who scaled the walls at the head of their troops and captured the place. Chinghiz now advanced upon Hwai-lai, situated 15 leagues to the south-east of Suan-te-fu, where he attacked the Kin troops under Wanian-king and Kaoki, called Chuhu-kaoki by De Mailla. The latter were speedily defeated, and forty *lis* of the ground were covered with their corpses. The Mongols now detached a force against Ku-pih-kow,[9] a fortress on the Great Wall on the main route from Peking to Kara Khoten, and situated at the northernmost point of Pe'chihli. Knowing that the Kins had a strong garrison in the difficult pass of Ku-yung, which they had occupied after the withdrawal of the Mongols the previous year, and where, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, the Kin Emperor had sent Ira and two other generals to occupy the fortress and the force Khulaaniegele to guard it, Chinghiz masked it with a force under the general Ketebji.[10] The *Huang-yuan* makes two names out of the word, viz., Ketai and Bocha.[11] He himself advanced upon Cho-lu, which is situated 40 li to the south-west of Pao-gan-fu.[12] He then continued his march westward, keeping north of the Great Wall as far as the pass of Tse-king, called Tszi-tszin in the *Huang-yuan*. This authority tells us further that the Kin Emperor sent the great general Aodun to prevent Chinghiz forcing the pass and emerging on the plain, but he had scarcely arrived when the Mongols forced the barrier.[13] They defeated a Kin army near the mountain Wu-hoi-ling, called Wuh-wê-ling by Douglas and Uhuei by Gaubil, who tells us it is a small mountain near the town of Kuang-chang-hien

[3] *Kang-mu*, De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 52 and 53; Hyacinthe, pp. 59 and 60; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 138 and 139.
[4] Douglas, pp. 70 and 71; De Mailla, tome IX, p. 54.
[5] *Op cit.* p. 19.
[6] Douglas, p. 68.
[7] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 52.
[8] Called Terhing by Douglas.
[9] The Old Northern Pass.
[10] Called Kotepuse by Douglas and Kote-pucha by De Mailla.
[11] *Op. cit.* p. 184.
[12] Douglas, p. 69; Hyacinthe, p.55; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 136.
[13] *Op. cit.* 184.

on the borders of Shan-si and Pe'chih-li. Chinghiz now captured the towns of Cho-chau and Yih-chau, both well-known places in Pe'chih-li, to the south-west of the modern Peking.

The *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* says that he now arrived at Saari-keer, by which Palladius understands Shara-gol, the Yellow river, that is, the Khun-khi flowing near Peking. Meanwhile the pass of Ku-pih-kow, already named, was surrendered by its commander, a Khitan general, named Wu-lan-par, who retired from it without striking a blow, while the Mongol general Chepe was detached by Chinghiz to march by way of Nan-keou to attack the pass of Ku-yung from the south. Having taken it, he repaired to that of Ku-pow, where he joined Ketebji.[14] The capital was now threatened, it will be seen, on two sides, and Chinghiz having selected 4,000 picked men, sent them under Kieitai and Hatai to invest it.[15] Gaubil and D'Ohsson say that Chepe and Ketebji detached 5,000 picked men to reinforce Khota and Khata, who were investing the capital, which seems a more reasonable story.[16] The *Huang-yuan* calls the two commanders Kietai and Bocha.[17] This investing army having reached the river Hoi-ho, intended to cross it by the bridge Gao-tsiao, so Hyacinthe, p. 62, reads the passage in the *Kang-mu.* De Mailla in his translation, and Gaubil call the river Tsao, and Gaubil says it was not really a river but a canal which came from Chang-ping-chau, and passed near the capital. When the later city of Peking was built a number of fresh canals were cut, and the face of the country was much changed between the Hoen-ho and the river passing by Tong-chau.[18] Hu-sha-hu, who had been wounded in the foot, had to travel in a chariot to prevent the Mongols crossing the bridge. He nevertheless defeated them, that is, doubtless defeated their advanced posts. They renewed the attack the next day, when he was not well enough to go out, and accordingly ordered the general Kaoki with 5,000 men to oppose them. Kaoki arrived too late and Hu-sha-hu would have put him to death, but the Emperor forgave him on account of his ancient services. Having given him some more troops he said to him, "If you defeat the enemy I will grant you your life, but if you are beaten you shall die." Kaoki accordingly marched, but a strong north wind having arisen blew the sand and stones into the eyes of his men, and after struggling from sunset till dawn he was forced to withdraw once more into the city. Fearing that Hu-sha-hu would carry out his threat he repaired to his house with his troops. Hu-sha-hu having been warned mounted the wall of his garden intending thus to escape, but he got entangled in his clothes, fell and broke his leg, and the soldiers who were standing around cut off his head. Kaoki repaired to the palace with the head, and asked that he might be tried. The Emperor pardoned him and issued an edict enumerating the various crimes of Hu-sha-hu and he appointed Kaoki generalissimo in his place.[19]

Chinghiz Khân's old companion and trusted general Mu-khu-li at this time commanded a force in Pe'chih-li, with which he made rapid progress, and, we are told, an inhabitant of Yong-ching,[20] named Se-ping-chi, remarking that the Mongols did no injury to those who submitted freely to them, and that the Kins were too weak to protect them, determined to submit to Mu-khu-li. He accordingly collected several thousands of his countrymen and went to that general who was then encamped at Cho-chau, and who would have given him employment, but as he excused himself he made over 10,000 families to his son, She-tien-chi, and ordered him to go with them and encamp near the town of Pa-chau. She-tien-chi became one of the best generals in the Mongol service.[21]

The fortunes of the Kin dynasty were ebbing on every side. It had been at peace with the empire of Hia on its western frontier for 80 years, but the latter having been attacked by the Mongols asked for help which the Emperor Chong-hei had refused. In the 8th month of 1210 they accordingly attacked Kia-chau in Shen-si, but were beaten and forced to retire. The next year Li-ngan-tsuen, their king, having died, was succeeded by Li-tsun-hiu, who was more fortunate than his predecessor, and in the last month of 1213 captured the town of King-

[14] *Yuan-chao-pi-shi*, p. 141; Douglas, p. 70; Hyacinthe, pp. 55 and 56; De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 54 and 55; Gaubil, p. 18; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 136.
[15] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 55.
[16] Gaubil, p. 19; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 138.
[17] *Op. cit.* p. 185.
[18] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 55; Gaubil, p. 19, note 1.
[19] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 55 and 56; Hyacinthe, pp. 62 and 64; Gaubil, pp. 19 and 20; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 138 and 139.
[20] A town situated 11 or 12 leagues S.E. of Peking.
[21] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 56 and 57; Gaubil, p. 20; Hyacinthe, pp. 64 and 65.

chau also in Shen-si.[22] The Mongols had captured a large number of Chinese officers who readily took service in their ranks, deeming it doubtless a small offence to transfer their allegiance from one set of Tartars to another, both of them strangers to themselves. Chinghiz Khân was much attached to them, and entrusted some of them with commands; and, we are told, formed 46 brigades out of the Chinese whom Yang-pe-yu and Lieou-lin had brought him. He now determined upon a systematic attack upon the Kin empire, and divided his forces into four divisions; one of them under Kota and Khata,[23] were ordered to post themselves north of the capital and to invest it. His three sons, Juchi, Jagatai and Ogotai were ordered to ravage the districts to the south and south-west of Peking as far as the Yellow River.[24] They crossed the mountains Tai-hang, called Tkhai-khân by Hyacinthe, advanced as far as Leō in Honan, and captured 28 cities, namely, Paou,[25] Sui, Gansuh, Gan-ting, Hing, Ming and Tsze in Chihli; Seang, Wei-hwuy, Hwai, Măng and Leō in Honan and Tsih, Loo, Leaou, Tsin, Ping-yang, Tai-yuen, Keih, Heen, Pă, Fun, Shih, Lan, Hin, Tai and Woo in Shen-si.[26]

A second army under Chinghiz Khân's brother, Juchi Khasar, with whom were Kwang-tsin Noyan and Chotseteposhi (called the General Pocha by Gaubil), advanced towards the east and laid waste the maritime districts of Pe'chih-li, the province of Liau-si and all the country between Liau-tung, Peking and the sea. The *Yuan-shi* says they conquered Su-chau, Ping-luan and Liau-si.[27] The *Huang-yuan* calls the commanders of this division Khasar, Olyni-nayan and Bocha.[28]

The third army, under Chinghiz Khân himself in person, with his youngest son Tului, marched southwards towards the province of Shan-tung as far as Tang-choo on the Shan-tung promontory, and also captured twenty-eight cities, namely, Heung, Pa, Mo, 35 li north of the modern Jin-kew-heen; Gan, 25 li to the north of the modern Woo-keaou-heen, Ho-keen, Tsăng, King, Heen, Shin, Ke, Le, Ke, and Kae in Chih-li; Hwa, 20 li to the east of the modern Hwa-heen in Honan; Găn, Pŭh, Pŏ[29] Tse[30] Tae-gan, Tsenan, Pin, Tae,[31] Yih-too, Tsze,[32] Wei, Tang, Lae and E, in Shan-tung.[33] Meanwhile Mu-khu-li laid siege to Me-chau, situated in Choo-ching-heen in Shan-tung, which he captured after a severe resistance, and slaughtered its inhabitants. We are told that the desertion of Sheteene and Seowpoter[34] at this time was a serious loss to the Kins, and so high was the value set upon their services that Mu-khu-li conferred on them the rank of Wan-hu, *i.e.*, commanders of 10,000 men.[35]

We can hardly realize the terrible surroundings of a campaign on this scale by the Mongols, whose policy was to exterminate wherever resistance was offered. The systematic trampling under foot of three such populous and flourishing provinces as Pe'chih-li, Shan-tung, and Shan-si must have involved a complete carnival of slaughter and destruction. The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* says:—"The Kins, in order to protect themselves, sent their best troops to guard the mountain passes and the fords, and summoned into the towns those capable of bearing arms. When Chinghiz heard of this he ordered his generals to take the old men, women and children whom they met with in the undefended towns and villages, and to put them in front of the army. The peasants and others who manned the walls of those towns where defence was contemplated hearing the voices of their fathers, mothers, wives and children, were unwilling to fight when it involved the slaughter of their relatives. Desolation reigned everywhere in Shan-si, in the part of Honan, north of the Yellow River, in Pe'chihli and Shan-tung. The Mongols pillaged and destroyed more than 90 towns. They reduced to ashes an infinite number of villages, carrying off all they could in the shape of gold, silver and silk, massacring thousands of *useless persons*, and carrying off a multitude of women and children." The booty which they swept away in the shape of cattle was inestimable, and in the wide district we have named only about ten towns escaped

[22] Gaubil, pp. 20 and 21; De Mailla, tome IX, p. 57.
[23] Names otherwise given as Kietai and Hatai.
[24] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 57 and 58; Hyacinthe, p. 65; Gaubil, p. 21.
[25] The modern Tsing-yuen-Heen in Paou-ting-fu.
[26] Douglas, p. 72; Hyacinthe, p. 56.
[27] Douglas, pp. 71 and 72; Hyacinthe, p. 56; De Mailla, tome IX, p. 58; Gaubil, p. 21.
[28] *Op. cit.* p. 185.
[29] The modern Lewching-heen.
[30] The modern Tsening-chow.
[31] The modern Hwuy-min-heen.
[32] The modern Tsze-chuen-heen.
[33] Douglas, p. 72; Hyacinthe, pp. 56 and 57; De Mailla, tome IX, p. 58; Gaubil, p. 21.
[34] Called Se-tkian-ni and Subut by Hyacinthe.
[35] Douglas, p. 73; Hyacinthe, p. 57.

capture.[36] These included the capital and the town sof Tung, in the district of Shun-tian-fu Shun,[37] Chin-ting,[38] Tsing,[39] Wŭh,[40] Ta-ming, Tung-ping in Chih-li; Tih[41] in Shan tung; Pei and Hae-chau in Keansu.[42]

The various divisions of the Mongols reassembled in April 1214 at Ta-keau, a few leagues to the west of the capital, for the purpose of investing it more closely. The *Huang-yuan* calls the place Jen-dian. Chinghiz Khân's generals asked permission to be allowed to storm the town, and undertook to capture it. He refused, however, and sent Ilichi and Chêpa,[43] to inform the Emperor Utubu that he had conquered all the towns of Shan-tung and Ho-pè, and that there only remained Yen-king which he had not subdued. "Heaven," he added, "has reduced you to such a feeble condition, and has exalted me so much above you, what do you think of its intentions towards me? I wish to retire to Tartary, but can you let my troops depart without appeasing their anger with presents." Kaoki, the Kin commander, called Gao-tsi in the *Huang-yuan*, urged that the enemy's army was stricken with sickness, that their horses were worn out and unfit for service,[44] and he proposed to march out and attack it. Wanian-chin-hoei, another minister, argued on the other hand, that they would be running too many risks acting thus, since the larger portion of soldiers in Yen-king had their families elsewhere, and could not therefore be depended upon to stay. "If we suffer any check," added he, "they will certainly disperse. In that case what advantage shall we gain over the enemy. We cannot retain them, they wish to return to their wives and children, the fate of the empire depends on this decision. My advice is, that we accept the peace which the Mongols propose." Utubu followed this counsel, and sent Chin-hoei to the Mongol camp, to conclude peace. Chinghiz Khân demanded a Kong-chu or princess of the Kin Imperial family, and he was accordingly given the princess of Tsi, daughter of the late Emperor Chong-hei, as well as presents of money, silk, 500 young boys, as many girls and 3,000 horses. He now returned home again. The Kin Emperor sent his minister Fu-hing or Fu-sing to conduct him through the Ku-yung pass. When he had traversed this he slaughtered the prisoners of both sexes whom his troops had captured, and who amounted to a prodigious number.[45] The *Huang-yuan* says, Fu-sing conducted Chinghiz as far as lake Yema.[46] The *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* which tells the story of the Chinese campaigns in a jejune fashion, has an interesting paragraph about the episode last mentioned. At the time when Bei-pin[47] was attacked, the Kin minister Van-gin said to the Kin ruler:—"By the will of heaven it seems that the time has arrived for giving the throne over to others. The Dada[48] have strengthened themselves exceedingly, they have extinguished our bravest armies, and taken our most hopeful fortress Tsiuun-kuan. If we again engage them in battle and lose the fight our armies will disperse. It is better to submit to the ruler of the Dada—let him lead away his army. When he has led it away we may again think. Moreover, we hear that in the armies of the Dada an infectious disease has broken out on account of their being unaccustomed to this climate. Now give the ruler of the Dada your daughter, gold, silver and stuffs, and see whether he will consent to go or not. The ruler of the Kin consented, and submitted to Chinghiz, and sent the princess to him with Van-kin and with gold, silver, and stuffs. After that the besieging armies left the city. Van-kin personally accompanied Chinghiz to the defile which is between Motjou and Fujou, *i. e.* between Ma-chau and Fu-chau, and bidding him farewell returned again. The warriors tied up the gold and silver and other things in strong cloth, and having heaved it up, rode away."[49] The last sentence has a certain epical flavour about it.

In regard to the princess who was given in marriage by the Kin Emperor to Chinghiz, and who is called the daughter of Veisha Obana, in the *Huang-yuan*, Rashidu'd-dîn has apparently

[36] Gaubil, pp. 21 and 22.
[37] The modern Shun-e-heen, 6 leagues N. E. of Peking.
[38] The modern Ching-ting-heen.
[39] The modern Tsing-chen-heen.
[40] The modern Chasu chau.
[41] The modern Ling-heen.
[42] Douglas, p. 73; Hyacinthe, 1, p. 57; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 141.
[43] Chepe.
[44] A fact which by the way probably explains Chinghiz Khân's readiness to withdraw.
[45] Douglas, pp. 73 and 74; Hyacinthe, pp. 67 and 68; De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 60 and 62; Gaubil, pp. 22 and 23; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 142 and 143.
[46] *Op. cit.* p. 186.
[47] The province of Peking was so named, says Palladius.
[48] *i.e.* Tartars.
[49] *Op. cit.* pp. 139 and 140.

misunderstood the descriptive title of Kong-chu, and made a proper name of it. He tells us the princess was called Kuchu Khatun, and adds although Chinghiz had no children by her he held her in high honour. She lived until the time of his grandson Arikbuka.[50] This campaign[51] added immensely, no doubt, to the prestige of Chinghiz. To break down the frontier defences of the renowned Kin empire, to capture so many of its towns and to butcher so many of its people; finally, to secure a princess of its Imperial family as his bride, was assuredly, to a leader of Asiatic nomades, drinking deep from the cup of glory and success, and we may well believe that the loads of treasure which his people carried off wrought a strange social revolution among the unsophisticated shepherds and herdsmen of the desert.

The condition of the Kin empire on the other hand was most critical. It is true the Mongols had withdrawn, but they had only done so after ruining the land and squeezing it of its wealth and resources, while Liau-tung, that frontier province which lay between China and the ancient home of the Churchis or Kin Tartars, was in the hands of a rebel prince, who was sustained by the Mongols, and to whom his territory formed an easy gateway into China. We are not surprised that the Kin Emperor, who had seen the various vaunted defences of the empire crumble at the assault of the Mongols, should have felt that his capital city of Yen-king was no longer a safe residence; and should have suggested a migration of the court to Pien-leang or Pien-king, now called Kai-fung-fu, situated on the southern bank of the Yellow River in Honan, and which was the Nan-king or southern capital of the Kin dynasty.

Tuk-tan-i urged upon the Emperor that by this policy he would lose the northern provinces of the empire, while the Nan-king to which he proposed to retire was surrounded by enemies on all sides; having the Sung on the south, the empire of Hia on the west, the Mongols on the north, while Liau-tung which was the cradle of the Kin empire was strong by situation, being protected by the sea and by inaccessible mountains. He urged that advantage should be taken of the peace to make new levies to reinforce the troops and train them well, and to replenish the magazines and arsenals.[52] This advice was seconded by that of the other chief ministers, but the Emperor would not be convinced, and shortly after Tu-shan-i, whose fidelity, sagacity and uprightness made him universally respected, died. He now nominated Wanian-fu-hing or Fu-sing, generalissimo of the troops.[53] With him was nominated as a colleague, Monian Tsin-Chong, and the Tszosyan, *i.e.* second minister, called Tsin-juna in the *Huang-yuan* and Muyen-tsin-chung by Douglas. They were to defend Yen-king, and to assist by their counsel the heir to the throne, Shen-shun (called Shochung by Douglas), who was to remain behind and encourage the citizens. Having made all his preparations, the Emperor set out in the sixth month of 1214 for Pien-leang, with the people of his household and those officers who were not disposed to run the risk of another encounter with the Mongols.[54] When he arrived at Leang-hiang, a town situated five leagues to the south-west of the modern Peking, he demanded from his troops the return of the horses and cuirasses which had been supplied to them for the defence of the capital, and which inasmuch as he had no more enemies to conquer he deemed would not be wanted. This caused a mutiny. The cavalry which was escorting him put to death their general Soowen, and chose three others

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[50] *Huan-yuan*, p. 186; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 446.

[51] The *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* makes Chinghiz after retiring from China on this occasion march against Hia, but it would seem that it has transferred to this year the campaign which with much greater probability is assigned by the other autnorities to the year 1209 or 1210. I have already given their accounts, but having overlooked this one in the *Yuan-chao-pi-shi* will now incorporate it. This authority calls the ruler of Hia, Burkhan, and says he submitted to Chinghiz and presented his daughter, Chakhadi, to him, saying:—"Having heard of your glory, O King, we have even before this been afraid. Now we shall become your right hand and serve you diligently. We are really a settled people, living in towns, therefore in case of a hurried campaign we cannot reach you quickly. But if your favour will extend to us, we will always pay you the products of our country as tribute, camels, woollen stuffs and falcons." Having collected from his people so many camels that they could not be driven straight he presented them to Chinghiz, who now returned to Saari-keer (*i.e.* the Yellow Plains, by the Onon), and encamped there. All this, as I have said, must be understood to be a parenthesis introduced here by accident, and properly referring to the years 1209 and 1210.

[52] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 62.

[53] He is called Fusîn by Hyacinthe, and in the *Huang-yuan*, Rashidu'd-din styles him Fu-king Ching Sang, (*i.e.* the minister Fu-sing) by De Mailla and Gaubil he is called Wanian Chinhoei.

[54] Hyacinthe, p. 68; Douglas, p. 74; DeMailla, tome IX. p. 63 Gaubil, pp. 23 and 24; *Huang-yuan*, p. 186.

named Choda or Kanta, Pisher and Chalar to lead them. They then retraced their steps, and seized the bridge over the Lu-keou, the modern Hoen. Gaubil says this beautiful bridge is situated two leagues west-south-west of the modern Peking. Wanian Chin-hoei who was in command at Yen-king sent an army against the rebels which was defeated, but Choda did not feel himself strong enough to continue the struggle alone, so he sent a courier to Chinghiz Khân to offer him his services and to ask for his protection.[54] The *Huang-yuan* and Rashid-u'd-dîn as usual are very closely alike here. They both call the mutineers Khitans. They agree that the Emperor had reached Ju-jau when the mutiny took place, and that the body of troops which mutinied was behind and broke out into rebellion at another place called Lian-sian in the *Huang-yuan*, and *Lin-pi-hiene* in the copy of Rashidu'd-dîn followed by Erdmann, both referable to the Leang-hiang above named. The murdered general is called Suunia by the Chinese author, and Seguneh by the Persian one. The former agrees with De Mailla in the names it gives the three substituted leaders, namely, Kanda, Bisher and Chalar, while Erdmann's MS. of Rashidu'd-dîn is naturally very corrupt in preserving these names which it gives as Jined, Niran, and Bilan.

According to the *Huang-yuan* Fu-sing hearing of the mutiny closed Lu-gu, *i.e.* the bridge Lu-keou above named, and would not let the rebels pass through; whereupon Kanta sent his officer Tatara with a division of light horse, 1000 strong, which crossed the river secretly and fell upon the men who were guarding it from behind and destroyed them. They seized all the clothes, armour, and weapons, and the horses grazing near the bridge. Rashidu'd-din tells the same story, only that instead of a general Tatara, he speaks of a contingent of Tartars who were found by the Khitans near the bridge and were in the pay of the Kin Emperor, and who joined them.[55] The *Huang-yuan* dates the withdrawal of the Emperor in the fourth month, and says that in the fifth month the young prince whom he had left in charge of Yen-king went south and joined his father. Rashid-u'd-dîn makes him do so after five months.[56] On retiring from China, Chinghiz doubtless intended to give the empire only a respite, and meant to avail himself of the first excuse to return. He went to pass the summer near lake Yurli in Tartary, which, according to Hyacinthe, is situated in the district occupied by the Mongol tribe of Khorlos.[57] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* says Chinghiz went to the town of Hoan-chau in Tartary[58] which is probably a mistake. He professed great indignation on hearing of the withdrawal of the Kin Emperor to Pien-leang, saying, "We have only just made peace with one another, yet he changes his court. This proves the suspicion and bad feeling which he entertains. He has only made peace with me to deceive me, and in the hope that I shall not be on my guard."[59] He was therefore glad to receive Choda's envoy.[60] He sent an army to help him. This was commanded, according to the *Yuan-shi*, by the generals Samuka, Shumulu and Mingan.[61] De Mailla makes two names of them, namely, Sanmoho and Simominga.[62] Rashidu'd-dîn likewise only speaks of two generals whom he calls the Saljiut Samukha Behadur, and the Churchit Mingan.[63] The *Huang-yuan* says that in consequence of the submission of many Khitan chiefs Chinghiz ordered San-jiuru and Mukhabadu, who led the advanced guard of the Khitans, and the brothers Min-an,[64] and Taibao to unite their troops with those of Kanda and together to attack the Middle Capital.[65]

Meanwhile we must turn for a short time to another district. We have seen how the Khitan prince, Yeliu-liuko, secured the kingdom of Liau-tung. It would seem that after the withdrawal of the Mongols the Kin troops had recovered Liau-yang which was then the Tung-king, or Eastern capital of the Empire, as well as the capital of Liau-tung, and some other places in the province. Chinghiz thereupon sent Mu-khu-li to assist in recapturing them. As he passed the district of Lin-hoang, Lutsong-

[54] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 64; Gaubil, p. 24; Hyacinthe pp. 68 and 72; Douglas, pp. 74 and 75.
[55] *Huang-yuan*, pp. 186 and 187; Erdmann, p. 327.
[56] *Huang-yuan*, p. 187; Erdmann, p. 328.
[57] The Mongols call it Chagassutai, and it is also called Baibur-chagan-nor. Hyacinthe, pp. 68 and 438; Douglas, p. 75; D'Ohsson vol. I, p. 145 note.
[58] Gaubil, p. 24.
[59] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 63.
[60] The *Huang-yuan* says the envoy of Kanta and Bisher.
[61] Douglas, p. 75; Hyacinthe, p. 68.
[62] *Op. cit.* tome IX, p. 65.
[63] Erdmann, p. 328.
[64] *i.e.* Mingan.
[65] *Op. cit.* p. 187.

tsinpo, the commander of Kao-chau, went to him with the principal people of the place and submitted. Mu-khu-li had sent a flying corps under Siaoyesien to explore. He is called a Uïghur of the horde of Shantsu by Gaubil. Having learnt from some prisoners that the governor of Tung-king had been changed, and that the new governor was *en route* to occupy his post, Siaoyesien waylaid him *en route*, and killed him. He seized his letters of appointment, rejoined his own people and informed them of his plans, after which he went to Tungking, where he persuaded the officer of the guard that he was the new governor whom they expected. Suspecting no treachery he conducted him with due honour to the governor's palace, where all the officers went to salute him. Siaoyesien had noticed on entering the town the number of troops on the ramparts, and on asking the reason was told that being posted on the frontier it was necessary to be very vigilant. "I come from the court, he replied, and everything there is peace. Why sow alarms by such great preparations." He then summoned the officers of the guard, told them to have their minds at rest, that it was not necessary to uselessly fatigue themselves, and that they might dismiss the troops and send them home, as he would keep himself well informed of the march of the enemy. Three days later Mu-khu-li arrived before sunrise with all his army, and occupied the town without a single arrow being fired. By this conquest the Mongols secured several thousand *lis* of territory, 180,000 families, 100,000 soldiers, and an immense quantity of riches. Of thirty-two towns in the district there was only Tai-nimg, which had time to put itself in a state of defence and which the Mongols could not capture.[66] The *Yuan-shi* says Mu-khu-li in this campaign captured Lu-tsung and Tsin-gua in Gvao-chau and Tsin-chau.[67] Douglas gives the names as Kowcho,[68] Lu-tsung, and Kinpo.[69] Setientsien, a Mongol officer, made Wanian-hussu prisoner, and sent him to Mu-khu-li, who wanted to put him to death, but Setientsien dissuaded him, saying he would not diminish the number of the enemy by putting them to death, but would rather irritate people against him. Besides which he had promised this prisoner to spare his life if he surrendered, and he urged him not to oblige him to break his word, but rather to set him at liberty and to give him a command. Mu-khu-li followed this advice.[70] He now penetrated into Liau-si where the Kin general In-tsing went against him at the head of 200,000 men. They met in the country of Hoa-tao. The fight lasted for many hours, when the Kin troops were defeated and fled, leaving 80,000 corpses on the field. In-tsing now withdrew to Ta-ting-fu, which was then the Peking or Northern Court, which he intended to defend, but the provisions becoming exhausted his officers mutinied and killed him and put one of his subordinates in his place. He is called Ukhuri Illukhu by Hyacinthe, Wukule Eletuhu by Douglas, In-khuakhai in the *Huang-yuan* and Intahu by De Mailla. Mu-khu-li now summoned the new commander to surrender. The latter did not wish to injure his reputation by giving in without a struggle, so he allowed Setien-seang to beat him and then surrendered the town. Mu-khu-li, irritated that it had not surrendered at once, wished to destroy the place, and to slaughter all its inhabitants. Siaoyesien was horrified at this cruelty, and said to him:—"The northern capital is the most important place in Liau-si. If you exercise the severity you threaten, do you think you will find other towns surrendering?" Mu-khu-li assented to this, and urged upon Chinghiz to allow its late commander who had surrendered it to retain his post, while he recommended the Uïghur (*i.e.* Siaoyesien), to be made a general of cavalry, and to be appointed Inspector of the Tribunals in that district.[71] Gaubil says, on the other hand, that Mu-khu-li after capturing the northern capital did put to death many of the enemy's troops on the pretext that they had surrendered too late, but he ceased the slaughter when it was urged that this conduct would prevent other towns from surrendering.[72] He adds that in order to defend his kingdom the Kin Emperor had to levy heavy contributions, which caused some of his officers to go over to the Mongols and others to remain inactive.[73] The

[66] De Maila, tome IX, pp. 65 and 66; Gaubil, p. 26.
[67] Hyacinthe, p. 68.
[68] Situated to the south-west of the right wing of the Kartsin Mongols, who lived west of the Chakhars.
[69] *Op. cit.* p. 75.

[70] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 6 and 67.
[71] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 67 and 68; Douglas, pp. 75 and 76; Hyacinthe, p. 75; *Huang-yuan*, p. 188.
[72] *Op. cit.* p. 26.
[73] Ib.

events we have been describing took place, so far as we can be certain of the chronology of this difficult period, during the year 1214. The next year was even more disastrous for the Kin empire than the previous one. Fucha-tsekin[74] who commanded at Tung-chau on the Peiho, and was one of the best Kin generals, deserted to the Mongols with all his troops. Chinghiz Khân gave him the rank of general in his own service and rewarded those who had followed him.[75] Rashidu'd-dîn calls him the Treasurer Kheda, and says he gave his grandson Jungshai as a hostage for his behaviour, and went back to Tung-chau.[76] After capturing the northern capital as we have mentioned, Mu-khu-li sent two of his officers named Kaotêyu and Lieou-possonur to summon Ulipu, the governor of Sing-tsong-fu, called Hing-chung-fu by Douglas, who says it is a city of the Tumed tribe, situated to the north-west of Ning-yuen. Ulipu put Lieou-possonur to death, and would have done the same to Kaotêyu if he had not escaped. The officers and citizens blamed this truculence, and, afraid that Mu-khu-li would make reprisals, they united against Ulipu and deprived him of the command of the place which they made over to Sitiening, who submitted to Mu-khu-li, and was given command of the troops in the place.[77]

We will now return to the operations of the Mongols against the central capital Yen-king. We have seen that Samuka and Mingan, with the Khitan general Choda, were ordered to lay siege to it. It was defended with persistent valour, but the minister Chuhu Kaoki who had accompanied the Emperor when he moved to his southern capital was jealous of Wanian Fu-sing,[78] and of his colleague Monian Tsin-chong, who commanded at Yen-king, and took care that the reinforcements they sent for did not reach them. Wanian-sulan informed the Emperor, and accused the minister of fomenting disturbances on the frontier, and of treating his faithful people badly, but such warnings were useless, and the minister retained his credit. The two commanders now sent one of their officers to Pien-liang, and having gained access to the Emperor informed him of the condition of things at Yen-king. Utubu professed surprise, and ordered Yong-si and King-chau, two of his best officers, to collect the various detachments scattered in the departments of the south-west and of Ho-pê as well as a large stock of grain. The general Li-ing was entrusted with the task of conducting these reinforcements and provisions to the beleaguered capital of the empire, but he was without experience, devoted to wine and had not control of his men, and one day when he was drunk a body of Mongols met him north of Pa-chau, and his army was completely beaten. He was killed, and the grain he was conveying was captured.[79] Two other generals were marching after him, and according to the *Huang-yuan* had charge of the convoy. It calls them the Tsian-dian (revisor), Tsin-shou and the Yuan-shuai[80] Liin. The *Huang-yuan* says further they were to furnish provisions by different roads, and each man was to take three *dou* of bread. Liin worked himself and encouraged the others, but when Tsin-shou reached the Jo-jou fortress Siyan-finjau and Liin reached those of Bajou and Tsin, all the grain was seized by *our* troops.[81] The last phrase shows the *Huang-yuan* was written under Mongol auspices. Rashidu'd-dîn, in the text followed by Erdmann, says there were three commanders in charge of the convoy, namely, Gung-su, Rim-gan-che and Li-fing, besides a divisional commander of troops. He says the convoy was of rice, and that each man had to carry three *Kafin*, which in Chinese were called *Simer*. The divisional general marched along the road to the fortress of Su-chau-wei and the others with the convoy by another route. He was met and beaten at Sing-pi, while the convoy was captured at Pa-chau.[82] From this time the communication between Yen-king and Pien-leang was severed.

Wanian Fu-sing having learnt of the collapse of the effort to relieve the city, and losing all hope, proposed to his colleague that they should both march against the enemy and die sword in hand for the glory of their country. The latter, who had immediate control of the

[74] Called Fucha-tsel by Hyacinthe and Pussa-tsitsin by DeMailla, the *Huang-yuan* calls him the *fuyinshai* *i.e.* assistant of the commander of the forces.
[75] De Mailla, tome IX, p. 68; Douglas, pp. 75 and 76; Hyacinthe, p. 75; *Huang-yuan*, p. 187.
[76] Erdmann, p. 330.
[77] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 68-69; Douglas, p. 77.
[78] Called Wanian Chin-hoei by De Mailla.
[79] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 69 and 70; Douglas, p. 77; Hyacinthe, p. 75; Gaubil, p. 27.
[80] The King-chau and Yong-si of De Mailla.
[81] *Op. cit.* p. 188.
[82] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, pp. 328 and 329.

troops, would not consent. Fu-sing quitted him in anger, and not wishing to play the part he had assigned himself alone, first repaired to the Hall of Ancestors of the Kin Imperial family, to which he was related, and after making the usual prosternations and going through the customary ceremonies he summoned one of his officers named Chaoseouen, to whom he confided his intention of committing suicide. On the first day of the fifth month he wrote a memoir which he confided to a mandarin named Se-gan-shê to remit to the Emperor. In this document he set out the measures which he deemed necessary to save the empire, exposed the treachery and intrigues of the minister Chuhu-kaoki, and finished by deploring his own misfortune, and declaring himself worthy of death for not having been able to preserve Yen-king. He then arranged his affairs, summoned his household, and distributed his property among his domestics, as if it was the happiest day of his life. He alone in his palace was not in tears. He then took a cup full of wine which he offered to Se-gan-shê, and taking one himself he addressed that mandarin, saying :—" It was from you I learnt the beautiful maxims contained in the *King*, and it would not be seemingly that you should have taken all this pains in vain. I ought to put your precepts into practice." After having drunk several cups with him he bade Se-gan-shê good-bye. The latter had scarcely left the house when cries and lamentations there induced him to return, and he then found that Fu-sing had taken a deadly poison, and was dead. His servants buried him in the court-yard of his palace.[83]

When the Emperor read the memoir which Fu-sing had prepared for him he gave him the posthumous title of Wang. Gaubil adds that it is an ancient custom in the empire to punish and reward the dead. Titles, Mandarinats, and extraordinary honours are freely given to the dead, and sometimes they are as freely tried for offences, deprived of their titles or degraded, or the monuments put up to them destroyed.[84] The same day on which Fu-sing committed suicide some princesses and the ladies of the harem whom the Kin emperor had left at Yen-king when he went away, having learnt that it was Monian Tsin-chong's intention to abandon the capital and to withdraw southwards, prepared their carriages and told him they intended leaving with him. Fancying that he could not well escort them without himself falling into the hands of the Mongols, he bade them wait till he had made a way for them. They believed him, whereupon taking with him only some of the women to whom he was attached and some relatives and friends, he left that town without looking behind him. When he reached Chong-shan,[85] he told his companions he could not have escaped from his difficulty if he had taken the ladies of the harem with him. His treachery and meanness did not serve him long however. Se-gan-shê, who had gone ahead to the court at Pien-leang, duly informed the authorities there of what had occurred at Yen-king, and when the craven governor arrived the Emperor would not speak to him about the place, and shortly after had him tried and condemned to death for treason. On the withdrawal of its governor the Mongols entered Yen-king, and killed a vast number of mandarins and people. During the confusion some soldiers set fire to the palace, and the conflagration lasted for a whole month.[86] This is partially confirmed by Rashidu'd-dîn, who tells us that during the siege the famine became so severe that the citizens fed on the living and the dead.[87] Carpini has a romantic account of the siege, largely imaginative. He makes the besieging army the victims of the famine, and tells us how Chinghiz ordered one man in ten to be set aside to feed the rest with. The garrison, he goes on to say, fought bravely, and fired weapons from their machines and also arrows, and when stones failed them they threw silver and also melted silver. The city, he says, was full of various kinds of treasures. Eventually the Mongols made a great subterranean road opening into the middle of the place, through which they suddenly emerged and made an attack from within, while those outside assailed it from without, broke open the gate, killed the Emperor !!! and captured the city.[88] Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, has a similar account. He calls the Chinese capital the city of Tamghâj, and tells us Chinghiz

[83] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 70 and 71; Gaubil, pp. 27 and 28; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 147.
[84] Gaubil, pp. 28 and 29; De Mailla, pp. 71 and 72.
[85] *i.e.* Pao-ting-fu, a town of Pe'chih-li.
[86] De Mailla, tome IX, pp. 71 and 72.
[87] Erdmann, p. 329.
[88] *Op. cit.* ed. D'Avezac, pp. 651 and 653.

besieged the city for a period of four years, until every stone that was in the city had been discharged from the catapults by its defenders, and when the stones, bricks, &c., were exhausted, everything made of iron, brass, lead, copper, tin, and pewter was similarly used, and then balishes or ingots of gold and silver were thrown instead of stones. It was reported that Chinghiz Khân had issued orders that the soldiers were to pay no heed to this shower of precious metals. After an attack of four years the city was taken.[89] All these fantastic details help us to understand the importance of the great capital of Cathay in the eyes of western authors and travellers. One of the latter, the Sayyid Baha-u'd-dîn, the Kâzi, who, at this time went on an embassy from the Khuarezm Shâh Muḥammed to Chinghiz Khân, and to whom we shall revert in a later paper, says:—"When we arrived within the boundaries of Tamghâj, and near to the seat of government of the Altan Khân, from a considerable distance a high white mound appeared in sight, so distant, that between us and that high place was a distance of two or three stages, or more than that. We, who were the persons sent by the Khuarezm Shâh government, supposed that that white eminence was perhaps a hill of snow, and we made inquiries of the guides and the people of that part [respecting it], and they replied, 'The whole of it is the bones of men slain.' When we had proceeded onwards another stage, the ground had become so greasy and dark from human fat, that it was necessary for us to advance another three stages on that same road, until we came to dry ground again. Through the infections [arising] from that ground, some [of the party] became ill, and some perished. On reaching the gate of the city of Tamghâj, we perceived, in a place under a bastion of the citadel, an immense quantity of human bones collected. Inquiry was made and people replied, that, on the day the city was captured, 60,000 young girls, virgins, threw themselves from this bastion of the fortress and destroyed themselves, in order that they might not fall captives into the hands of the Mongols, and that all these were their bones."[90]

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJÂB.

COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL.

WITH NOTES BY CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 104.*)

No. 19.—LAMBIKIN.[1]

Once upon a time there was a wee lambikin who frolicked about on his little tottering legs. One day he met a jackal who said, "Lambikin, Lambikin, shall I eat you?"

But Lambikin gave a little frisk, and answered:—

Nânî kol jâwâṅgâ:
Moṭâ tâjâ âwâṅgâ:
Pher tûṅ maiṅ nûṅ khâwâṅgâ.
To Granny's house I go:
There I shall fatter grow:
And you shall eat me so.

The jackal, thinking this reasonable, let the lambikin pass, and soon afterwards the lambikin met a vulture, who said:—

"Lambikin, Lambikin, shall I eat you?"

But the lambikin answered as before, and the vulture, thinking it was only reasonable, let the little fellow pass.

And so on with a tiger, a wolf, and a dog, until all the wild animals and birds had let little lambikin pass to go to his granny's house and get fatter. And they all licked their lips at thinking what a nice little mouthful he would be on his way back.

Now when the lambikin reached his granny's house he said to her, "Granny, please put me into the corn-bin, for I have promised to get fat." When Granny heard this, she, of course, put him into the corn-bin at once, and there the greedy little creature remained for seven days and eat and eat and eat until he was so fat that he could scarcely waddle.

Then his granny said it was time for him to go home, as he was fat enough for anything. But the cunning little lambikin said:—

"If I do, Granny dear, some wild animal may eat me on the way back. The best plan will be for you to make a little drumikin[2]

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[89] *Op. cit.* pp. 961 and 962.

[90] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 965.

[1] *Lelâ, lerâ, lekrâ, lelkaṛâ* Panj. a lamb.—R. C. T.

[2] *Ḍhamkîriâ, ḍhamkîrî*, Panj. a small drum made by stretching a leather across a wide-mouthed earthen cup (*piyâla*) and by Jâts of a piece of hollow wood, 6 inches by 3 inches, with its ends covered with leather. *Cf. ḍamrû*, Hind. *ḍamaka*, Skr.—R. C. T.

out of the skin of my little brother that died, and then I can sit inside and trundle along. I am as tight as a drum myself."

So his Granny made a little drumikin, and lambikin sat inside and trundled along. By-and-bye he met the vulture, who called out, "Drumikin, have you seen Lambikin?" Then the lambikin called out from inside—

Waṇ piâ lelkaṛâ: waṇ pî tû!
Chal, ḍhamkîriâ! Ḍham! Kâ! Ḍhû![3]
Lost in the forest and so are you!
On, Little Drumikin! Tum! Tum! Too!

"How very annoying," replied the vulture, and sighed to think of the nice mouthful he had lost, while the crafty lambikin trundled on gaily giving the same answer to all the animals he met, and chuckling at his own cleverness. At last he met the jackal, but the jackal was not to be done. He recognised the lambikin's voice and said, "Oh, you've turned yourself inside out, have you? Come out of that!" Then he tore open the drumikin, and gobbled up lambikin.[4]

No. 20.—THE TIGER, THE BRÂHMAṆ AND THE JACKAL.[1]

Once on a time a tiger was caught in a trap. He tried in vain to get out through the bars, and rolled and bit with rage and grief when he failed. By chance a poor Brâhmaṇ came by. "Let me out of this cage, Oh pious one," cried the tiger.

"Nay, my friend," replied the Brâhmaṇ wisely, "You would probably eat me if I did."

"Not so," swore the tiger with many oaths. "I would be for ever grateful, and serve you as a slave."

Now when the tiger sobbed and sighed and wept and swore, the pious Brâhmaṇ's heart softened and he opened the door of the cage. Out popped the tiger and seizing the poor man, said:—"What a fool you are! Now I shall eat you, for I am famished after having been cooped up so long."

In vain the Brâhmaṇ pleaded and prayed. The most he could gain was a promise to abide by the decision of the first three things he chose to question as to the justice of the tiger's action. So the Brâhmaṇ first asked a *pîpal* tree that was standing by, but the *pîpal* tree replied coldly:—"What have you to complain about? Don't I give shade and shelter to every traveller who comes by, and don't they tear down my branches to feed their cattle afterwards? Don't whimper, but be a man!"

So the Brâhmaṇ went sadly further afield till he saw a buffalo turning a well, but the buffalo gave him no better answer, saying:—"You are a fool to expect gratitude! Look at me! Whilst I gave milk they fed me on cotton seed and oil-cake, but now that I am dry they yoke me here, and give me refuse for fodder."[2]

The Brâhmaṇ sighed, but wandering on asked the road what it thought of the matter.

"What nonsense!" cried the road, "to expect anything else! Here am I, useful to all, yet everybody, rich or poor, great or small, tramples on me as he goes past, and gives me nothing but pipe[3] ashes and grain husks."

So the Brâhmaṇ returned sad and sorrowful. On his way he met a jackal, who called out:—

"Why, what's the matter, Mr. Brâhmaṇ? You look as miserable as a Jaṭṭ in a shower!"[4]

The Brâhmaṇ told him all that had happened.

"How very confusing," said the jackal, when the recital was ended: "Would you mind telling it me over again, for everything has got mixed up so."

And the Brâhmaṇ told it all over again, but the jackal only shook his head in a distracted sort of way, and could not understand.

"It is very strange," said he sadly, "but it all goes in at one ear and out at the other. I will

[3] Pronounced sharply to represent the sound of beating a drum.—F. A. S.

[4] A common baby story all over the Panjâb. Told at much greater length by repeating the verses on meeting the various animals. It has been tried on English children with great success.—F. A. S.

[1] Told with great perception of the humorous points by a Jaṭṭ boy in Chohar Khâna, Gujrânwâlâ District. I have heard it also in the Firozpûr and Lâhor Districts, but never so well told. The text is a free translation of the tale.—F. A. S.

The tale is found in the *Gul Bakâolî*—p. 11 of Jwâlâ Parkâsh's edition, Merath (Meerut), 1880,—a well-known fairy tale, where it is introduced to point a moral. The tale there told differs in no way from this one except that the *pîpal* tree becomes the banyan tree (Hindî *baṛ*; Panj. *boharˌ*). I am told also that it is to be found in the *Bhâgavatâ* with the variation that the *pîpal* becomes the sandal-wood tree (*chandan*).—R. C. T.

[2] Buffaloes are very dirty feeders and are constantly—one might almost say habitually—fed on stable litter and farm-yard filth, a fact which becomes of practical importance when it is considered that their filth-tainted milk is more than frequently mixed with cow's milk by the milk vendors in all bâzârs.—R. C. T.

[3] In allusion to the eternal *chillam* (or hubble-bubble) of the native.—R. C. T.

[4] *Mandâ hâl wâng Jaṭṭ jhaṛî de*: a well-known proverb in the Southern Panjâb.—R. C. T.

go to the place where it all happened, and then perhaps I shall be able to give a judgment."

So they came to where the tiger was waiting for the Brâhmaṇ, and sharpening his teeth and claws.

"You've been away a long time," growled the beast, "but now let us begin *our* dinner."

"Our dinner!" thought the Brâhmaṇ as his knees knocked together with fright; what a very delicate way of putting it!"

"Give me five minutes, my lord," he pleaded, "in order that I may explain matters to the jackal here, who is somewhat slow in his wits."

The tiger consented, and the Brâhmaṇ began the whole story over again, not missing a single detail, and spinning as long a yarn as possible.

"Oh, my poor brain! oh, my poor brain!" cried the jackal, wringing its paws. "Let me see! How did it begin? You were in the cage, and the tiger came walking by and——"

"What a fool you are!" interrupted the tiger. "*I* was in the cage."

"Yes, of course!" cried the jackal, pretending to tremble with fright; "*I* was in the cage. No, I wasn't! Oh, dear, where are my wits? The cage was in the Brâhmaṇ, and the tiger came. No, the tiger was in the Brâhmaṇ and the cage came walking by. Oh, don't mind me! Begin your dinner, for I shall never understand."

"Yes, you shall," cried the tiger in a rage with the jackal for his stupidity. "You *shall* understand me. Now look at me! I am the tiger."

"Yes, my lord."

"And that's the Brâhmaṇ."

"Yes, my lord."

"And that's the cage."

"Yes, my lord."

"And *I* was in the cage. Do you understand?"

"Yes,—no,— please, my lord."

"Well," cried the tiger impatiently.

"Please, my lord, how did you get in?"

"How? In the usual way, of course."

"Oh, dear me! My head is beginning to whirl again. Don't be angry, my lord, but—please—what is the usual way?"

At this the tiger lost patience, and jumping into the cage, cried—

"*This* way! *Now* do you understand?"

"Exactly so," grinned the jackal, deftly shutting the door; "As we all were!!"

No. 21.—THE JACKAL AND THE TIGER.[1]

An old tiger was in the habit of hunting in a particular *jangal*.

One day he caught a jackal and was proceeding to eat it when the jackal said:—

"Before you eat your dinner, had you not better kill that other tiger yonder, or whilst you are lazily asleep he may hunt your forest, and perhaps kill you."

"What tiger?" asked the king of beasts.

"Come with me and I will show you," answered the jackal.

So he led the tiger to a well, and bid him look down. When the tiger saw his reflection in the water he hemmed and hawed, saying:—"That's a poor old beast, and he isn't doing any harm. He won't rob me: why, he looks half-starved."

"He has caught a fine fat jackal though," said the wily prisoner, looking over the well too.

"So he has," cried the tiger, "what a horrid old thief!"

And without pausing a moment he leapt down the well, and was killed on the spot.

And the jackal went home laughing.

A noteworthy variant of this tale is told in the Firozpûr District, entitled:—

The Vixen and the Tiger.

An old tiger was in the habit of hunting in a certain *jangal*, and killing and eating any animal he might chance on. At last matters became so intolerable that the animals met together, and agreed to give up to him daily one of themselves, on condition that he ceased his hunting. One day it came to a vixen's turn to be eaten, but when she reached the tiger she represented to him that a similar arrangement had been made by the animals with his brother, and that it so happened that it was her turn to go to him, too, that day. This made the tiger very jealous, and he demanded to be shown his brother, whereupon the vixen showed him his own image in a well, and the tiger in his wrath jumped in and was drowned.

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[1] Told by a Jaṭṭ boy in the Gujrânwâlâ District, and known also in the Muzaffargaṛh District.—F. A. S.

A variant of the tale is to be found in the *Anwâr-i-Suhelî*: see p. 82 of Munshi Nawal Kishor's Lakhnau Edition of the Persian version, and p. 41 of the Merath (Meerut) Urdû Translation. It is there known as "the Hare and the Tiger."—R. C. T.

MISCELLANEA.

DATE OF 'ABDU'L-WAHHÂB.

SIR,—In an article on the Wahhâbys, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, p. 67, Fazl Lutfullah states that the founder of this sect, 'Abdu'l-Wahhâb, was born in the year 1691 A.D. In a note on this date the editor remarks that it "is disputed by some writers; if he were 95 years old according to the Arabic Lunar Calendar when he died in 1787, he could only have been born about 1695 A.D.," or four years later than the time attributed by Mr. Fazl Lutfullah. A very elaborate paper on the "History of the Wahhâbys in Arabia and India," is printed in the *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XIV, (1880), in which the author, Mr. E. Rehatsek, writes as follows regarding the probable date of the birth of this Muḥammadan reformer:—"The founder of the Wahhâby sect, Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Wahhâb, was born at Horeymulah in Central Arabia, in the little province of Nejd, somewhat before the middle of last century, according to Captain Palgrave," who travelled in 1862-63 (*Travels in Central Arabia*, vol. I, p. 363).

Both Mr. Fazl Lutfullah and Mr. Rehatsek agree in the year of the death of 'Abdu'l-Wahhâb in 1787. As it is only a quarter of a century since this sect of Islâm made itself known in India, and as Captain Palgrave saw a grandson of its founder so recently as 1863 at Riâd, I think the date of his birth could be ascertained. Mr. Rehatsek's date—"somewhat before the middle of last century"—appears to be more probable, and as no history is definitely known of his early life, it is not likely that he lived to the great age of 95 years.

S. R. BUNSHAH.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal* of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society appears irregularly, the average period between two successive numbers being about twelve months. The recent issue contains the *Proceedings* of two years, 1881 and 1882, and the papers read between July 1881 and December 1882. Among these are a second and third instalment of the Rev. A. Bourquin's translation of the *Dharmasindhu*, which would have been much better if printed together, than separated as they are by other two papers on other subjects. So also with Dr. Führer's two papers on the *Manusâradhammasatṭham*, between which one article is inserted. The editing generally is also indifferent: Jonesian and Gilchristian spellings are used together, long vowels are marked as *á*, *ā*, *a*, or *â*, at random, the palatal sibilant in one paper is represented by *sh*, in another by *ṣ*, and in a third by *ś*:—surely some uniformity might be aimed at. The illustrative plates also are mostly of very inferior execution.

The translation of the *Dharmasindhu* of Kâśinâtha extends as far as the end of the first part of the original. The second paper is a third instalment of Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha's "Contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics," bringing down the history of the Portuguese coinages in India from 1580 to 1723, and containing a very complete discussion of the subject with much important collateral information. Mr. J. C. Lisboa's "List of Plants seen at Mahâbalêśvar at the end of last hot season," is an important contribution to local botany, the introduction to which is, however, of more general interest. The fifth paper in this number is Bhagvânlâl Indraji's "Antiquarian Remains at Sopârâ," which has already been noticed at length (*ante*, *p.* 114.) We find, on p. 311, a reference to a "frontispiece," but no such plate appears with this issue.

Dr. Führer's two short papers give some account of the Burmese Buddhist Law-book *Manusâradhammasatṭham*, probably originally compiled in the time of king Vyomadhî about the end of the 3rd century A.D. and several times revised since, and of its relation to the Brahmanical *Dharmaśâstras* on which it has been founded.

Dr. Codrington, one of the secretaries, contributes an article of 32 pages, "On a hoard of coins from Broach." This large find consisted, he tells us, of 448 gold coins and some pieces, and about 1,200 silver coins and pieces, including coins of Genoa, Venice, Egypt, Armenia, Persia, and Dehli, dating, with one exception, between A.D. 1260 and 1380. Of the gold coins 367 belong to thirteen of the Mamluk Sulṭâns of the Bahri dynasty; 33 are Venetian sequins; 1 coin of Genoa; 47 of Dehli Sulṭans:—these make up 448, exclusive of other 8 which the author describes (pp. 350-352) as Ayyubi, and Persian. No statistics are given of the silver coins. The four plates with which this article is illustrated are deplorable specimens of lithography. The last paper is a short one by Mr. J. F. Fleet, on "A copperplate grant of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II.," dated Ś. 1160, with photozincographic facsimiles.

RÂṬHOR GRANTS No. III.—A GRANT OF DHRUVA III., OF BHAROCH.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E., AND DR. E. HULTZSCH.

THE subjoined grant was found in 1881, together with a considerable number of older and later inscriptions, by a labourer of Surat, who was engaged in excavating the *pro tempore* kitchens for a large wedding party at Bagumra, (Zilla Balesar) in the Gaikovâḍ's territory. My old friend, Râo Saheb Mohonlâl R. Jhaveri, Deputy Educational Inspector of Surat, brought the find to my notice, and kindly purchased for me a number of the plates.[1]

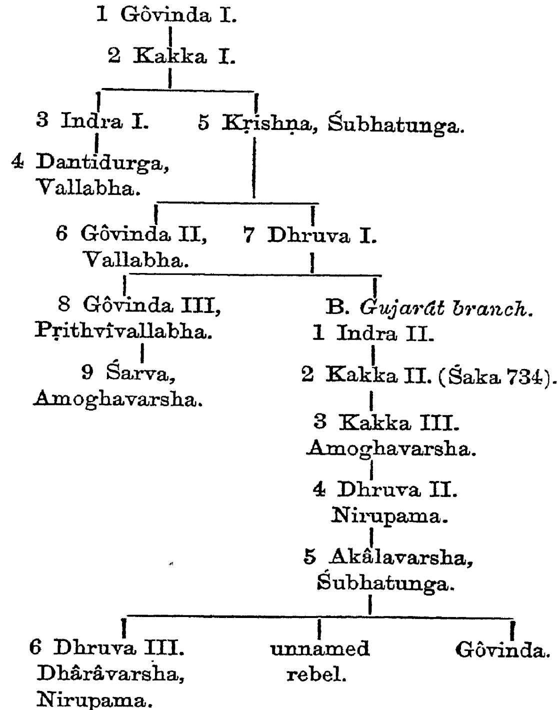
The grant is written on three strong plates, measuring twelve inches by 10¼, which are held together by a stout ring, passed, as is usual in Râṭhor *Śâsanas*, through holes in the left sides of the plates. The third and first plates are inscribed in the inner sides only. The ring bears a seal, which shows the usual Râshṭrakûṭa emblem, a figure of Śiva, seated on a lotus and holding snakes in his hands. The preservation is tolerably good, though some letters here and there have been injured or destroyed by the formation of verdigris, and the carbonisation of the copper. A triangular piece has been cut off from the right-hand lower corner of the first plate, but has been preserved.

The letters which have been carefully incised by a skilled *kansâr*, on the whole, closely resemble those of Dantidurga's Sâmangaḍh plates of Śaka Saṁvat 675, but show in some particulars more modern-looking forms. Thus, as I have stated already in my paper on the Dhiniki plates, *ṭa* is invariably represented by the modern ट. Further *ṭha*, which on the Sâmangaḍh plates consists of a circle only, shows the additional topstroke, ठ. Finally, the *kâṇâs* or *â* strokes, are made, as in modern Devanâgarî, fully as long as the *aksharas*. The letters of the sign manual (Pl. II. l. 19) are somewhat larger than those in the body of the grant, but their shape is exactly the same. At the end the peculiar flourish or mark occurs which is also found on the Kâvî plates.

From an epigraphic point of view the Śâsana possesses considerable interest, because it is the earliest grant of the Gujarât Râṭhors that shows throughout the literary, or Kâyastha-Nâgarî alphabet. The Bârodâ plates of Karka II, and the Kâvî plates of Gôvinda IV., dated Śaka Saṁvat 749, still imitate the old Gujarât characters. It is also interesting to note that in this grant no attempt is made to introduce here and there antiquated forms, such as we find side by side with the real Kâyastha letters, in the Râdhanpur and Van Dindori grants of Gôvinda III. The wording of the grant closely resembles that of the other Râshṭrakûṭa edicts, and those portions of the *Vaṁśâvali* which refer to the earlier kings, literally agree with the Kâvi, Bârodâ, and Sâmangaḍh plates. The new portions, too, are written in that turgid style of Sanskrit poetry, in which all the court-poets of the Râṭhors seem to have excelled.

The Râshṭrakûṭa *Vaṁśâvali* stands according to our grant as follows :—

A. *Dekhan Line.*



About the kings of the main or Dekhan line we learn two important particulars (vs. 12-13). First, it appears that Kṛishṇa I. bore also the Biruda Śubhatunga, and derived his titles 'king of kings and supreme lord,' from his victories over one Râhapya or Râ-

[1] The original plates of the grant under notice will be presented to the *Oriental Museum* at Vienna, and there be open to inspection.

happa. Both these points, it is evident, were also mentioned in the Kâvî grant. But as the corresponding verses, 13 and 15 are mutilated, they were not intelligible. I am unable to say who this Râhapya was. The only list in which I find a similar name is that of the princes of Mevâḍ. Professor H. H. Wilson mentions[2] a Rahup, who reigned about 1200 A.D. Of course that individual cannot be identical with the enemy of Kṛishṇa I. Secondly, we hear (vs. 23, 24), for the first time the real name of the son of Gôvinda III, who is usually called Amoghavarsha According to our plates it was Śarva. If we turn to the history of the Gujarât line, it is interesting to note that the statement of the other plates, according to which Indra II. received Gujarât from his brother, is repeated in somewhat different terms. The district is here (vs. 26) called *lâṭîyaṁ maṇḍalam*, 'the province of Lâṭa,' not *Lâṭeśvaramaṇḍalam*, as the Bârodâ and Kâvî plates have it. This new version shows clearly that my formerly proposed rendering of the latter expression, 'the province of the lord of Lâṭa', is correct, and that the idea of the earlier translators of the grant, who speak of a "province called Lâṭeśvara," is erroneous. The dependent position of Indra II. and of his successors is plainly admitted by our grant, which calls Gôvinda III, the *svâmin* or master, of his younger brother. Another highly interesting point is that our grant does not name Gôvinda IV, the second son of Indra II, who, as the Kâvî plates show, ruled after his brother, Karka or Kakka II.[3] As he was the uncle of Kakka III, whom our grant places immediately after Kakka II, it is very probable that the latter died while his son was a minor, and that Gôvinda IV, deprived his nephew of his rightful inheritance. The erasion of his name from the list of Gujarât Râṭhors in a grant issued by the great-grandson of Kakka III, is probably intentional, and meant as a punishment for his disloyalty. The information, too, which our grant gives regarding the hitherto unknown four Râṭhor kings of Gujarât is very valuable. We learn that in the short space of forty years between Śaka Saṁvat 749 and 789, no fewer than five princes ruled who belonged to five generations. This fact alone is sufficient to show that the period must have been a time of troubles and wars, and that Kakka III, must have come to the throne late in life and have died or have been killed soon after, when his son and grandson were already grown up. Else it would be incredible that five generations could have ruled within less than half a century. The few details given regarding the reign of each of the four new kings, fully bear out the assertion that they had a hard life and with difficulty held their own. Vs. 29 says of Kakka III, surnamed Amoghavarsha, that he conquered 'the tributary Râshṭrakûṭas, who were firmly allied and occupied districts according to their own will' (*svechchhâgṛihîtavishayân dṛiḍhasaṅghabhâjaḥ śulkika-Râshṭrakûṭân*). His son, Dhruva II, called also Nirupama, according to vs. 32, lost his life in battle 'after putting to flight the army of a king named Vallabha.' But the victory must have been as doubtful as it was dearly bought. For, as vs. 34 asserts, Dhruva's son, Akâlavarsha or Śubhatunga, 'whose wicked servants were disloyal,' had '*to recover*' his paternal realm 'which had been attacked by Vallabha.' This can only mean that Vallabha, though he may have been checked by Dhruva II, remained powerful enough to renew his attack, and used the confusion arising on his adversary's death to win over the ministers or generals of the latter, and became by their help, for a time at least, master of the Bharoch kingdom. Though Akâlavarsha, according to our grant, subsequently conquered both Vallabha and the treacherous officials, still matters did not mend. For his son and successor, Dhruva III, the donor of our grant, according to v. 37, had again trouble with 'hostile' (*vimukha*) Vallabha, and with seditious kinsmen (*vikṛitimâgatabândhavâḥ*). Moreover, he was assailed by 'the very powerful army of the Gûrjaras,' (vs. 37-38), with whom an unnamed younger brother of his had allied himself. Finally a king, called Mihira, attacked Dhruva, but suffered defeat (vs. 41). Though the verses 38-42 repeatedly assert that Dhruva resisted all his enemies unaided, the contradictory statement made at the end of the grant (vs. 58-59), that another brother

[2] Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II, p. 257.

[3] The pedigrees of the Râshṭrakûṭas which I have given formerly wrongly represent the Gôvinda IV as the *son* of Karka II.

G ô v i n d a, assisted him materially in making his rule firm, seems more credible. The poetical bombast with which the war with M i h i r a is described, makes it impossible to say who this assailant was. As regards V a l l a b h a, it seems not improbable that one and the same individual of this name was the foe of the three kings. If so, it is perhaps not too hazardous to assume, because the name V a l l a b h a was a common *biruda* of the Dekhanî Râshṭrakûṭas, that the son of G ô v i n d a III, Ś a r v a, *alias* A m o g h a v a r s h a, is meant by it. For it is not in the least unlikely that the suzerain power may have had difficulties in obtaining the tribute from Gujarât, or have had other reasons for interfering in the affairs of the province. The fact that D h r u v a III even was a tributary prince, may be considered certain on account of the epithets, *mahâsâmantâdhipati* and *samadhigatâśeshamahâśabda*, which are applied to him in our grant. Moreover the reign of A m o g h a v a r s h a, to judge from the Râṭhor copper-plates and the Kaṇheri inscriptions of the Silâhâras, extended just over this period. On the other hand, we have no evidence that A m o g h a v a r s h a really bore the *biruda* Vallabha, like his father and his remoter ancestors. The third enemy, 'the powerful Gûrjaras' are, in all probability, the C h â u ḍ â s or C h â p o ṭ k a ṭ a s of Aṇhilvâḍ. For we know of no other kingdom during the 9th century, which could be called G û r j a r a. According to Kṛishṇâjî's *Ratnamâlâ*[4] Aṇhilvâḍ was governed from 841 to 865 A.D. by K h e m r â j or K s h e m a r â j a, 'who had no servants of ability, was passionate of temper, but in good fortune equal to I n d r a.' Most probably he was the Gûrjara, who, with D h r u v a's younger brother tried to gain possession of Bharoch.

The object of the grant is to convey the village of P â r â h a ṇ a k a, which belongs 'to the 116 villages connected with K a r m â n t a p u r a, to a Brâhmaṇa, called J o j i b h â, a member of the L â k s k â y a ṇ a *gotra* and a student of the A d h v a r y u- or Y a j u r-v ê d a, for the maintenance of a *Satira, i.e.* a so-called *Sadâvrata*, where daily doles are given to strangers, and in order to defray the expenses of religious rites. The donee's father was called N e n n a p h y a (perhaps Nennappa), and his grandfather Ḍ h o ḍ ḍ h i. The virtues of the latter are described in two verses, 44-45, and it is said that he had obtained from D h r u v a r â j a, (probably D h r u v a II) the village of T r e n n â, and had founded the charity, mentioned above. Among the boundaries of the village of P â r â h a ṇ a k a (Pl. II, B. 10-12), we find the 'Brâhmaṇa settlement' of M o t t a k a. Everybody who is acquainted with Gujarât will know at once that this can only be the town of M o t â, on the road from Surat to Bârdolî which is famous as the original seat of the Motâlâ Brâhmaṇas. Though I am at present unable to identify, for want of trustworthy maps, the other villages and towns mentioned, I have no hesitation in asserting that our grant refers to a village south of the Taptî, and proves that Southern Gujarât formed part of the dominions of the Bharoch Râṭhors. That is a point which the Kâvî and the Bârodâ plates left undecided. But I have for some time considered it probable that the Râṭhors held Southern Gujarât also, because in the present days Râṭhor cultivators are found also south of the Taptî.

Owing to the circumstance that an eclipse of the sun is mentioned in our grant, it is possible to accurately determine the day on which it was issued. Professor Jacobi and Dr. Burgess assure me that the astronomical data have been correctly given, and that the date is the sixth June 867 A.D., on which day an eclipse actually happened. The last part of the last verse of the grant *śrîmadgovindarâjo nirupamavihito śâsane dûtakotra* 'the illustrious G ô v i n d a was made by N i r u p a m a *dûtaka* with respect to this edict,' shows that those who like Mr. Fleet took *dûtaka* to mean 'messenger' for conveying the king's orders are right. The translation 'executive officer' in the province where the village granted lay, which I have used until lately, must be given up.

Transcript.[5]

Plate I.

[1] ओ स्वस्ति [।।] स वोऽयाद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कांतेंदुकलया कमलंकृतं ।। [1] आसीद्विषत्तिमिरमुद्यतमंडलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयं-[6]

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* vol. IX, p. 38.

[5] The transcript has been prepared by Dr. E. Hultzsch.

[6] Plate I. L. 1, read ओं, आसीद्विष°, ध्वंस्ति नयन्न°.

[2] न्नभिमुखो रणसर्व्वरीषु । भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवा-
स्तदिगंतकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंघः ॥ [2] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखीं सुभटाट्ट-[7]

[3] हासामुन्नामितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटीं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदयं
च निज च सत्वं ॥ [3] खड्गं कराग्रान्मुखत-

[4] श्च शोभा मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । महाहवे नाम
निशंम्य सद्यः त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यकांडे ॥ [4] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्ति-

[5] रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्र-
मधामधारी । भूपस्तृविष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीककराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व्वभूव ॥ [5] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरट-

[6] च्युतदानदंतिदंतप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः । क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजसद्राष्ट्रकूटकन-
काद्रिरिन्द्रराजः ॥ [6]

[7] तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुरदाधिवलयमालिन्याः [।] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्री-
दंतिदुर्ग्गराजोभूत् ॥ [7] कांची-

[8] शकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं । कर्ण्णाटकं वल-
मचिंत्यमजेयमन्यैभृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि

[9] यः सहसा जिगाय ॥ [8] आ सेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमा-
लाजलादा प्रालेयकलंकितामलशिलाजालात्तु-

[10] षाराचलात् ॥ आ पूर्व्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रांतप्रसिद्धावधेर्येनेयं
जगती स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपत्रीकृता ॥ [9] तस्मिं दिवं

[11] प्रयाते वल्लभराजे ऽकृतप्रजोवाधः । श्रीककराज-
सूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥ [10] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषोत्सादितारिदिक्च-

[12] क्रं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं
चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥ [11] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्द्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं । ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं

[13] प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥ [12] राहप्यमात्मभुजजातवलावलेपमाजौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः ।
पालिध्वजावलिशु-

[14] भामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां ततान ॥ [13] पाता यश्चतुरंवुराशिरसनालं-
कारभाजो भुवः (।) त्रय्याशापि कृतद्विजा-

[15] मरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपूजादरो [।] दाता मानभृदग्रणीर्गुणवतां योसौ
शृयो वल्लभो (।) भोक्तुं स्वर्ग्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामा-

[16] मरं ॥ [14] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकर-
व्राततापात्सलीलं (।) जग्मे नासीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः समाजौ ॥ श्रीम-

[17] द्गोविंदराजो जित-
जगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्षः (।) तस्यासीत्सूनुरेकः क्षणरणदलितारातिमत्तेभकुंभः ॥ [15] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रु-

[18] वराजनामा महानुभावोप्रहतप्रतापः । प्रसाधिताऽसेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण वालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव ॥ [16]
जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटति-

[19] लके सद्भूपचूडामणौ (।) गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्र-
त्यहं । सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्ष्मामासमुद्रांतिका-(।)

[7] L. 2, read रणशर्वरीषु, °रिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्ति°, राजसिंहः; ष्ट्व of दृष्ट्वा broken. L. 3, read निजं. L. 4, read सद्यस्त्रयं. L. 5, read भूपस्त्रिविष्टप°. L. 6, read तनूजः, °कनकाद्रि°. L. 7, read चतुरुदधि°, श्रीदन्ति°. L. 8, read °र्भृत्यैः. L. 10, read तस्मिन्. L. 14, read भुवस्त्रय्यामशापि. L. 15, read °पूजादरः ॥ °दग्रणी°, योसौ श्रियो. L. 16, read सदाजौ. L. 17, read °दक्षस्तस्या°. L. 18, read प्रसाधिताशेष°.

[20] मासीद्धर्म्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥ [17] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं । राज्यं धर्म्मेण लोकानां कृता तुष्टिः परा हृ-

[21] दि ॥ [18] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविंदराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः । त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापसंतापिताहि-

[22] तजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [19] पृथ्वीवल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापरं जगति नाम । यश्चतुरुदधिसीमामेको वसुधां वशे चक्रे ॥ [20]

[23] एकोनेकनरेंद्रवृंदसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि प्रोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधुरां वध्वा महासंयुगे । लक्ष्मीमप्यचलां चका-[8]

[24] र विलसत्सचामरग्राहिणीं (।) संसीदद्गुरुविप्रसज्जनसुहृद्बंधूपभोग्यां भुवि ॥ [21] तत्पुत्रोत्र गते नाकमाकम्पितरिपुव्रजे ॥

[25] श्रीमहाराजशर्व्वाख्यः ख्यातो राजाभवद्गुणैः ॥ [22] अर्त्थिषु यथार्त्थतां यस्समभीष्टफलाप्तिलब्धतोषेषु ।

Plate IIa.

[1] वृद्धिं निनाय [प]रमाममोघवर्षा[भिधा]नस्य ॥ [23] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीमानिंद्रराज-

[2] जो गुणनृपनिकरांतश्चसत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्व्युदस्य प्रकटितविषया यं नृपा सेवमाना राजाश्रीरेव चक्रे सक-

[3] लकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं । [24] निर्व्वाणावाप्तिवाणासहितहितजना यस्य मानाः सुवृत्तं (।) वृत्तं जित्वान्यराज्ञां चरितमुदयवा-

[4] न्सर्व्वतोदिक्स केभ्यः । एकाकी दृप्तवैरिस्खलनकृतिसहप्रातिराज्य सशंकः (॥) लाटीयं मंडलं यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदत्तं

[5] ररक्ष ॥ [25] सूनुर्व्वभूव खलु तस्य महानुभावः शास्त्रार्त्थबोधसुखलालितचित्तवृत्तिः । यो गौणनामपरिवारमुवाह पूर्व्वं श्री-

[6] ककराज[सुभ]गव्यपदेशमुच्चैः ॥ [26] श्रीककराज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारं कुलस्य तनयो नयशालिशौर्यैः । त-

[7] स्याभवद्विभवनन्दितवन्धुसार्त्थः पार्त्थः सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां ॥ [27] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा वीर्येण [शौ]र्येण च कोपि

[8] भूपः । ए[ते]न तुल्योस्ति न वेति कीर्त्तिः सकौतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥ [28] स्वेच्छागृहीतविषया दृढसंघभाजः (।) प्रोद्वृत्तदृप्त-

[9] तरश्शुल्किक[रा]ष्ट्रकूटानुत्खातखड्गनिजवाहुवलेन जित्वा योमोघवर्ष इति राज्यपदे व्यधत्त ॥ [29] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृती

[10] कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यः । वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रवृन्दो वभूव सूनुर्ध्रुवराजनामा ॥ [30] चन्द्रो जडो हिमगिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्या वातश्चलश्च

[11] तपनस्तपनस्वभावः । क्षारः पयोधिरिति तैस्सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निरूपमस्तत एव गीतः ॥ [31] रणशिरसि खड्गघातैर्व्व-

[8] L. 23, read °विधुरान् वद्धा. Plate II a. L. 2, read °रान्तश्चमत्कार°, नृपान्, राज्य°. L. 4, read °सहः, °राज्ये (?) सशङ्को. L. 6, read नयशौर्यैशाली. L. 8, read °विषयान् L. 9, read °कूटान्। उत्खात°, राज्यपदं.

[12] ल्लभदंडं पराङ्मुखीकृत्य [।] शस्त्रशतशुद्धदेहः स्वर्गमगादेक एवासौ ॥ [32] तस्याशेषनराधिपहृतयशसः स्वर्गलोक-

[13] गतकीर्त्तेः । श्रीमानकालवर्षस्तनयः समभूत्कुलालंवः । [33] वल्लभदंडाक्रांतं विघटितदुष्टानुजीविवर्ग्गेण । पि-[9]

[14] तृपर्यागतमचिरान्मंडलमध्यासितं यन ॥ [34] प्रियवादी सत्यधनः श्रीमाननुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपक्ष-

[15] क्षोभकरः शुभतुंगः शुभकरः सुहृदां ॥ [35] तस्मिं स्वर्गीभूते गुणवति गुणवान् गुणाधिकप्रीतिः । समभूद्ध्रुवराजस-

[16] मो ध्रुवराजस्तुष्टिकृल्लोके ॥ [36] इतोभिमुखमापतत्प्रवलगूर्जराणां वलं (।) इतो विमुख[illegible]भो विकृतिमागता वान्धवाः [।]

[17] इतोनुजविकुर्व्वितं शममगात्समस्तं भयादहो स्फुरणमद्भुतं निरूपमेंद्र खड्गस्य ते ॥ [37] गूर्ज्जरवलमतिवल-

[18] वत्समुद्यतं वृंहितं च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं लीलया येन ॥ [38] यश्चाभिषिक्तमात्रः परं

[19] यशः त्यागशौर्यतोवाप । शुभतुंगजोतितुंगं पदं पदाप्नोति नाचित्रं ॥ [39] यश्च स्वभुजवलार्जितमपीह रा-

[20] ज्यं विभज्य भृत्यानां । भयमपि विद्विषिजने धनं ददावर्थिने कामं ॥ [40] धारावर्षसमुन्नतिं गुरुतरामालो-

[21] क्य लक्ष्म्या युतो धामव्याप्तदिगन्तरोपि मिहिरः सद्द्रयवाहान्वितः । यातः सोपि शमं पराभवतमोव्याप्ताननः

[22] किं पुनर्येतीवामलतेजसा विरहिता हीनाश्च दीना भुवि ॥ [41] यं प्राप्य विजितपूर्व्वजसकलगुणं पालिता-

[23] पि सगराद्यैः [।] प्रियनाथलाभतुष्टा वसुधापि सकामतामाप ॥ [42] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चंचलमवलोक्य जीवि-

Plate II b.

[1] तमसारं [।] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्म्मदायोयं ॥ [43] स च समधिगताऽशेषमहाशब्दमहा-

[2] सामंताधिपतिधारावर्षश्रीध्रुवराजदेवः सर्व्वानेव यथासंवध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रा-

[3] मकूटायुक्तनियुक्तकाधिकारिकवासापकमहत्तरादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया

[4] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ विप्रोभूद्भद्रपल्यां वहुधनजनतासंकुलायां ध-

[5] रायां (।) ख्यातः श्रीढोड्डिनामा जनितजनसुखोऽध्वर्युसव्रह्मचारी । यस्मिन्नार्थिजना(ः) ददत्यविरतं प्रा-

[6] ज्यं कृतान्नादिकं (।) निश्चितोदरपूरणाः समभवन्दुर्भिक्षकालेष्वपि ॥ [44] तेभ्यो स लब्ध्वा ध्रुवराजदेवात्स-

[9] L. 13, read °कीर्तेः. L. 15, read तस्मिन् स्वर्गभूते. L. 19, read यशस्त्याग°, यदाप्नोति नो. L. 21, read सद्द्रय°. L. 22, read पुन°.

[7] त्रं ददौ सर्व्वजनोपकारि । दिने दिने यस्य गृहे नरेन्द्राः सहस्रशो भुंजते भूसुराश्च ॥ [84] तस्य सुतः स-

[8] त्रपतिः नेन्नप्यनामा तत्पुत्राय लाक्षायणसगोत्राय जोजिभाअभिधानाय कर्म्मान्तपुरप्रति-

[9] वद्धषोडशोत्तरग्रामशतान्तःपाती पाराहणकं ग्रामः यस्याघा-

[10] टनानि पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि कुंडीरवल्लिका नाम ग्रामः दक्षिणतः त्रेन्नाहारांतःपा-

[11] ती खौराच्छकं नाम ग्रामः तथा दक्षिणत एव जोणन्धा नाम ग्रामः पश्चिम-

[12] तः मोत्तकाभिधानं ब्राह्मणस्थानं उत्तरतः मोइवासकं नाम ग्रामः

[13] एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सवृक्षमालाकुलः ससीमापर्यन्तः सदंड-

[14] दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानवेष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयो ऽचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्त-

[15] प्रक्षेपणीयःभूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन आचंद्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-

[16] क्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायरहितः अभ्यंतरसिध्या शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरश-

[17] तेषु सप्तस्वेकूननवत्यधिकेष्वङ्कतः संवत् ७८९ ज्येष्ठामावास्यायां आदित्य[ग्र]हणपर्व्वणि

[18] श्रीभृगुकच्छे नर्म्मदायां मूलस्थानतीर्थे स्नात्वा सत्रप्रवर्त्तनार्थं वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि-

[19] क्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं च उदकातिसर्गेण दत्तः अतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतः

Plate III.

[1] कृषतः कर्षापयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न केनचित्परिपंथना कार्या । तथागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिरस्म-

[2] द्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यभूदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलविन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमा-

[3] कलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुमंतव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतम-

[4] तिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त [:] स्यादित्युक्तं भगवता वेदव्या-[10]

[5] सेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [46] विंध्या-

[6] टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदायं भरंति ये ॥ [47] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्ण-

[7] वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं [च] दद्यात् ॥ [48] वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-

[8] दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलं ॥ [49] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि [।] निर्म्मा-

[9] ल्यवांतप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [50] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ

[10] L. 4, read वेद°. L. 6, read हरान्ति. L. 8, the second तस्य below the line.

दानाच्छ्रे-
[10]
योनुपालनं ॥ [51] नायमत्यंतसंवासः कस्यचित्केनचित्सह । [अस्ति] स्वेन शरीरेण किमुतान्यैः पृथग्ज-
नैः ॥ [52]
[11] प्राणेन धार्यते कायः स च प्रणः समीरणात् । समीरश्चातिचपलः [कृत]मप्यायुरद्भुतं ॥ [53]
सप्तलोकैक- [11]
[12] नाथस्य विष्णोरपि महात्मनः । नेयं नियतवासा श्री[:] किमुतान्यस्य कस्यचित् ॥ [54] सा-
मान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुः स-
[13] र्व्वेषामिह भूभुजां । यतोतः पालनीयोयं काले काले महात्मभिः ॥ [55] कोटिस्तु वा-
जपेयानां लक्षं विश्वजितां तथा [।] । सहस्रम-
[14] श्वमेधानां स्वहस्तश्चैव तत्समं ॥ [56] इति कमलदलांबुविन्दु-
लोलां श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभि-
[15] रात्मनीनैः न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो-
प्याः ॥ [57] श्रीमच्छुंभतुंगसुतो धारावर्षानुजः रणे येन । निनित्य वैरिव-
[16] र्गं राज्यं विहितं स्थिरं भ्रातुः ॥ [58]
भस्मीकृत्यारिसेना हयगजवहुलामप्यसंतुष्टभावो ब्रह्माण्डं व्याप्तुकामः पृथुच-
[17] टुलशिखाभासुरः क्रोधवह्निः ।
दृष्टः पद्मासनाद्यैर्गगनतलगतैर्यस्य गीर्व्वाणवृन्दैः (सः) श्रीमगोविन्दराजो
[18] निरूपमविहितो शासने दूतकोत्र॥ [59]
लिखितं चेदं सांधिविग्रहिकश्रीकल्याणेनेति॥
[19] स्वहस्तोयं मम श्रीध्रुवराजदेवस्य श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवसूनो[:]॥

Translation.

1. May he protect you, the lotus on whose navel Brâhmaṇ made his dwelling, and Hara whose forehead is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon.[12]

2. There was a prince, called G ô v i n d a r â j a, a royal lion among kings, whose fame pervaded the universe, and who, (*of*) pure (*splendour*), lifting his scimitar and (*marching*) straight forward, destroyed his enemies, just as the clear moon, whose radiance pervades the universe, raising the tip of its orb (*above the horizon*) and (*sending its rays*) straight forward, destroys at night the darkness.[13]

3. When he saw an army flashing with gallant warriors, coming to meet him, forthwith he always, biting his lip and knitting his brow, raised his sword, his family, his own heart and courage.[14]

4. When his enemies heard his name (*pronounced*) in a great battle three things unseasonably at once slipped from them—the sword from their hands, animation from their faces, and pride from their hearts.[15]

5. His son, the illustrious K a k k a r â j a, whose resplendent glory was famed throughout the world, who stilled the pain of the distressed and supported the place where Hari stepped, who resembled the king of heaven (*and*) was grateful, became (*after him*) the gem of the (*Râshṭrakûṭa*) race.[16]

6. His son was I n d r a r â j a, as it were, the Mount Meru of the noble Râshṭrakûṭas, a prince whose shoulders shone with the ichor flowing from the split temples of (*hostile*) elephants, and were scratched by the blows of their tusks, who destroyed his enemies on earth.[17]

7. The son of him who had gained greatness was the illustrious D a n t i d u r g a r â j a, who resembling I n d r a, enjoyed the whole earth that is girt by the four oceans.[18]

[11] L. 11 read प्राणः. L. 15, read °नीनैनै, श्रीमच्छुभ°, °नुजो, निर्जित्य. L. 16, read °सेनां, ब्रह्माण्डं. L. 17, read श्रीमद्गो°. L. 18, read °विहितः.

[12] Kâvî inscr. vs. 1.

[13] Kâvî inscr. vs. 2.—My previous translation of this verse has been modified according to Mr. Fleet's rendering, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 113.

[14] Kâvî inscr. vs. 3.—In my opinion the flashing (of the arms of) the gallant warriors is represented as the *aṭṭahâsa* of the army.

[15] Kâvî inscr. vs. 4.

[16] Kâvî inscr. vs. 5.—Another meaning of *harivisruta-dhâmadhârî* is that given by Mr. Fleet.

[17] Kâvî inscr. vs. 6.

[18] Kâvî inscr. vs. 7.

8. He conquered quickly with a handful of servants the countless host of Karṇâṭa which was unconquerable by others, and was expert in defeating the lord of Kânchî, the Kerala, the Chôḷa, the Pâṇḍya, Śrîharsha, and Vajraṭa.[19]

9. By his valour he brought under one royal parasol this world up to the bridge (*of Râma*) where the water of the rows of rolling waves flashes among the line of large rocks, up to the snowy mountain where the pile of rocks (*of*) spotless (*brilliancy*) is stained by glaciers, up to the boundary marked by the sandy shores of the eastern and western oceans.[20]

10. When that Vallabharâja had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇarâja, the son of Kakkarâja, who did not oppress his subjects, became king.[21]

11. The life of that Kṛishṇarâja, by the valour of whose arm his countless foes were utterly destroyed, was blameless like that of Kṛishṇa (*the son of Vasudêva.*)[22]

12. The whole sky in which the rays of the sun were obscured on high by the clouds of dust (*raised*) by the large steeds of Śubhatuṅga, looked, even in summer, distinctly (*as if*) the rainy season (*had come*).[23]

13. He conquered in battle Râhapya who had become proud of the strength of his arm, by the blows of his sharp sword-blade, and quickly gained the titles 'king of kings and supreme lord,' which were made resplendent by numerous *pâlidhvajas*.[24]

14. He was the protector of the earth that is adorned by the girdle of the four oceans, and also of the threefold (*sacred science*); he gave much *ghî* to Brâhmaṇs, worshipped the immortals and honoured his *Gurus*; he was liberal, proud, the first among the virtuous, the favourite of fortune; in consequence of his great austerities he went to that dwelling where death enters not, in order to enjoy the rewards of heaven.[25]

15. His distinguished son was the illustrious Gôvindarâja, called (*also*) Vallabha, who was expert in making widows of the wives of the conquered world's enemies, who in one moment split in battle the temples of the *mast* elephants of his foes, and who, his head whitened by the dust of the vanguard, ever walked in battle with sportive gait, since the heat of the sun's rays was warded off by a white parasol.[26]

16. His younger brother was the illustrious Dhruvarâja, of great majesty and unchecked prowess, who, conquering all kings, gradually became (*in fierce brilliancy*) like unto the morning sun.[27]

17. When that jewel among good princes had become the chief of the Râshṭrakûṭas and he, who was intent on righteousness, an ocean of nectar-like virtues, and faithful to the vow of ever speaking the truth, ruled the earth up to the shores of the ocean, then the whole world daily felt deep joy on account of that good lord, (*exclaiming*) 'Forsooth, the age of truth (*has returned*) !'[28]

18. Highest joy filled the hearts of men when he righteously ruled his whole kingdom, together with the four oceans.[29]

19. His son was Gôvindarâja, an ornament of his race, a liberal (*prince*), dear to mankind, keeping fortitude as his only riches, who, by his great valour harassed his enemies, and whose fame was spread far and wide in this world by the virtuous.[30]

20. His second name, famous in the world, was Pṛithvîvallabha. Unaided he made subject to himself the earth that is bounded by the four oceans.

21. Then, without assistance he bound them all together with crowds of kings, who were distressed by the blows of his drawn sword, in a great battle, made even fortune stable on earth (*forced her*) to hold his excellent glittering *chauri*, and made her enjoyable for his suffering *gurus*, for Brâhmaṇs and virtuous men, for his friends and relatives.[31]

22. When this (*hero*) before whom his enemies trembled, had gone to heaven, his son,

[19] Kâvî inscr., vs. 8.
[20] Kâvî inscr., fragments of vs. 10.
[21] Kâvî inscr., fragments of vs. 11.
[22] Kâvî inscr., fragments of vs. 12.
[23] Kâvî inscr., fragments of vs. 13.
[24] Kâvî inscr., fragments of vs. 15. The name of the conquered may also be read *Râhappa*. Regarding the term *pâlidhvaja*, see Mr. Fleet's remarks, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, pp. 111, 245.
[25] Kâvî inscr. vs. 17—The epithet *śriyo vallabhah* the 'favourite of fortune,' may also mean that Kṛishṇa bore the biruda *Śrîvallabha*.
[26] Kâvî inscr. vs. 18.
[27] Kâvî inscr. vs. 19.
[28] Kâvî inscr. vs. 20.
[29] Kâvî inscr. vs. 22.
[30] Kâvî inscr. vs. 23.
[31] Kâvî inscr. vs. 28. The verse is not easily intelligible, as it stands. It refers to the twelve kings, Stambha and others, whom Gôvinda vanquished. Kâvî plates, vs. 27.

called the illustrious Mahârâja Śarva, became king (*and*) famous for his virtues.

23. As (*all*) mendicants were satisfied by receiving (*from him*) the fulfilment of their desires, he made the etymological import of his (*other*) name Amoghavarsha (*i.e. he who showers gifts not in vain*) fully appropriate.

24. His paternal uncle, fortunate Indrarâja, who was the sole cause of the non-appearance of wealth in the houses of his foes, and who, by his virtues astonished the hearts of crowds of princes, became a king. Royal fortune, putting away other kings, through love (*for him*) served him, showing her inclination for sensual enjoyments, and caused his real character to be loudly sung by all poets.

25. From whom did that (*prince*) fear hostility against his rule—he whose friends, skilled in (*the use of*) the bow and willing to die (*for him*) were the Mânas—he whose behaviour was virtuous—he who was in the ascendant in all the quarters of the world, because he surpassed the deeds of all other kings—he who singly was able to bring his proud enemies to fall (and) who, resembling the sun, protected the province of Lâṭa, given to him by his lord ?[32]

26. His son was (*a prince*) of great majesty, whose mind revelled in the pleasure of the knowledge of the Sâstra's meaning, and who openly bore the ancient auspicious appellation, Śrî-Kakkarâja as well as (*other*) secondary names.[33]

27. To him was born a politic and heroic son, the quintessence of his race, called Śrî-Kakkarâja, who took care of the burdensome duties of government, gladdened his numerous relatives by making them wealthy, ever resembled Pârtha (*Arjuna*) in (*the skilful use of*) the bow, and was the first among pure men.

28. His fame wanders through the world, curious (*as it were to learn*), if there is any prince equal to him in liberality (*proper*) pride, just rule, heroism and valour.

29. After he conquered by the strength of his arm that unsheathed his sword, the exceedingly ill-conducted tributary Râshṭrakûṭas, who, puffed up with excessive pride (*and*) firmly allied to each other, occupied provinces according to their own will, he ruled, known as Amoghavarsha.

30. To him who longed for male offspring was born a virtuous, grateful son of great majesty, called Dhruvarâja, who equalled Kṛitavirya in valour and subdued the whole crowd of kings.

31. Because neither the moon who is destitute of intellect, nor the snowy mountain that is naturally cold, nor the unstable wind, nor the sun whose nature it is to torment by his heat, nor the salt ocean can be compared to him, he has been called Nirupama (*the peerless*) in (*the poets'*) song.

32. (*Standing*) in the van of battle and alone putting Vallabha's forces to flight, he went to heaven, his body being purified by (*the wounds inflicted with*) hundreds of weapons.

33. The son of him who took their fame from all kings, whose renown (*even*) reached heaven, was the illustrious Akâlavarsha, a prop of his race.

34. He whose wicked servants were disloyal, quickly recovered his paternal empire that had been attacked by the army of Vallabha.[34]

35. Śubhatunga (*was*) kind of speech, truthful, fortunate, loving towards his servants, proud, the terror of his enemies (*and*) a benefactor of his friends.

36. When that virtuous (*prince*) had gone to heaven, virtuous Dhruvarâja whose delight is virtue and who resembles Dhruvaraja,[35] gladdened the world.

37. Here the host of the powerful Gûrjaras, hurrying up to encounter (him), there hostile Vallabha; (*here*) the kinsmen who had become seditious, *there* the treachery[36] of his younger brother—(*all*) became quiet through fear (*of him*). Ah! wonderful was the flashing of thy sword (*peerless*) king, Nirupama!

38. Quite alone, he put easily to flight the very strong army of the Gûrjaras that was eager (*for the fray*) and reinforced by his kinsmen.

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[32] I think that *mânâḥ* must here be a proper name. Wilson gives the meaning 'a barbarian' for it.

[33] Kâvî inscr. vs. 31.

[34] *Vighaṭita* 'disloyal' is a synonym of *bhinna*, and probably has the same technical meaning.

[35] Either Dhruva, the son of Nahusha, or the hero who assisted the Pâṇḍavas, is meant.

[36] I am unable to propose a grammatical explanation of the word *vikurvitam*, but its meaning appears plain. Compare also *Vikurvaṇa* Pet. Dict. *sub voce.*

39. It is no marvel that the son of Ś u b h a t u n g a reached a very exalted station; for, just anointed, he gained highest fame through his liberality and his bravery.

40. And, after dividing his kingdom here, though it had been gained by the strength of his own arm, among his servants, he caused terror to his enemies and gave wealth to the needy according to their desires.

41. Though M i h i r a was united to Fortune and surrounded by crowds of noble kinsmen, though owing to his courage, he conquered (*all*) the regions of the world, he, nevertheless, disappeared, his face being covered by the darkness of defeat, after he had looked upon the eminence of D h â r â v a r s h a that was greater (*than his own*); how much more (*vanish before him*) timid men on earth who are destitute of brilliant fire and lowly ?[37]

42. Though the Earth had been protected (*formerly*) by S a g a r a and other (*mighty kings*), she nevertheless felt, rejoicing over the gain of a dear husband, only then that her desires were fulfilled, when she obtained him who surpassed all the virtues of his ancestors.

43. He, recognising that this life is unstable like the wind, or a flash of lightning and worthless, has granted this most meritorious charitable gift.

And he, the lord of the great feudal barons, the illustrious D h r u v a r â j a d ê v a (*surnamed*) D h â r â v a r s h a, who has obtained all the great titles, addresses this order to all lords of provinces, lords of districts, heads of villages, employés and officials, persons in authority, *vâsâpakas*,[38] great men and so forth, however they may be connected with him: Be it known to you that I have given for the increase of my own and my parent's merit and fame in this world and in the next—

44. In B h a d r a p a l î, in a rich and well-peopled district there was a Brâhmaṇa, famed by the name of Ś r î-D o ḍ ḍ h i, a student of the *Adhvaryu*—(*vêda*) who gave happiness to men. As incessantly he gave much cooked food and other (*gifts*), the needy had no cares about filling their stomachs even in times of famine.

45. When he received T r e n n â from D h r u v a r â j a d ê v a, he founded a *sattra* for the good of all men. Both Brâhmaṇas and men of royal descent dined daily by thousands in his house.

His son was the lord of the *sattra*, N e n n a p y a—

To his son, named J o j i b h â, a member of the *Lâkshâyâṇa gotra*, the village, called P â r â h a ṇ a k a, which belongs to the hundred and sixteen villages connected with K a r m â n t a p u r a. Its boundaries (*are*) to the east, the village called K u ṇ ḍ î r a v a l l i k â, to the south the village called K h a u r â c h c h h a k a, belonging to the zillâ (*âhâra*) of T r e n n â, likewise to the south, the village called J o ṇ a n d h â, to the west, the Brâhmaṇa settlement named M o t t a k a, to the north, the village called M o i v â s a k a. This village which is defined by the above four boundaries (has been granted by me) with heartfelt devotion, together with its *udranga*,[39] together with the rent paid by outsiders (*soparikara*), together with its rows of trees, up to the extremity of its boundaries, together with (*the right of*) punishment and (*of deciding suits arising from*) the ten faults, together with (*the right of*) forced labour, together with the immunity from billeting (*on it*) the regular and irregular soldiers, and from interference by royal officials, in accordance with the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein, to be enjoyed, with the exception of former gifts to the gods and to Brâhmaṇas, by (*the donee's*) sons, grandsons, and their descendants, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and hills endure, when *seven hundred and eighty-nine*, in figures 789, years of the era of the *Śaka* king (*had passed*) on the new-moon day of the month J y e s h ṭ h a, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, after I had bathed in the river N a r m a d â at the M û l a s t h â n a bathing-place, at Ś r î-B h ṛ i g u k a c h c h h a. (*This grant has been made*) in order (*to enable the donee*) to

[37] I have given only the chief meaning of the first three *pâdas*. There is also a secondary one, the comparison of Mihira to the sun that is obscured by Dhârâvarsha, the cloud, and all the epithets applied to Mihira have likewise a double meaning.

[38] I am not able to explain this term which occurs also in Vijayarâja's Khedâ grant Pl. II, 33, where we read *Nanna-vasâpakadûtakam*. (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 249.)

[39] Regarding *udranga*, see now Zachariae, *Śâśvatakosha* pp. xxix.—260. The explanation *uddhâra* and *udgrantha* (*udgrâha*?) seem to indicate that it means 'the share of the produce collected usually for the king.'

continue the (*above-mentioned*) *sattra* and (*to perform his*) Bali, Charu Vaiśvadêva, Agnihotra and other ceremonies and (*has been confirmed*) by a libation of water. Wherefore nobody shall cause hindrance.[40] . . .

. . . .

58. The illustrious Govindarâja, the son of the illustrious Śubhatuṅga, the younger brother of Dhârâvarsha, who conquering the foe in battle, made the rule of his brother firm;

59. He, the fire of whose wrath, brilliant with broad and lambent flames, Brâhmaṇ and the other gods, stationed in the sky, observed to be not contented with reducing to ashes the enemy's army that was crowded with elephants and horses (*but*) anxious to pervade the universe—was made by Nirupama his messenger, with respect to this grant.

And this has been written by the minister for peace and war, the illustrious Kalyâṇa. This is my own sign manual (viz., *that*) of the illustrious Dhruvarâjadêva, the son of the illustrious Akâlavarshadêva.

A GRANT OF DHARAṆÎVARÂHA OF VAḌHVÂṆ.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C. I. E.

A facsimile of the subjoined grant, which was found a good many years ago by some Kolîs near Haḍḍâlâ, a large village on the old road from Dholkâ to Dhandhûkâ, but belonging to eastern Kâṭhiâvâḍ, has been furnished to me by Dr. Burgess, while a paper rubbing reached me through the kindness of Colonel Watson of Rajkot, who, I believe, succeeded in getting hold of the original plates. For the second half of the grant I had also an impression on lead which I acquired six years ago from a Sonî or goldsmith at Haḍḍâlâ. Immediately after the plates had been discovered, they were taken to this man by the finders, who, as is usually the case, suspected that they contained particulars regarding buried treasure. The Sonî, who held the same belief, was unable to read the document, but secured before returning it, a copy by beating thin strips of lead into the plates. He probably hoped to get it explained by some competent person and to use the information which it contained for his own benefit. Ultimately he sold his copy to me, through the intercession of Rao Bahadur Gopalji S. Deśai, Deputy Educational Inspector of Kâṭhiâvâḍ.

The grant is written on two semi-elliptical plates, measuring twelve inches in height. At the bottom they are eleven inches broad and at the height of the first line six inches and three-quarters. Above the first line there is a space of one inch which bears no letters. On the first plate it shows the rude conventional representation of the moon and the sun, while it is blank on the second. No holes for rings are to be seen. The shape of the plates seems to have been chosen in order to make them resemble the stones with semicircular tops which are frequently used for land grants and other inscriptions. No other instance of the kind is known to me.

The preservation of the document is nearly perfect, and the execution very good and careful. A remarkable detail shows very clearly that the inscription was first written in exactly the same characters on a piece of birchbark or cloth, of exactly the same dimensions, and that the *kansâr* afterwards copied it stroke for stroke. For in line 20 of the first plate a large blank space has been left between the fifteenth and sixteenth *aksharas* (*dṛi* and *gva*), *because the corresponding akshara in the next following line* 21, (*rtti*) *reaches so high that it occupies* a portion *of the space in the upper line.* It is evident that the *kansâr* could only leave a blank space in the upper line, if he had before him an original from which he slavishly copied. The indication furnished by this fact fully agrees with what I pointed out in my article on the forged śâsana of Dharasena II of Valabhî,[1] and shows that the kansârs did nothing but copy in a purely mechanical manner what they found in the originals before them.

The alphabet of our grant is the Kâyastha-Nâgarî which we find in the Râṭhor inscriptions of Dantidurga and of Dhruva III of Broach as well as on the Dhiniki plates of Jâika. Only a few letters show differences. Thus the lower part of the letter *ya* in compound *aksharas* is frequently made angular and its top usually left open. Again the letter *pha* has not the old form [glyph], but the latter one [glyph]

[40] The portion left out contains the usual admonitions to future kings, and the comminatory verses from the Mahâbhârata.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, p. 277.

which is the precursor of the modern Devanâgarî फ and occurs in ancient Jaina MSS. and on the plates of the Paramâras of Mâlvâ. This form is palæographically interesting, because it shows that even in late times the origin of the letter *pha*, which consists of a *pa* with an inward turned curve attached to the right side, was perfectly well known to the scribes of the middle ages. The interpunction in this document is very careful. Besides the long single and double vertical strokes, a vertical stroke which is only half as long as the letters is used to mark the *pâdas* of verses, and to serve the purpose of our *comma*. At the end of the *vaṁśâvali* and of the body of the grant we find a ॥ ⊙ ॥, which I think corresponds to the ॥ छ ॥ of the manuscripts. I may add that for some time I have been of the opinion that the curious sign on the Râdhanpur plates of Gôvinda III, which looks like an old *tha*, has the same meaning, and is not, as I formerly supposed, the numeral sign for 20. I cannot consider it a superfluous *t*, as Mr. Fleet does.[2]

The historical portion of the Haḍḍâlâ śâsana reveals the existence of a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudal chiefs of Vardhâmana, called Châpa, which is said to have sprung from Śiva's bow (*châpa*). The legend regarding its origin bears a close resemblance to that which derives the Châlukyas or Chaulukyas from the waterpot (*chuluka*) of Brâhmaṇ, and clearly belongs to the order of etymological myths. If we omit the first ancestor Châpa, the *vaṁśâvali* stands as follows:

1. Vikramârka
2. Aḍḍaka
3. Pulakesi
4. Dhruvabhaṭa 5. Dharaṇîvarâha.

As Dharaṇîvarâha's grant is dated Śaka saṁvat 839 or 917-18 A.D., and as the duration of an Indian generation is about twenty-six years, Vikramârka may be placed about 800 A. D. Though three amongst these rulers bear names of princes who are famous in Indian history, they do not seem to have rivalled their great namesakes by their exploits. Our grant, at least, does not give a single historical fact regarding any one of them. It merely describes the last in the usual bombastic style, and asserts that he was liberal like Karṇa, brave like Arjuna, and handsome like Cupid, as well as that he destroyed cities—a feat which formerly most Râjputs accomplished in their day. We further hear (Pl. ii. *l.* 2) that this paragon of a prince resided at Vardhamâna, and may safely conclude that that town is the modern Vaḍhvâṇ in eastern Kâṭhîâvâḍ. This follows partly from the fact that Vaḍhvâṇ is called Vardhâmana[3] or Vardhamânapura by the Jaina writers of the 12th and 13th centuries as well as by the Brâhmaṇs of the present day, and that there is no other town in Western India which bears the same name. It agrees with this identification that in the *maṅgalâcharaṇa* Śiva is invoked as Dhandheśvara, an appellation which points to a connection with the ancient neighbouring town of Dhandhûka (zillâ Ahmadâbâd), and that one of the districts over which Dharaṇîvarâha ruled was the province of Aḍḍâṇa (Pl. ii. *l.* 4), called so after his grandfather Âḍḍaka. It is not difficult to recognise in the name Aḍḍâṇa that of the modern village of Haḍḍâlâ, near which the plates were found. The existence of Haḍḍâlâ can be traced as far as the 13th century, as we find it mentioned in the history of Vastupâla and Tejapâla, the ministers of Râṇâ Vîradhavala of Dholkâ (about 1220-1241 A. D.) The superfluous initial *h* of the modern name is no obstacle to the identification. For in Gujarâtî an inorganic *h* frequently appears both at the beginning of words and between vowels in the middle. If the maps at my disposal allowed me to identify the other towns and villages mentioned in our grant I should, no doubt, be able to furnish still more certain proofs, that Dharaṇîvarâha's barony included portions of the present Vaḍhvâṇ and Limaḍî states. According to our grant the Châpas were, like the later Ṭhâkors of Vaḍhvâṇ, vassals of a greater neighbour. This fact is not merely indicated by Dharṇîvarâha's titles *samadhigatâśesha-mahâśabda* and *sâmantâdhipati* but plainly admitted by the statement (Pl. ii, *ll.* 4-5) that "he ruled by the grace of 'the feet' of the king

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 157.

[3] The oldest mention of Vardhamâna-Vaḍhvâṇ occurs in the grant of Śîlâditya IV, dated Saṁvat 404 or 594 A. D., *Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* vol. XI, pp. 345, 356.

of kings and supreme lord Mahîpâladêva."

The answer to the question to what dynasty the latter belonged can only be that he must have been one of the Chûḍâsamâs of Girnâr-Junâgaḍh, to whom the Gujarât chroniclers usually apply the contemptuous designation Âbhîraka Râṇaka, 'the Ahir Râṇâs.' For that is the only dynasty of Western India which included kings bearing the name Mahîpâla, and it is evident from the statements of the Jaina chroniclers that even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. the power of the Chûdâsamâs extended as far as Vaḍhvâṇ. Dr. Burgess' list of the Chûḍâsamâs, printed *Archæol. Rep.* vol. II, p. 164, shows two Mahîpâlas and another more complete one which Colonel J. Watson has kindly furnished to me, contains five kings of that name.

As regards the extent of the Chûḍâsamâ kingdom, it appears from Hemachandra's statements that in the times of the first Solaṅkî king of Aṇhilvâḍ, Mûlarâja I (942-998 A. D.) it included the whole of eastern Kâṭhiâvâḍ. Hemachandra, who in the Dvyâśrayakosha[4] describes the first attempt of the Gujarâtîs to subjugate the peninsula, narrates how Mûlarâja on his expedition against Grâharipu or Grahâri the Âbhîra of Vâmanusthalî (Vanthalî) and Girnâr advanced to the river Jambumâlî, there awaited the enemy and fought a battle in which he remained the victor. It appears that this river marked the frontier of Grahâri's realm, and there can be little doubt that Jambumâlî is a name of the Bhogâvatî or Bhogâo which to the east from Vaḍhvâṇ passes the large village of Jambu. Though, according to Hemachandra, Mûlarâja gained an important battle and the people of Soraṭh submitted to him, his victory cannot have led to a permanent annexation. For a little more than a hundred years later the armies of the great Solaṅkî king Jayasiṁha were eleven times defeated, as Merutuṅga tells us[5] by his Chûḍâsamâ or Âbhîra opponent Navaghaṇa and "Vaḍhvâṇ and other towns were fortified," it would seem in order to repel the attacks of the rulers of Soraṭh. These details will suffice in order to show that the power of the Chûḍâsamâs extended not only in the tenth century, but even much later, over a great part of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, and that they presumably were not weaker before the Solaṅkîs began to press upon them. It is, however, a pity that even Colonel Watson's remodelled list of the Chûḍâsamâs which has been compiled from the records of the bards and later inscriptions, does not show a Mahîpâla in the beginning of the tenth century. It shows a Dyâs, *alias* Mahîpâla I, who ruled from 1003-1020 A.D., while the rulers in the beginning of the tenth century were Mûlarâja, 907-915, and Viśvavarâha, 915-940. It is possible that one of these kings may have also been called Mahîpâla, or that the bardic tradition has not preserved all the names of the earlier kings. Be that as it may, I do not think that the first figure of the date can be read otherwise than I have done, or that the Mahîpâla of our grant can have belonged to any other dynasty. I do not remember to have met in any other document referring to the history of Gujarât, with the name of the Châpa race; but I think it probable that the Jâbânvaya which Merutuṅga mentions is the same. After describing the destruction of Navaghaṇa of Girnâr by Jayasiṁha, Merutuṅga narrates that a *Daṇḍâdhipati*, called Sajjana, who belonged to the Jâba family (Jâbânvaya) was appointed Governor of Soraṭh. The substitution of soft consonants for hard ones is so common in the Indian Prâkṛits that I am inclined to look upon Jâba as a Prâkṛit form for Châpa.

The object of our grant is to convey the village of Viṁkala as a reward for his learning (*vidyâdhanam*) to Mâheśvarâchârya, the son of Śivadevâchârya, who belonged to the Âmardakasaṁtâna. As Âmardaka is a name of Kâlabhairava and the title *âchârya* shows that the two individuals mentioned possessed a religious character, it would seem that the word *saṁtâna* refers in this case to a spiritual family, the line of teachers of a Śaiva sect called *Âmardaka*. Though Śaivism is not now a favourite creed in Gujarât, it flourished formerly in the province. Ruins of several considerable Maṭhas of the Nakulîśas exist in Central Gujarât. Śaivism was also the creed of the old Solaṅkî kings of Aṇhilvâḍ and has only been supplanted later by various forms of Vaishṇavism.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, pp. 76-77.

[5] अथ श्रीसिद्धराजो नवघणाभिधमाभीरराणकं निग्रहीतुकामः पुरैकदशधा निजसैन्ये पराजिते सति वर्धमानादिषु पुरेषु वप्रकारमकार्ं निर्माप्य स्वयमेव कृतप्रयाण इत्यादि ॥

Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] ओं पुण्यं व्योमसरिज्जलेन वहता चंद्रांशुभिः
[2] शीतलं सत्पुष्पं कनकारविन्दनिचयो निर्व्वाणसंपत्फ-
[3] लं । व्यालालीविषकन्दलीमृगपतिप्रांतं न संतापदं श्री-
[4] धन्धेश्वरमूर्ध्नि सुखदं वस्ताज्जटाकाननं ॥ [१॥] ध्यानात्पूर्व्वमुवाच
[5] सप्रतिरवं शंभुं प्रणम्यावनी ध्यानाध्यासितलोचने त्वयि विभो पीडा-
[6] महं नासुरीं । शक्ता सोढुमिलार्त्थमुद्धतवपू रक्षाक्षमः शक्तिमान्
[7] स्वाच्चापात्परमेश्वरेण विहित**श्चापा**भिधानो नृपः ॥ [२॥] अपि च ॥ नीरन्ध्रो गत-
[8] कंटको ऽक्षततनुः सच्छायमूर्त्तिः सदा सत्पत्रोपि विपत्रतामनुगतः सेव्यो
[9] स्त्यगम्यो द्विषां । शश्वत्सौख्यफलप्रदोपि सुतरां वृद्धेर्व्विधातात्मनो भूभृन्मूर्ध्नि
[10] कृतास्पदोपि नतिमान् श्रीचापवंशोपरः ॥ [३॥] तस्मिन्गुणरुचेर्ब्बभूव सदृशः श्री-
[11] **विक्रमार्क्को** नृपः संपन्नाखिलशक्तिषड्गुणयुतो राजा ततो **व्यड्डुकः** । तस्माच्छ्रीपुल-
[12] केसिभूभृदजनि क्ष्मापालचूडामणिः संजातः पृथिवीपतिर्ध्रुवभटो धर्म्मस्य मूर्त्ति-
[13] स्ततः ॥[४॥] तस्यानुजः सकलभूपनतांघ्रिपद्मः पद्मावपुष्पभिरतो **धरणिवराहः** ।
[14] जातोखिलप्रणयिकल्पतरुर्म्महात्मा लीलावतीमुखसरोरुहराजहंसः ॥ [५॥] किं
[15] शौर्यं प्रभुता पुराभिहणनं गम्भीरता सत्यता प्रोत्साहः किमुतोच्यतामसदृशो यस्य
[16] प्रतापो महान् । औदार्यं कुलजावतीपतिसुतेष्वत्यादरः कोप्यसौ येनैवं मुहुरेति मो-
[17] हममला कष्टं कवीनां मतिः ॥ [६॥] यस्त्यागशौर्यसौभाग्यगार्व्वितः कर्ण्णपार्त्थकुसु-
[18] मशरान् । ह्रेपयतीवाधिकतरनिजचरितैर्ल्लीलयैव नृपः ॥ [७॥] ○ ॥ अयं च प्राप्ता-
[19] चलश्रीरपि सहजविवेकादेवमभावयत् । चत्वरानिहितानिलाहतदीपशिखा-
[20] समानमायुरारोग्यादिकं ॥ यत्पश्य तादृग्बलसमन्विता अप्यस्मदादिपूर्व्ववंशजा
[21] तथाविधविधिविलसितविशेषात् । कीर्त्तियशोनाममात्रावशेषीभूताः समभ-
[22] वन् । तद्वरं धर्म्मविषयमेव मनो विहितं । दानशीलतपो भावनात्मके च धर्म्मे
[23] प्रायो राज्यावस्थितनृपाणां । दानभावने एव प्रवर्त्तिते । तद्वसुन्धरादिदानं स्वर्ग्ग-

Plate II.

[1] सोपानमाकलय्यामितगुणभाजानेन व-
[2] **र्द्धमानाव**स्थितेन समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दम-
[3] हासामंताधिपतिश्री**धरणीवराहेण** स्वपितामहना-
[4] माङ्कित**मड्डाणक**देशमन्यं च भूयान्सं । **राजाधिराजपरमे-**
[5] **श्वरश्रीमहीपाल**देवपादप्रसादतः समनुशासता सता
[6] यथा दानं प्रवर्तितं । तथासौ सर्व्वान् स्वसम्बध्यमानभाविभूपानन् न्यां-
[7] श्च राष्ट्रपतिग्रामपतिभोगिकमहत्तरकुटुंबिकपांचकुलिकदण्डपा-
[8] सिकमध्यगप्रभृतीन्समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं । यथा मया माता-
[9] पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये तथैवामुष्मिफलावात्प्यर्त्थं **श्री-**
मदामर्द्दकसन्तानीयश्रीशिवदेवाचार्यसुतश्रीमेहश्वराचार्याय । विद्याधनं
[10] **कन्थिकास्थलीसंवध्यमानः** **विंकला**भिधानग्रामः ससीमापर्यन्तः सदाणीभोग-

I. L. 16, read कुलजावनी. Line 21, read °स्तथा. II. Line 4, read भूयांसं. L. 6, read भूपानन्यां. L. 10, read स्वसीमा°.

[11] भागः सदण्डदशापराधः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सकलराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षे-
[12] पणीयः अपरिपन्थनीयश्च प्राप्तोदगयनमहापर्व्वणि परमभक्त्या मया उद-
[13] कातिसर्ग्गेण प्रतिपादितः । यस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः **उत्तरककाभिधानग्रामः**
[14] दक्षिणतः **खिंक्खिरिआणका**भिधानग्रामः । अपरतः **कुरला**भिधानग्रामः । उत्तरतः **श-**
णाइचाणकाभिधानग्रामः । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितोयं विकलाभिधानग्रामः सो-
[15] त्पद्यमानवेष्टीकः अचाटभटप्रवेशः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जे । भूमिच्छिद्रन्या-
[16] येनाचंद्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतकालीनः **श्रीमहेश्वराचार्यस्य** पुत्रपौत्रान्वयन्याये-
[17] न भुंजतो भोजयतो वा न केनचिद्व्यासेधनीयः ॥ ⊙ ॥ यत उक्तमेव भगवता वेदव्या-
[18] सेन व्यासेन ॥ वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
[19] फलं ॥ षाष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥
[20] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि मर्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि ॥ निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को ना-
[21] म साधुः पुनराददीतेति ॥ शकसंवत् T ३ ९ ८ २९ पौष सुदि ४ उत्तरायणे ॥ यथा चैतदेवं त
[22] था ग्रामं दाता स्वहस्तमारोपयति । स्वहस्तोयं **श्रीधरणीवराहस्य**
[23] लिखितं चैतद्राजादेशात् सांधिविग्रहिकमहिंदकेन
[24] पार्त्थिलसुतेनोति ॥

Translation.

Om!

1. May that forest of braids on the head of the divine Dhandheśvara, which is sanctified by the flowing water of the stream of heaven, which is cooled by the rays of the moon, which (*bears*) excellent flowers in (*the shape of*) a multitude of golden lotuses and fruit (*in the shape of*) the happiness of salvation, which borders on the row of serpents, on the poison-*kandalî* (of the throat) and on the tiger (*skin*), (*yet*) causes no pain, bestow bliss on you!

2. The Earth bowed to Śambhu before (*he gave himself up to*) deep meditation and spoke with an echoing voice; "When meditation rules thy eye, oh lord, I am unable to bear the torment caused by the Âsuras." (*Then*) the supreme ruler created for the sake of the earth out of his bow (*châpa*), a powerful prince, called Châpa, who, being of lofty stature, was able to protect her.

Moreover—

3. The illustrious Châpa race, before which no (*other*) excels, which has no weak points (*and*) no 'thorns' (*in its sides*), possesses an unscathed body, and excellent splendour, which though possessing excellent swords (*it is always*) *satpatra*, has reached the condition of being *vipatra*, because it protects from misfortune, which, though it ever gives the fruit of happiness (*to others*), yet exceedingly increases its own prosperity, which, though it chooses its location on the heads of (*other*) princes, (*nevertheless*) is humble (*before gods and gurus*), is worthy to be served and cannot be conquered by its foes.

4. In that (*race*) was born the illustrious Vikramârka, a prince resembling the sun, possessing all the 'regal powers' and the six qualities (*of a king*); from him (*sprang*) king Aḍḍaka. From him was born the illustrious king Pulakeśi, a crest-jewel among the protectors of the earth. From him king Dhruvabhaṭa was descended, an incarnation of justice.

5. His younger brother is Dharaṇîvarâha, at whose lotus-feet all princes bow, who finds happiness in the embraces of royal Fortune, who has become a (*wish-granting*) tree of paradise for all his friends, who is high-minded and a royal swan among the lotuses of the faces of the beauties (*of his harem*).

6. Why describe his valour, regal power, his destroying cities, his depth (*of understanding*), his truthfulness, great energy, or his unequalled great majesty? (*There exists*) a

L. 15, read °वेष्टिक:; °वर्ज्जं. L. 20, read धर्म्मार्त्थं°. L. 24, The second *akshara* is not certain.

certain magnanimity, an exceeding respect for the sons of noble-born kings through which, alas! the pure understanding of poets is frequently confused.

7. This prince, proud of his liberality, bravery and beauty, easily puts to shame, as it were, Karṇa, Pârtha and the god with the flowery arrows by his exploits that surpass theirs.

And he, though he gained immutable prosperity, reflected thus with innate discernment: "Life, health and so forth resemble the flame of a lamp that has been placed in a courtyard and is struck by the wind. Since, lo! of the former kings of my own and other families, though they were endowed with such power, nothing is left but their fame, renown and names, in consequence of such a wonderful play of fate, therefore it is preferable to set (*one's*) heart on (*the acquisition of*) spiritual merit alone. And while spiritual merit may be acquired by liberality, virtuous conduct, austerities and abstract meditation, ruling princes have usually made gifts or had recourse to meditation."

Therefore, considering that a gift of land and the like is a ladder to heaven, that illustrious Dharaṇîvarâha, the lord of the great feudal barons, who possesses unmeasurable virtues, who has obtained all the great titles, who resides at Vardhamâna, who rules through the favour of 'the feet' of the king of kings and supreme lord, the illustrious Mahipâladeva, the Aḍḍaṇaka country which is called after the name of his own grandfather and a great many other (*districts*), has made a gift in such a manner that he issues (*the following*) orders to all future kings, (both to those) connected with himself, and to (*those of*) other (*dynasties*) to the lords of provinces, the lords of villages, the Inâmdârs, the head-men, the villagers, the scribes,[6] the policemen, the middle-men and so forth. "Be it known to you that I have given with greatest devotion, on the day of the winter-solstice (*confirming the gift*) by a libation of water, for the increase of my parent's and my own merit and fame, likewise in order to obtain the (*due*) reward in the next world, to Śrî-Maheśvarâchârya the son of Śrî-Śivadevâchârya of the famous Âmarddaka line, as a reward for his learning, the village, called Viṁkala, which is connected with the *sthalî* of Kanthikâ, up to the extremity of its boundaries, together with the *dâṇî*, the *bhoga*[7] and the share (*of the produce*), together with the (*right of*) punishing and (*deciding suits arising out of*) the ten faults, together with its rows of trees, together with the immunity from interference by royal officials and from obstruction. And its boundaries (*are*): to the east the village called Uttarakkaka to the south the village called Kikkhriâṇaka, to the west the village called Kurala, to the north the village called Śaṇâichâṇaka. Nobody must hinder Śrî-Maheśvarâchârya, when, in accordance with the maxim regarding sons, grandsons and (*remoter*) descendants, he enjoys or causes to be enjoyed this village called Viṁkala, which is defined by the above four boundaries, which is not to be entered by the regular or irregular soldiers, which (*has been granted*) together with the right of forced labour resting thereon, but with the exception of former grants to gods and Brahmans, in accordance with the reasoning from the familiar instance of the ground and the clefts therein, for as long (*a period*) as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and hills endure. For it has been declared by the divine Vyâsa, the compiler of the *Vedas*[8] . . . .

On the day of the winter-solstice, on the fourth of the bright half of Pausha, Śaka-saṁvat 836. And as this is, even so[9] the donor of the village attaches his sign-manual. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Dharaṇîvarâha. And this has been written by the minister for peace and war, Mahindaka, the son of Pârtthila.

[6] I translate *pañchakulika* by 'scribe,' relying on the statement of Mr. Haribhâî, Divân of Râdhanpur, who himself bears the name Pânchalî (*pâñchakulika*) and assured me that Pañcholî, now a common family name of kâyasthas, who immigrated from Central India, meant, according to the *Mâhâtmya*, 'a kârkun or scribe, *because such a person must possess the wisdom of five races, Brahmans and so forth*. Whatever the origin of the word may be, the meaning assigned to it by Mr. Haribhâî seems to be correct. For Merutuṅga uses its *simplex pañchakula* in a similar manner. In the history of Vanarâja, he narrates that Bhûpati of Kalyâṇa sent a *pañchakula* in order to collect the taxes in Gujarât.—*Madhyaga* has been rendered by 'middleman,' on account of its etymological meaning. I am not aware what its technical force is.

[7] *Bhoga* corresponds to the modern *haks*, the small gifts of betel etc., due to the proprietor.

[8] The verses from the *Mahâbhârata* have been left out.

[9] *i. e.* agreeing to everything that has been set forth above.

SANSKRIT GRANTS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARÂT KINGS.

No. V.

A COPPERPLATE GRANT OF KING TRILOCHANAPÂLA CHAULUKYA OF LÂṬADEŚA, (DATED ŚAKA 972, A. D. 1050)

EDITED BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.

The grant of which a version is given below is in the possession of a coppersmith of Surat, and was obtained on loan for me by Mr. Narbherâm Mansukhrâm. The owner had done great *pûja* to the copperplates, and the letters were much filled with saffron and sandalwood unguents; they have suffered also from rust, and it took some days to clean them.

The plates are three in number, and are secured by a strong copper ring, bearing the royal seal upon it,—an image of Śiva, in an attitude of meditation, with his accompaniments. They weigh between 9 and 10 lbs.

These plates throw considerable light on that period of the history of Lâṭadêśa and of Gujarât, that followed the downfall of the Gûrjaras and Râshṭrakûṭas in the one district and the Valabhîs and Châpotkaṭas in the other. It belongs to the Chaulukya king Trilôchanapâla of Lâṭadêśa, fifth in descent from Bârappa, the contemporary and rival of Mûlarâja Solaṅki of Gujarât, and is dated in Śaka 972 (A.D. 1050.)

The inscription is metrical, but only the first 32 verses are numbered, containing an account of the donor and his family history. The verses following these are descriptive of the donee, and the object of the gift, with the customary injunctions and quotations. The inscription is correctly written with the exception of the substitution of the letter स (*s*) for श (*ś*) and *vice versâ*, which is also the peculiarity of the present Suratîs to our day. The language is highly eulogistic of the patrons of the poet, as is generally the case.

Although the authorities vary in details, yet their account of the origin of the Chaulukyas is almost identical, whether we look to the poet Bilhaṇa, or the author of the *Kumârapâlacharita,*—the Jaina monk Jayasiṁhadêvasûri about the fourteenth century of the Christian era,—or to the *Vaḍanagara Praśasti* of king Jayasiṁhadêva of V.S. 1208, or to the present grant. These Chaulukyas or Chalukyas are sprung from a "Man-jewel" formed by the Creator of the Universe from a handful of sacred water. The Chalukyas of the south are said frequently to allude to this. The Chaulukyas of Lâṭadêśa here claim that descent. The Solaṅkis of Aṇahilavâḍa too, derive their descent from the same source as the following fragmentary verse from the *Vaḍanagar Praśasti* of king Jayasiṁhadêva of Gujarât, dated V.S. 1208, indicates :—

वेधाः संध्यानमस्यन्नपि निजचुलुके पुण्यगंगां बुपूर्णे
सद्यो वीरं चुलुक्याह्वयमसृजदिमं येन कीर्त्तिप्रवाहैः ॥
&c., &c., &c.

"The Creator, throwing his glance, into his *Chuluka,* filled with the sacred waters of the Ganges, at once created this warrior, by name C h u l u k y a, who by the streams of his fame," &c. . . . .

The name of the first parent is variously written—as Chulukya here and in the *Kumârapâlacharita,* and Chaulukya in the present grant. The poet Bilhaṇa does not give the name. None of the Gujarâti chroniclers, bards or Jaina *Prabandha* writers,—so far as my information goes,—is ambitious enough to proceed beyond Bhûyaḍa, with the exception of Jayasiṁhadêvasûri. This Jaina Yati informs us that the progenitor of the race was Chulukya. He ignores the supernatural origin assigned to him by the Brâhmaṇical poets and writers of inscriptions. He wants to elevate his hero by ascribing to him a descent from king Vikrama of traditional fame and glory—the originator of the Saṁvat era. The verses are as follow :—

पुरा सुरारिवद्विश्वविश्वोद्धारधुरंधरः
चुलुक्य इति विख्यातः संजातः क्षत्रियोत्तमः ॥ १६
धैर्यगांभीर्यचातुर्यशौर्यौदार्यादयो गुणाः
श्रांता इव जगक्रान्त्या यत्राश्रांतं विशश्रमुः ॥ १७
यः सांग्रामिककर्मकर्मठमतिर्दैत्यानिव प्राणिनां
रौद्रोपद्रवकारिणोरिनिकरानुज्जास्य तीक्ष्णासिना
निर्मायाप्यकुतोभयं कुवलयं स्वाराज्यवैहासिक-
श्रीकं राज्यमतिष्ठिपत्किल मधूपघ्नाभिधे पत्तने ॥ १८
चौलुक्य इति वंशोभूत्तन्नाम्ना विश्वविश्रुतः
आकरो नररत्नानां सुपर्वश्रेणिसंकुलः ॥ १९

तद्वंश्या विश्वशंस्याभा बभूवुर्भूधना घनाः
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ॥ २०

श्रीसिंहविक्रम इति क्षितिभृत्क्रमेण
जज्ञे महेश्वरवितीर्णसुवर्णसिद्धिः
यः क्षोणिचक्रमनृणं विरचय्य दानैः
संवत्सरं निजमवीवृतदासमुद्रम् ॥ २१
पुस्फोर वीरकोटीरस्तत्पुत्रो हरिविक्रमः
स्वकीर्त्तिकेतकैर्येन सुरभी चक्रिरे दिशः ॥ २२
पंचाशीति नृपास्तस्माद्विस्मापकविभा बभुः
न सेहे यत्प्रतापाग्निः शकवंशैर्दृढैरपि ॥ २३
तदन्वयेभवत्क्षुण्णखरदूषणवैभवः
रामो राम इव न्यायसदनं मेदिनीश्वरः ॥ २४
ततः सहजरामाभादश्वलक्षत्रयेश्वरं
हत्वा शकपतिं पत्तिभिदा विश्वेप्यभूद्भटः (?) ॥२५
अदीप्यत श्रिया श्रीदः श्रीदडकस्तदात्मजः
यः पिपासाख्यराष्ट्रेशं गजं सिंह इवाजयत् ॥ २६
भूपालः कांबिकव्यालस्तद्राज्यमथ भेजिवान्
यद्दानैरर्थिनोप्यासन् दानशौंडाः सुरद्रुवत् ॥ २७
राजा राजिरथाजिराजिविजयी राजेव रेजे शुचि-
र्यो यात्रां विरचय्य देवनगरे श्रीसोमनाथोक्तितः
वश्यां गूर्ज्जरशासनस्य भागिनीं सामंतसिंहप्रभो-
र्लीलाख्यां जगदेकवीरजननीं लक्ष्मीमिव व्यूढ-
वान् ॥ २८

तयोः सूनुरनूनश्रीः मूलराज इति श्रुतः
अयोनिसंभवत्वेन स चमत्कारकारणं ॥ २९
सामंतसिंहमतुलं निजमातुलं यः
शक्त्या निहत्य किल गूर्ज्जरराज्यमाप्य
लक्षं तथा समरकर्म्मणि बद्धकक्षं
सोमेशवैभववशाद्दलयांचकार ॥ ३०
राजा चामुण्डराजोथ यः - - - - - -
सिंधुराजमिवोन्मत्तं सिंधुराजं मृधेवधीत् ॥ ३१
तस्माद्वल्लभराजोभूद्यत्प्रतापाभितापितः
मुंजोवंतीश्वरो धीरो यंत्रेपि न धृतिं दधौ ॥ ३२
अथो दुर्ल्लभराजस्तद्राज्यं ज्ञाय वनांबुदः
निर्मथ्य लाटनाथं यस्तद्रमां सक्षमां ललौ ॥ ३३
तद्भवो भीमदेवोभूद्यन्माहात्म्याहिमागमे
युक्तमंभोजवद्भोजभुजो निर्म्लानिमानशे ॥ ३४

Formerly there came into existence the best of the Kshattriyas known as C h u l u k y a, who was like the enemy of the demons, Indra, bearing the yoke of the regeneration of the whole world. (v. 16). The virtues of fortitude, gravity, prudence, heroism, generosity, &c., overcome with fatigue after roaming all over the world, took rest with him without exhaustion (v. 17). Who, having destroyed with the sharp sword of his mind hardened with the acts of war, the hosts of enemies, causing great and terrible annoyance to (*all*) animals like the Daityas, and having rendered the terrestrial orb fearless, and smiling with the prosperity of his Svârâjya, fixed his capital in the town, by name M a d h û p a g h n a (or Mathura) (v. 18). There arose a race known by his name, C h a u l u k y a, a mine of men-jewels, endued with good shoots and branches (v. 19).[1]

There were many rulers of the earth of his family, whose splendour was praised by all (v. 20).

In course of time there was born the king, by name Śrî V i k r a m a s i m h a, to whom was granted the golden charm, *Suvarṇa—Siddhi*, by Mahêśvara, who, having freed the whole world from debt, proclaimed his own era to the very shores of the sea! (v. 21). There sprung forth H a r i v i k r a m a his son, the head-jewel of the valiant, who, with the Ketaka flowers of his fame, rendered fragrant, (*all the*) directions. (v. 22). From him were 85[2] kings of admirable splendour, the fire of whose prowess was not borne by the families (in another sense *bamboos*) of the Śakas, even though they were very firm (*deeply rooted and long established*) (v. 23).

In that family was king Râma, like Râma, the home of justice, who had destroyed the majesty of the wicked (Kharadûshaṇa).[3] (v. 24)

[1] Cf. inscrip. v. 7, and one of the opening verses of the Aihole Inscription dated Ś.Ś. 556 of king Pulikêśî II. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 241 :—

तदनुचिरमपरिमेयश्चलुक्यकुलविपुलजलनिधिर्जयति
पृथ्वीमौलिललाम्नां यः प्रभवः पुरुषरत्नानाम् ॥

and also the verse following it :—

पृथ्वीवल्लभशब्दो येषामन्वर्थतां यातः
तद्वंश्येषु जिगीषुषु तेषु बहुष्वप्यतीतेषु ॥

[2] Cf. also the attempt of the chroniclers and genealogists of the south who count 59 kings as having ruled at Ayodhya, and after them 16 more before Pulikêśî. See the verse from an inscription of king Vikramaditya VI, dated Ś. Ś. 999 *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 11ff.—तज्जेषु राज्यमनुपाल्य गतेषु राजस्वेकोनषष्टिगणनेषु पुरादयोध्यां तद्वंशजास्तदनुषोडशभूमिपालाः क्ष्मां दक्षिणापथजुषं बिभरांबभूवुः

[3] As applied to the mythical Râma, who destroyed the greatness of the demons named Khara and Dûshaṇa.

From that natural Râma was a warrior Bhaṭa,[4] who destroyed the lord of the Śakas, master of three hundred thousand cavalry, with his infantry (v. 25). His son was Śrî Daḍaka,[5] the giver of prosperity, who shone with his splendour, who lion-like conquered Gaja, the ruler of the kingdom of Pipâsâ[6] (v. 26). His kingdom was occupied by the king Kâmbika-Vyâla,[7] by whose gifts the *Arthis*, the supplicants and donees were intoxicated as with the *dâna*[8] of the celestial tree! (v. 27). Then there shone, bright like the moon, king Raji, the conqueror in many battles; who, having performed the pilgrimage to Dêvanagara, there, at the injunctions of the auspicious lord of the moon (*Śrî Somanâtha Mahâdêva*), married the princess Lîlâ by name, who was like Lakshmî, sister of Sâmantasiṁha, the ruler of the Gûrjaras, mother of the single hero of the world! (v. 28).

Their son was known as Mûlarâja of incomparable splendour, who, not being born from the uterus, was the result of a great miracle (v. 29). Who having killed with his sword his incomparable uncle Sâmantasiṁha, and having obtained the kingdom of Gûrjara, destroyed likewise Laksha, through the greatness of Somêśa, who was prepared for war. (v. 30). Then was king Chamunda . . . who killed in battle the Sindhurâja who was as ungovernable as the ocean. (v. 31). From him was Vallabharâja. The king of Avanti Munja, scorched by the heat of his prowess could not hold his patience even in the prison-house (v. 32). Then Durlabharâja, having obtained his kingdom, a cloud of the forest, having destroyed the lord of Lâṭadêśa, enjoyed his land with his fortunes (v. 33). His son was Bhîmadeva. At the setting in of the frost of his greatness the arm of Bhôja faded away like the lotus (*and that*) very properly. (v. 34).

The poet Bilhaṇa in detailing the life and exploits of his patron, says (verse 34) :—

ब्रह्मर्षिभिर्ब्रह्ममयीममुष्य सार्धं कथां वर्धयतः कदाचित्
त्रैलोक्यबन्धोः सुरसिन्धुतीरे प्रत्यूषसंध्यासमयो बभूव ॥

"It became the evening prayer and adoration (*Sandhyâ-vandana*) time to him (to Brâhmadêva, described in the two preceding verses), the friend (*lit.* the brother) of the three worlds, as he was once holding conversation on Brâhma (the Supreme Spirit, or the *Vêdas*, or *Yajña*) with the Brahmarshis, on the bank of the divine stream, the celestial Ganges!"

Then there follow certain verses containing a poetical description of the setting in of the twilight. Here is the verse 39 after them :—

संध्यासमाधौ भगवान् स्थितोथ शक्रेण बद्धांजलिना प्रणम्य
विज्ञापितः शेखरपारिजातद्विरेफनादद्विगुणैर्वचोभिः ॥

"Now the lord sat in *Sandhyâ*-meditation, when Indra, bowing down to him and folding his hands, prayed to him, with words, strengthened with the voice of bees in the *Pârijâta*-flowers in his chaplet (that touched the feet of the god)." Verses 40 to 43 describe the many marks of his favour possessed by Indra. The passage following them may be quoted in full :—

निवेदितश्चारजनेन नाथ तथा क्षितौ संप्रति विप्लवो मे
मन्ये यथा यज्ञविभागभोगः स्मर्त्तव्यतामेष्यति निर्जराणाम्
॥ ४४

धर्मद्रुहामत्र निवारणाय कार्यस्त्वया कश्चिदवार्यवीर्यः
रवेरिवांशुप्रसरेण यस्य वंशेन सुस्थाः ककुभः क्रियन्ते ॥ ४५
पुरंदरेण प्रतिपाद्यमानमेवं समाकर्ण्य वचो विरिञ्चिः
संध्याम्बुपूर्णे चुलुके मुमोच ध्यानानुविद्धानि विलोचनानि
॥ ४६

"Oh Lord, the spies have brought to my notice that my overthrow on the earth at present is such that I believe that the enjoyment of their shares in the sacrifices will be a matter of memory to the gods (v. 44.) For the removing of the enemies of the faith, thou shouldst create some one of invincible prowess, by whose family (or bamboo-staff)[9] as by the streak of the rays of the sun, all directions may be made happy (*well supported and firmly established*) (v. 45). Virinchi, having thus heard the speech uttered by Indra, cast his eyes, bent in meditation, on the *Chuluka* filled with the *Sandhyâ* waters (v. 46).

[4] Can this be the same with the Bhuyada (Sans. Bhûbhaṭa), of the Gujarât chroniclers. The verse in the original is very doubtful. This question needs further elucidation.

[5] Can this be Daṇḍaka, brother of Râja (Râji, father of Mûlarâja) and Bîja? But if the king mentioned in the last verse be Bhûbhaṭa, Daṇḍaka, according to the chroniclers, was fifth in descent from him.

[6] Is it far from true to suppose that this Gaja is the Hindu or Śaka ruler of Afghanistan, who gave name to Gazni? See Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* about this ruler. Can the kingdom of Pipâsâ, be the regions bordering on and beyond the Biyas,—the Panjâb and Kabul territory of the king?

[7] Vyâla, a synonym of Gaja?

[8] In other sense the ichor, or the juice flowing out from certain trees.

[9] Here is one of the many quaint similes used by the poet. Here he compares the family of the hero to a bamboo-staff, taking advantage of its double meaning—on which rest all the directions—the sky firmly like an awning spread all about and held up.

From them rises up a warrior, who is described in the next six verses.

अपि स्वयं पंकजविष्टरेण देवेन दृष्टश्चिरमुत्सुकेन
वाञ्छाधिकप्रस्तुतवस्तुसिद्धिसाविस्मयस्मेरमुखांबुजेन ॥ ५३
कषोपले पौरुषकांचनस्य पंके यशः पाण्डुसरोरुहाणाम्
व्यापारयन्दृष्टिमतिप्रहृष्टामवाप्तपाणिप्रणये कृपाणे ॥ ५४
हेमाचलस्येव कृतः शिलाभिरुदारजाम्बूनदचारुदेहः
अथाविरासीत्सुभटस्त्रिलोकत्राणप्रवीणश्चुलुकाद्विधातुः ॥ ५५

"Was he not seen by the god, who reclines on a bed of lotuses, with his lotus-like faces, smiling in wonder at the accomplishment of the intended object, beyond expectation,—was he not seen with amazement by the god himself, who was long anxious? (v. 53). Then came forth from the *Chuluka* of the Creator, the warrior, competent to protect the three worlds, having his body as beautiful as pure gold, as if he were created of the rocks of Mount Meru, directing his highly delighted eye at the sword, that was firmly grasped by his hand; the sword, that was the touchstone of the gold of manly vigour, the mud of the white lilies of fame." (vv. 54-5).

प्रस्थाप्य शक्रं धृतिमान् भवेति हर्षाश्रुपारिप्लवदृक्सहस्रम्
सशासनात्पंकरुहासनस्य मरुद्विपक्षक्षयदीक्षितोभूत् ॥ ५६

"Setting forward Indra, all the thousands of whose eyes were bedewed with tears of joy, (*with the words*) 'take courage.' He, at the command of the lotus-enthroned (*Brâhma*), became the Dîkshita (*dedicated*) to the destruction of those hostile to the gods" (v. 56).

क्ष्माभृत्कुलानामुपरि प्रतिष्ठामवाप्य रत्नाकरभोगयोग्यः
क्रमेण तस्मादुदियाय वंशः शौरेः पदाग्रांग इव प्रवाहः ॥ ५७

"There rose, in course of time, from him, the race, like the stream of the Ganges from the foot of the god Śauri (*Vishṇu*), fit for the enjoyment of mines of jewels,[9] having obtained a footing on the heads of royal races." (v. 57).

विपक्षवीराद्भुतकीर्तिहारी हारीत इत्यादिपुमान्स यत्र
मानव्यनामा च बभूव मानी मानव्ययं यः कृतवानरिणाम्
॥ ५८

"Where there was the first man Hârîta, who snatched away the admirable glory of the hostile warriors, and the proud one, by name Mânavya, who exhausted and destroyed the pride of the enemies" (v. 58).

[9] *Ratnâkara*, in the case of the Ganges may mean the ocean, the storehouse of pearls and gems.

The three next verses describe the prowess, glory and achievements of the other monarchs of the family in general terms.

The *Râs Mâlâ* states[10] that Mûlarâja was attacked in his newly acquired kingdom simultaneously, by the Râjâ of Nâgor from the north, and "Barp, the general of Teilip, the sovereign of Tehlingana" from the south. Further we are told that at the time of this invasion Mûlarâja retired to Kanthkoṭ in Kachh, which, according to Dr. Bühler, may be inferred from his published inscription, dated V. S. 1043.[11] He had killed Laksha or Lâkhâ Phulâni before this.

The version of the story, as given by the *Prabandha Chintâmani*, is that followed by the *Râs Mâlâ*. The *Kumârapâla-bhupâlacharita* or *Vastupâlacharita* have nothing to say to this. The *Kirttikaumudi* gives the following:—

लाटेश्वरस्य सेनान्यमसामान्यपराक्रमः
दुर्वारं बारपं हत्वा हास्तिकं यः समग्रहीत्

"Who, of incomparable valour, having killed Bârapa, the general of the ruler of Lâṭa-dêśa, that could with difficulty be repulsed, took the tribute of a troop of elephants." And here Râja-Purohita Sômêśvara, the author of the work, gives this event the precedence of the war with the ruler of Kachh. According to this authority, then, Bârapa was a general of the Lâṭêśvara, meaning thereby Tailapadêva, who had but recently overthrown the Râshṭrakûṭa Kakkala, and made himself master of his territory. But the brother-poet and contemporary of Sômêśvara, the Jaina chronicler, Arasiṁha, gives the following, on the subject, in his poem of *Sukriṭa-Sankîrttana*:—

विजित्य यः संयति कन्यकुब्जमहीभुजोबारपदंडनाथं
जहार हस्तिप्रकरं कराग्रात्तत्कारसंदीपितपौरुषाग्निं ॥ ५ ॥

"Who, having conquered in battle the general Bârapa, of the king of Kanyâkubja, wrenched the tribute of elephants from his hand (*whose*) fire of valour blazed up by that act." Canto II., v. 5.

The present grant simply states that Bârapa was born in the family of Chaulukya, that he was related by marriage to the Râshṭrakûṭa, Mahârâja of Kanyâkubja, and that he *obtained* Lâṭadêśa, not by conquest, and by his wise and

[10] Vol. I. pp. 51-2.
[11] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 184 and 191-2.

politic rule won the hearts of the people, and destroyed the enemies of the realm, which last is a mere rhetorical flourish! And it makes no mention of the defeat and death of the founder of the family by Mûlarâja. We are again informed by the *Rás Málá*, that at the time when *Nazaraṅas* were being poured in from every side, and presented to the ruler of Sârasvata Maṅḍâla,—that from Lâṭadêśa was an ill-omened elephant which greatly incensed prince C h â m u ṅ ḍ a. The king, thereupon, with Châmuṅḍa the heir-apparent, marched hastily upon Lâṭadêśa and surprised, defeated and killed (Dvârup) in a battle.[12] He is here named Dvârup, an attempt to Sanskritize the name. I think this Dvârup must be the same as the Bârp of pp. 51-2, who may not have been killed on the first occasion as there stated. From the parallel instituted between Agnirâja, (Goṅgirâja? Goggirâja? or Gojirâja?), the "first home of the family," that recovered the land submerged under the waves of foreign conquest and overwhelmed by the demons of enemies (meaning the Chaulukyas of Aṅahilavâḍa), and the Varâha Avatâra or boar incarnation of Vishṇu,—the relationship and close connection of the Lâṭa Chaulukyas with the Châlukyas of Kalyâṅa, who had for their cognizance the Boar, may be inferred (v. 11 of the grant). If this Gojirâja be the same "Chalukya noble Gojirâja," of the grant of the Yadava king Seuṅachandra II., dated Ś.Ś. 991 (A.D. 1069), we shall be able approximately to fix his period. The grant mentions that a Yadava king Têsuka, of Chandoḍ (whose family had settled there, emigrating from Dvârâvati or Dvârikâ about 850 A.D.) had for his wife, princess Nâyiyalla, daughter of a Châlukya noble Gojirâja. This Gojirâja's son-in-law, Têsuka, is said to have succeeded Vadig, who was married to the daughter of the Śilhâra king J h a n j h a, whose date is put down as A.D. 916. The successor of Têsuka is one Bhillama, who is said to have conquered Âhavamalla, son of Jayasiṁha Châlukya (1040 to 1069 A.D.) So the date of Gojirâja falls somewhere between 916 and 1040 A.D. Thus Agnirâja, whose name may be read as Gojirâja, strengthened his position, by securing the alliance and support of the rising family of the Yadavas of Chandoḍ. But he did not live to be king; it was his son, K î r t t i r â j a, who was the first king of Lâṭadêśa.

The reign of this Kîrttirâja seems to have been uneventful, but the last few verses concerning him speak of his enemies and of wars in general terms, and we are informed by the *Kumârapâla-bhupâla-charita*, in one of the verses quoted above, that king D u r l a b h a r â j a, having destroyed Lâṭa-nâtha or the ruler of Lâṭadêśa, (Kîrttirâja) enjoyed his regal fortune with his land. And this is borne out by the Vâdanagara *Praśasti* thus :—

यस्य क्रोधपरांगवस्य किमपि भ्रूवल्लरी भंगुरा
सद्यो दर्शयतिस्म लाटवसुधा भंगस्वरूपं फलम् ॥ ८

"The wavy creeper of the brow of him (Durlabharâja), the ocean of anger, exhibited soon the fruit in the form of the destruction of the kingdom of Lâṭa" which clearly indicates the death and destruction of Kîrttirâja, that is concealed by the writer of the grant, as would very naturally be the case. Kîrttirâja was succeeded by V a t s a r â j a. This Vatsarâja presented the god Somanâtha of Paṭṭana in Soraṭh with a gold umbrella, resplendent with jewels. He also founded charitable institutions for the poor and the helpless (v. 27). His son T r i l o c h a n a p â l a, the donor of the grant, seems to be the last of his line, for we do not hear of any kingdom of Lâṭadêśa subsequent to this time. The country in the time of K a r ṅ a and his glorious son J a y a s i ṁ h a d ê v a and their successors being comprised within the empire of Gûrjarât.[13]

The minister of war and peace is Sankara. T r i l o c h a n a p â l a bathes in the western sea at the port of Agastya-tîrtha and makes the grant, from which I conclude that it or some place near it was most probably the capital of the monarch. Agastya-tîrtha, I am informed, is what is now called Bhagvâ Dâṅḍî.

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[12] Vol. I, pp. 61-2.

[13] For, the extensive conquests of Jayasiṁhadêva in the south did include the minor province of Lâṭadêśa as the following passage from the *Prabandha Chaturvinjati*, Madanavarma Prabandha, states ;—

मालवदेशस्वायत्तीकरणानन्तरं दक्षिणा पथे महाराष्ट्र तिलंग कर्णा ऽ पाण्ड्यादिराष्ट्राण्यसाधयत् ।। अनन्तरं धनं संघटितं । ततोगूर्जरधरां प्रतिन्याघुटत् ॥

(*P. C. Ins.* p. 47). He (Jayasiṁhadêva) subdued the kingdoms of the south, viz. those of Mahârâshṭra, Tilanga, Karṅâṭa, Pâṅḍya, &c., after the conquest of Mâlava. Their wealth was largely drained, so he proclaimed in the land of Gûrjara the expedition against king Madanavarma the wealthy ruler of Mahobaka in Bundelkhand.

Erathâṅa, the village granted, is situated in the Olpâḍ tâlukâ of the Surat district. Five kos from Erathâṅa is a place called Karan Pârdî. Near Karanj is a hillock called Mehelârun Têkro, and a tradition there goes that it was a place of resort of the Padishâhs of old in the Bâdshahî times. It contained once a palatial building which was a place of *takhat*, meaning thereby the metropolis of the country. At about a kos and a half from Karanj is Bhagvâ Dâṅḍî, and they are separated by a creek running inland. Nâgâmvâ is Nagadâ (?) Vadathâṅa, lying to the south of Erathâṅa. Nagadâ is desolate now. Vaṭapadraka is Vadoda lying to the S.E., Lingavata is Lingoda or Nagadâ in the S. of Erathâṅa, or it may be Lingatarâja in the Chorâsî tâluka, belonging to the Sachîn State? Śiva is Śivâ still. Can Indotthâna be modern Narathâna? Tembarûka is Timburvâ in the Chorâsî tâlukâ. Talapadraka is Taḷoda or Taḷada to the S. of Erathâṅa. The other places cannot be identified.

Transcript.

Plate I.

(1) ९ ॐ नमो विनायकाय ॥ स्वस्ति जयोभ्युदयश्च ॥ वाणं वीणाक्षमाले कमलमहिमथो
(2) वीजपूरं त्रिशूलं खट्वाङ्गं दानहस्ताभयकरसहिताः पाणयो धारयन्तः । रक्षन्तु व्यंज-
(3) यन्तः सकलरसमयं देवदेवस्य चित्तं नोचेदेवं कथं वा त्रिभुवनमखिलं पालितं दान-
(4) वेभ्यः ॥ १ ॥ दधाति पद्ममथ चक्रकौस्तुभे गदामथो शंखमिहैव पंकजं । हरिः
(5) स पातु त्रिदशाधिपो भुवं रसेषु सर्वेषु निषण्णमानसः ॥ २ ॥ कमण्डलुं दण्डम-
(6) थ श्रुचं विभुर्व्विभर्ति मालां जपदत्तमानसः । सृजत्यजो लोकमपोहितुं रिपून्रसैश्च
(7) सर्व्वै रसितो विशेषतः ॥ ३ ॥ कदाचिद्दैत्यखेदोत्थाचिन्तामन्दरमन्थनात् ! विरिञ्चेश्चु-
(8) लुकाम्भोधे राजरत्नं पुमानभूत् ॥ ४ ॥ देव किंकरवाणीति नत्वा प्राह तमेव सः । समा-
(9) दिष्टार्थसंसिद्धौ तुष्टः स्रष्टाब्रवीच्च तं ॥ ५ ॥ कन्याकुब्जे महाराज राष्ट्रकूटस्य कन्य-
(10) कां लब्ध्वा शु(सु)खाय तस्यां त्वं चौलुक्याप्नुहि सन्ततिम् ॥ ६ ॥ इत्थमत्र भवेत्क्षत्रसन्तति-
(11) र्व्वितता किल । चौलुक्यात्प्रथिता नद्याः श्रो(स्रो)तांसीव महीधरात् ॥७॥ तत्रान्वये दयित-
(12) कीर्त्तिरकीर्त्ति नारीं संस्पर्शभीत इव वर्ज्जितवान्परस्य । वारप्पराज इति विश्रुतना-
(13) मधेयो राजा बभूव भुवि नाशितलोकशोकः ॥ ८ ॥ श्रीलाटदेशमधिगम्य कृतानि
(14) येन सत्यानि नीतिवचनानि मुदे जनानाम् । तत्रानुरज्य जनमाशु निहत्य शत्रून् को-
(15) शस्य वृद्धिफलमाप निरन्तरं यः ॥ ९ ॥ तस्माज्जातो विजयवसतिर्गोङ्गि(?)राजः क्षि-
(16) तीशो यस्मादन्ये मनुजपतयः सि(शि)क्षिता राजधर्म्मम् । यो गोत्रस्य प्रथमनिलयः
(17) पालको यः प्रजानां यः शत्रूणाममि ◯ तमहसां मूर्ध्नि पादं व्यधत्त ॥ १० ॥

Plate II. A.

(1) आत्मभूरुद्धृता येन विष्णुमे(ने?)व म ◯ हीयसा । बलिभिः सा समाक्रान्ता दा-
(2) नवैरिव वैरिभिः ॥ ११ ॥ प्रद्यु ◯ म्नवन्मदनरूपधरोच्युतस्य श्रीकी-
(3) र्त्तिराजनृपतिः स बभूव तस्मात् । यो लाटभूपपदवीमधिगम्य चक्रे धर्मेण
(4) कीर्त्तिधवलानि धि(दि)गन्तराणि ॥ १२ ॥ सन्तानतन्तुषु प्रोताश्चौलुक्यमणयो नृ-
(5) पाः । तस्यां तु मणिमालायां नायकः कीर्त्तिभूपतिः ॥ १३ ॥ गोः पिण्डे भौति-
(6) के भूरि पदार्थायतने गुरौ । सूते क्षीरं शिरा कापि माता स्त्रीषु तथैव तं ॥ १४ ॥
(7) आजन्म दृष्टया (?) तिमनोहरस्य मुदा तथापूर्यत सर्वलोकः । यथामृतापूर्णघटीसमानं नारि-
(8) च्यतापि स्तुतिबिन्दुपातैः ॥ १५ ॥ समेपि स्पृहणीयत्वे पक्वान्नस्येव योषितां । भोगत्वेन

(9) परस्त्रीणामुच्छिष्टस्येव वर्ज्जितः ॥ १६ ॥ लग्नं तथा क्ष्मापतिपाणिप(पा)दे स्थितं यथा व-
(10) क्षसि रत्नसारैः । गौणं त्यजद्भिः श्रुतिकुण्डलाभ्यां कृत्वा पदं मुख्यमथास्थितं तैः ॥१७॥
(11) आलम्बनीभूतमहीधरास्तानुलंघ्य जुष्टं पतनं गुणौघैः ॥ कुतोन्यथा ते सहजा व-
(12) भूवुः कथं च ते तत्सह वृद्धिमापुः ॥ १८ ॥ स यौवनोन्मत्तगजेन्द्रपार्श्वाद्धावन्मनो-
(13) मारयदेवमेतत् । तस्मादृतेहीन्द्रियखेटकेन विलंघिता वैषयिकी न सीमा ॥
(14) ॥ १९ ॥ कायेन गेहादिनिभेन जीवो व्योमेव जन्तोर्व्यवधीयते स्म । तस्मात्परस्मिन्न-
(15) ह्मेव मत्वा लक्ष्मीं समां योर्थिजनैरभुंक्त ॥२०॥ बाहू बलौ कोपगुरोश्च वासोवक्षस्तथा
(16) नम्रमवेक्ष्य चापं । दर्प्पोद्धतं मस्तकमेव येषां द्विषां छिनत्ति स्म रणे स वीरः ॥ २१ ॥

Plate II. B.

(17) पृष्ठं ददच्चापमभिद्विषं यः प्रियं चकार द्विषति प्रयुक्ताः । लक्षानुगा मार्गण-
(18) पुंगवास्ते जाताः कृतार्थास्तत एव यस्मात् ॥ २२ ॥ तस्यासीदविचारकीर्त्तिदयि-
(19) तानिस्तृं(स्त्रिं)शहस्तस्य या संग्रामे सभयेव हन्त सहसा गच्छत्परेषां गृहं । सा वाच्या-
(20) पगमाय तेन दधती दिव्यं प्रतापं पुरोक्रान्ता सप्तसमुद्रमण्डलभुवं सु(शु)द्धेति
(21) गीता सुरैः ॥ २३ ॥ तस्माच्च वत्सराजो गुणरत्नमहानिधिर्जातः । शूरो युद्धमहार्णव-
(22) मथनाय मन्दरः ख्यातः ॥ २४ ॥ आनाल्यादियमत्र मूर्त्तिभवने भद्रैः समं श्रीः स्थिता
(23) व्रीडाप्यत्र वधूरिव स्वविषयं प्रच्छादयन्ती सती । तामेवाधिकृतां नयत्यविरतां
(24) भर्त्तुर्मनो जानती सा विष्णोरिव वत्सराजनृपतेः सापत्नवर्ज्जं स्थिता ॥ २५ ॥
(25) सहैकाम्बरदुःस्थले काश्चित्कोणश्रिता दिशः । इतीवाच्छादयत्त्यागी वत्सेशः कीर्त्ति-
(26) कर्प्पटैः ॥ २६ ॥ हेमरत्नप्रभं छत्रं सोमनाथस्य भूषणं । दीनानाथकृते सत्र-
(27) मत्रारितमकारि सः ॥ २७ ॥ तस्याङ्गसंभवः श्रीमांस्त्रिलोचनपतिर्नृपः । भोक्ता
(28) श्रीलाटदेशस्य पाण्डवः कलिभूभुजां ॥ २८ ॥ त्यागेपि मार्ग्गणा यस्य गुणग्रह-
(29) णगामिनः । सत्ये धर्मो धवे वक्रः सौ(शौ)र्ये गोपालविक्रमः ॥ २९ ॥ अहो वृद्ध-
(30) स्य तस्यासन् शत्रवो विकला भृसं(शं) । भोक्तुस्तस्यैव ते चित्रं विहारमलशालिनः ॥३०॥
(31) शत्रोः संगरभूषणस्य समरे तस्यासिन(ना?) पातिते मूर्द्धन्यासु(शु) गलत्सु कण्ठ-
(32) वलयाद्रक्तस्य पूरेष्वलम् । तत्तेजोमयवन्हितापितवपुस्तस्यासवर्णस्य(?)

Plate III.

(1) तन्नूनं भाजनमुल्लास सहसा खड्गोर्ध्वहस्तं चलं ॥ ३१ ॥ धर्मशीलेन तेने-
(2) दं चलं वीक्ष्य जगत्त्रयं । गोभूहिरण्यदानानि दत्तानीह द्विजन्मनां ॥ ३२ ॥
(3) सा(शा)के नवस(श)तैर्युक्ते द्विसप्तत्यधिके तथा । विकृते वत्सरे पौषे मासे पक्षे च ता-
(4) मसे ॥ अमावास्यातिथौ सूर्य्यपर्व्वण्यङ्गारवारके । गत्वा प्रत्यगुदन्वन्तं तीर्थे चाग-
(5) स्त्यसंज्ञके ॥ गोत्रेण कुशिकायात्र भार्गवाय द्विजन्मने । वैश्वामित्रदेवराता-
(6) वौदलः प्रवरास्त्रयः ॥ इमानुद्वहते ग्रामं माधवाय त्रिलोचनः । धि(*or* वि)ल्लीश्वरप-
(7) थकान्तर्द्विचत्वारिंशसंख्यके । एरथाणनवशतमदादुदकपूर्व्वकं ॥ समस्ता-
(8) यं ससीमानमाघाटैस्तरुभिर्युत (*sic*) । देवब्राह्मणयोर्दायान्वर्ज्जयित्वा क्रमागतान् ॥ पूर्व-
(9) स्या(स्यां) दिशि नागाम्वा ग्रामस्तंतिका तथा । वटपद्रकमामेय्यां याम्यां लिङ्गवटः सि-
(10) वः । इन्दोत्थानं तु नैर्ऋत्यां वहुगदश्वा परे स्थितः ॥ वायव्यां टेम्बरूकं च सौम्यां तु तलप-
(11) द्रकं । ईशान्यां कुरुणग्रामः सीमायां खेटकाष्टकं । आघाटनानि चत्वारि आयैः स-

11a.

CHAULUKYA GRANT OF TRILOCHANAPALA.—ŚAKA 972.

IIb.

III.

J. BURGESS FECIT.

Scale 8/10 of original.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

(12) ह ससीमकैः । तस्माद्विजवरस्यास्य भुंजतो न विकल्पना कर्त्तव्या कैश्चन नरैः सार्थसा-
(13) धुसमाख्यकैः । अथैवं यदि लोप्तास्य स तदा पापभाजनः । पालने हि परो(रो)धर्मो हरणे पातकं म-
(14) हत् । तथा चोक्तं सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः स्ववंशजो वा परवंस(श)जो वा रामो बत प्रा-
(15) र्थयते महीसा(शान् *or* शाः *voc. pl.*) कन्यामेकां गवामेकां भूमेरर्द्धार्द्धमंगुलं । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति जा(या)वदाभूतसंप्लवम् जा(या)नीह द-
(16) त्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्धर्मार्थकामादियस(श)स्कराणि निर्माल्यवांति प्रतिमानि तानि (?) कोनाम साधुः पुनराददाति । बहुभि-
(17) र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् लिखित (*sic.*) मया महासांधिविग्रहि-
(18) क श्रीसं(शं)करेण ॥ मन्नतश्रीमिति ॥ ◯ ॥ श्रीत्रिलोचनपालस्य ॥

Translation.

Ôm! Salutation to Vinâyaka! Hail! Victory and prosperity!

May the arms of the god of all gods (*Śiva*) protect (*you* or *us*),—bearing (*in his eight hands*) the arrow, the *vîṅâ*, and the rosary, the lotus, then the serpent, the citron, the trident, and the club (*khaṭvânga*,[14])—gift-conferring and at the same time terrifying (!)—making clearly manifest his mind, all sentimental as it is. Otherwise how could he have protected the world, from the Dânavas? (v. 1).

May that Hari, the lord of the celestials,—his mind full of all (*poetic*) flavours,—preserve the world,—who bears the Padmâ, the discus, and the gem *Kaustubha*, the mace and the conch-shell, and here again the lotus! (v. 2).

The unborn lord (*Brâhma*) bears the *kamaṅḍalu*[15] and the *sruch*,[16] and the rosary, telling the *mantras* (*on its beads*). He, the more particularly tinged with (*poetical*) feelings, creates mankind to keep off the enemies! (v. 3).

Once upon a time there arose a man, a jewel of a king, from the ocean of his *chuluka*,[17] by the churning of it with the mount Mandara of anxiety arising out of the depression (*caused*) by the Daityas (v. 4).

He, having saluted him, said,—"What shall I do, O lord?" And to him the well-pleased creator replied on the matter of the fulfilment of the object (v. 5):—

O thou Chaulukya, king of kings, marrying the princess of the Râshṭrakûṭas in Kanyâkubja, bless thou (*the world*) with offspring obtained of her (v. 6).

Thus here there may be for certain a far extending race of the Kshattriya—born of Chaulukya, like the many streams of a river from a mountain (v. 7).

In that family was known a king, a renowned name Bârappa, beloved of Fame, who avoided the wives of the enemy, afraid as it were of even (*their*) touch (v. 8), who having obtained the country of Lâṭa, verified to the delight of the people, the maxims of the science of politics: and who winning over his subjects and destroying his enemies, always obtained the fruit of the replenishment of his treasury (v. 9).

From him was born Goṅgirâja,—the native land of victory,—from whom all kings learnt the duties of royalty,—the first home of the family, the guardian of his subjects, who planted his foot on the crest of the enemies of unbounded splendour (v. 10), who relieved his own land like the greater Vishṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons (v. 11).

From him was the glorious Kîrttirâja,

[14] *Khaṭvâṅga* is a club or staff with a skull at the top, considered as the weapon of Śiva, and carried by ascetics and Yogis:—Vide Mon. Williams' *Sans. Dict.*

[15] The wooden ewer for carrying water used by Yogis and Sannyâsins. *Ib.*

[16] *Sruch* is a sort of wooden ladle used for pouring clarified butter on a sacrificial fire, made of Palâśa or Khadira wood. *Ib.*

[17] *Chuluka* may mean the hand hollowed to hold water; an Añjali, or a waterpot—*kamaṅḍalu*. Vide *Ib.*

as beautiful as the god of love, as Pradymuna was of Achyuta, who, gaining the throne of Lâṭadeśa, by righteousness made the directions bright white with (*his*) fame. (v. 12).

King Kîrtti was the central gem (*nâyaka*) of the diamond necklace, on the threads of generations of kings the precious gems of the Chaulukyas (v. 13). (*His*) mother out of all women gave birth to him, as some undistinguishable vein in the great material body of the cow, the resting place of the *padârthas* (or elements) gives birth to milk (v. 14). All people were filled with delight, at the sight of him, from his birth, who was so beautiful that they were not emptied even though they dropt out drops of ambrosia like an ewer of ambrosia. (v. 15).

Equally alluring though they be (*viz*., *beauty and dainty viands*)—yet he avoided the enjoyment of others' wives, like the tasting of the leavings—left after eating (v. 16). They (i. e. *the virtues* ?) adhered to hands and feet, as the best gems stuck fast over his chest, they (*clung*), through the instrumentality of the *Śruti Kuṅḍalas*—the earrings, adopting (*it* or *them*) as the principal step or seat (*pada*), eschewing the secondary or unessential one; but alas! they could not keep themselves (*there*) (v. 17).

The collections of virtues, spurning the princes that served as supports (*to him*),—chose the alighting (*as above*): otherwise how could they have been natural, and how could they have grown up with him[18] (v. 18)? He caused his mind to be slain, running from the side of the infuriate elephant of youth, since without it the herd of senses could not step over the borders of carnal desires (v. 19). The soul of man is like *âkâśa* enclosed by his body, like a house, &c. So he, seeing himself to be present ever in others, enjoyed his wealth equally with needy suitors (v. 20).

Looking to whose agile hands, the home of great anger, so also the heart and the bent bow,—the warrior (*king*) lopped off the heads of the enemies, tossed on high through pride (v. 21). Who did good by bending low the bow towards the enemy. So his best arrows shot at the foe, hitting right the mark, gained their end thereby (v. 22). He, sword in hand, had a thoughtless beloved in *kîrtti* (*fame*) who alas! afraid as it were, went over to the house of the enemies, and censured to return, she, bearing the celestial lustre of the circle of earth (*watered*) by the seven seas, bewildered of old, was sung by the gods as pure[19] (v. 23).

From him was born Vatsarâja, the great ocean of the precious gems of virtues,—the valiant (*one*) famed as mount Mandara for the churning of the ocean of war (v. 24). Here rests from infancy downwards in the mansion of statues this Śrî, the goddess of fortune with the auspices, and here is chaste Modesty, too, like the bride, well concealing her passion, knowing the mind of her lord bringing about uninterrupted greatness. She rests here without a rival with king Vatsarâja, as with Vishṇu (v. 25).

Some quarters of the world, as all of them cannot be accommodated in a single *ambara* (i. e. *sky* or *cloth*) nestled into a corner. So the bounteous king Vatsa dressed them up with the robes of (*his*) glory (v. 26).

He dedicated an umbrella resplendent with gold and jewels as an ornament to the god Somanâtha, and instituted an asylum unimpeded for the poor and the helpless (v. 27).

His son the glorious king Trilochanapati the ruler of Lâṭadeśa a Pâṇḍava among the kings of the Kali age (v. 28.).

[18] The construction of these two verses and the following is involved and obscure. The poet like his contemporaries revels as it were in intricate constructions. The meaning of the verses may be summed up thus: the king forming the subject of the verses was the suzerain or prince paramount, and his virtuous feudal vassals doing homage touch his hands and feet with their heads. So the virtues possessed by them flowed out as it were by the *Sruti Kuṇḍalas* (that is they were sung all about, and so they reached their ears, and from that they were again promulgated!) they left the subordinate position, settled upon the principal seat: but alas! there too they could not rest. They chose to alight there, leaving the prince: they could not rest on his hands and feet, they went all over his heart and mind, grew natural to him and were developed with his own development. He checked his mind running riotous from youth and so his senses were controlled. He learnt the beauty of philosophy and breathed generosity from it and enjoyed his wealth in common with the suppliant at his doors. (v. 20.)

[19] This verse too is another of the kind mentioned above. Its substance may be this: The beloved of the king is Fame—a wayward girl. She afraid of his strength and sternness goes over to his enemies,—that is they fighting valiantly against him win fame that accompanies them to the abode of the celestials. She is censured for this abandonment—is bewildered and is forced to return. She is resplendent with the heavenly glory of that visit. She spreads over the whole circle of the world marked about by the seven seas of the *Purâṅas*. This may mean that the king has vanquished all his enemies that have gone to the next world and his conquests extend far and wide. So the gods sing it as pure.

Whose solicitations (*or* arrows) even in giving over (*or* discharging) went on discriminating the virtues (*or* proceeded from the twanging of the string of the bow): he was Dharma or justice to truth,—and cross with the cheat; in valour like Vishṇu (v. 29). Oh, the old enemies of him were very much confounded. Strange it was they were marked with the stain of enjoyment while he was the enjoyer (v. 30).

He, having lopped off with his sword the head of the enemy, who (*was*) the ornament of the field of battle,—and sufficient of the streams of blood flowing fast from the ring about his neck (*by the swordcut*): certainly the body of him (i. e. *the enemy*) changed in colour, all of a sudden all its members heated with the fire of his splendour, flashed forth quick with the armed hand[20]! (v. 31).

That very pious (*king*) perceiving that the three worlds were transient, gave here land, cows and wealth to the twice-born (v. 32).

In the Śaka year 900 and 72 more, in the year *Vikṛita*, in the month Pausha, in the dark fortnight, on the day of the new moon, that of the solstitial festival, on Tuesday,—king Trilochana, going to the shores of the western sea, to the sacred place Agastyatîrtha, gave to Mâdhava, a Bhârgava, of the *gotra* Kuśika, having for his *Pravaras* Vaiśvamitra, Dêvarâta and Audala, a village, with water in hand,[21] in the Erathâṇa Nine-hundred in the sub-district of forty-two and the district of (Vi- or) Dhillîśvara. This all entire, properly bounded, with the trees, (*but*) without the claims of gods and hereditary Brâhmaṇas.

To the east of it is the village of Nâgâmbâ and also Tantikâ: south-east Vaṭapadraka: south Lingavaṭa Śiva: south-west Indotthâna: west Bahunadaśva: north-west Tembarûka: north Talapadraka: north-east Kuruṇagrâma. Thus the eight villages bounding it. Therefore the four skirts with the products therein, the Brâhmaṇ (*shall*) enjoy: so no one should make any hindrance to him of the communities known as Sâdhus or Saukârs. And if there be any transgressor he will be affected by him. There is great merit in keeping (*this*) up—in the robbing of it great sin. And so it is said. 'This bridge of righteousness is common to all kings, and you should from time to time keep it up, whether of my race or of another's. Thus Râma beseecheth future kings: a bride, a cow, ground even as much as half an inch,—one that usurps them, goes to hell till the time of the universal destruction.' Those objects of charity, utility, or pleasure, &c., that are instituted of old by kings,—taking them as sacred, what good (is there if) man resumes them?

Many have enjoyed the earth, Sagara and others. His is the merit whose it is at the time.

This is written by me, the great minister of peace and war, Śankara.

Of Śrî Trilochanapâla.

[20] This verse describes the valour of the enemy of Trilochana engaged in a combat with him. The enemy is proud, noble and valiant. A dexterous blow from the king's sword cuts off his head, yet his trunk instead of falling dead and motionless on the ground, not quailing under his superior prowess, burns with it, and moves on brandishing the sword in his hand.

[21] That is with the *Saṁkalpa*, the pouring of water, repeating the day, time, occasion, object, &c. of a gift.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROF. BHÂṆḌÂRKAR AND THE GÂTHÂ DIALECT.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—I have read Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's review of my paper on the Nâsik Inscription with great interest, and, I will add, with much pleasure; for it is a pleasure to have to deal with an antagonist so able and so courteous. I will not occupy your valuable Journal with a controversy; for as to the main point, the Gâthâ-character of the Nâsik record, I shall have an opportunity elsewhere of setting forth and defending my views in detail; and as to minor matters, the construction of particular compounds and the like, having expressed my view, I do not care any further about them. In the meantime, however, I may briefly state the difficulty which I feel regarding the line of argument adopted by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, in appealing to Pâṇini's authority. That argument is plausible enough to suggest itself at first; but the difficulty is this, that if we hold, as the Professor does, that the so-called Gâthâ-dialect is due to "ignorant persons not knowing Sanskrit or Pâli," and therefore presumably innocent of any knowledge of Pâṇini, we preclude ourselves from the right of appeal to Pâṇini's authority, in support of the peculiarities of the Gâthâ. A little reflection, I think,

will show that the two lines of argument are mutually destructive. The difficulty is enhanced, if we meet with peculiarities, for which even Professor Bhâṇḍârkar cannot adduce Pâṇinian sanction. He, therefore, calls them "extensions" of Pâṇinian rules, but not violations. Now I have no quarrel with a name; I call them anomalies (from the Sanskṛit point of view); but let them be called "extensions;" if only we agree that they are instances (*e.g.*, accusative in place of nominative), which have not the sanction of either Pâṇini or the ordinary Sanskṛit usage. As to the so-called "promiscuous" use of the cases, there seems to be some misunderstanding. It seems hardly necessary to explain, that when we say that in the Gâthâ the accusative may be used for the locative or even for the nominative, and the like, this is simply said from the Sanskṛit point of view. From the Gâthâ point of view we have simply a general inflection which may express different relations of words to one another. It is similar with the so-called genitive case in Prâkrit.

There is another point on which I should like to enter a protest, and this not with reference to Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's review in particular. We ought not, I think, to attribute errors to ancient records, unless when absolutely compelled to do so. I have shown, I think, that this particular Nâsik record may be explained without importing into it any errors at all. If we once allow ourselves to correct and revise ancient records, according to what we fancy the author ought to have written or intended to write, we open a way for a dangerous license of criticism. I do not deny the possibility of error; indeed I have insisted on it myself in a previous number of your Journal, but I think it is a sound canon of criticism, from which we ought not to depart, that we should not have recourse to the plea of "error," unless under absolute necessity.

Only one word more, with regard to the expression *Bhaṭârakâñâtiyâ*. The question put to me by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, he has answered himself. The Sandhi is explained by the subscribed *a*, because the compound might have been, as the Professor shows, misunderstood. In fact, the Professor's explanation of the subscribed *a* does not appreciably differ from mine, as he will probably see on reconsideration.

Literary warfare would be something different from what it often is, if it were always carried on in the spirit of Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's review.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

ADEN EPITAPH.—(*Ante* p. 88.)

The following is the text of the epitaph given at p. 88 with a translation:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان وجنات لهم

فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها ابدا ان الله عنده

اجر عظيم

رَحَلتُ و كنتُ ما اعددتُ زادًا

وَما قصدتُ في زادِ المقيمِ

فَهآ انا قد رحلتُ بغيرِ زادٍ

وَلكنّي نزلتُ عَليَ كريم

هذا قبر الحره الفاضله ام عبد الله مولاة

السلطان الاجل يحيي بن ابي السّداد الموفق الثغري

الأسلامي توفيت بعوان[1] (لعله عدن) اخر يوم

من شهر رمضان من سنة ثلاثه وستين وخمس مايه

رحمها الله

نقشه محمد بن بركات بن ابي حرمي

Translation.

In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement. Their Lord sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and good will, and of gardens wherein they shall enjoy lasting pleasure; they shall continue therein for ever; for with Allah is a great reward. [*Qurân*, ch. IX, v. 21 and 22].

[Verses.] I departed and had not prepared a provision,
And I sought not [*the*] lasting provision;
So that I verily departed without provision
But I have alighted near [*the*] munificent [*Allah*].

This is the tomb of the free and excellent Omm-A'bdullah, manumitted female of the glorious Sulṭân Yehia bin Abissadâd al Muwaffaq al-Thag'ari al-Islami. She died at A'wân (perhaps it is A'den) on the last day of the month Ramaḍân of the year five hundred and sixty-three [8th July 1168] May Allah have mercy upon her! [*This inscription was*] carved by Muḥammad bin Barakât bin Abi-Harami.

E. REHATSEK.

[1] I translate the transcript as sent to me by Dr. Burgess, although it is not likely that the words لعلة عدن written in parenthesis, constitute a part of the epitaph also on the stone. Whether any other additions or changes have been made by the scribe I cannot say.

ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE PRINCIPAL HINDÛ ERAS, AND THE USE OF THE WORD *SAMVATSARA* AND ITS ABBREVIATIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

A GREAT deal of the confusion that runs through the different arguments that have from time to time been put on record in respect of the Gupta and Valabhî era or eras is to be attributed—in the first place, to the want of uniformity that prevails in naming these and the other eras that have to be mentioned in the discussion,—and, in the second place, still more to the strained and restricted meaning that has unfortunately been put upon the word *saṁvatsara* and its abbreviations, especially in the form *saṁvat*. In this latter connection, one of the most specific—and yet, if tested, one of the most untenable—remarks, is made by Professor J. Dowson in his *Further Note on a Bactrian Pâli Inscription and the Saṁvat Era*, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. IX. pp. 144 ff. Disputing the position taken up by Mr. Thomas, that the word *saṁvatsara* does *not* involve or necessitate a preferential association with the era of Vikramâditya, he there says:—"My contention is that the word *Saṁvatsara*, or its abbreviation *Saṁ*, wherever used alone, must be understood to mean the *Saṁvatsara* of Vikramâditya until the contrary is shown. *Saṁvat* and *Saṁvatsara* have designated the era of Vikramâditya for at least a thousand years; and it is not to be assumed without any proof that the word was ever used absolutely for any other era. There have been other *Saṁvats*, but then they have been called by their specific names, as *Valabhî-Saṁvat*; and the word *saṁvatsara* has been used simply for the word year, but then the era has been distinctly stated, as I before pointed out. The word *Saṁvat* has been so long absolutely used for the era of Vikramâditya, that it has the right of a lengthened possession, and it is not to be set aside without distinct proof." Professor Monier Williams seems to attach the same value to the word and its principal abbreviation; in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* he gives *saṁvatsara* as meaning, without any qualifying expression, 'a year of Vikramâditya's era',—and *saṁvat* (which he suggests is a contraction of *saṁvatsara*) as meaning, equally without any qualifying expression, 'a year of Vikramâditya's era, commencing B.C. 57, as opposed to a year of the era of Śâlivâhana commonly called Śaka or Śâka.'

On a previous occasion (Vol. VIII. pp. 151f.) I have shown that *saṁvat* is an abbreviation, not of the base *saṁvatsara*, but of the genitive plural *saṁvatsarâṇâm*, 'of years.' The passage that establishes this, by using the full word *saṁvatsarâṇâm* exactly where other inscriptions use the abbreviation *saṁvat*, is given as No. 8 below. And in the same paper I gave four other instances in which *saṁvat* is used to denote years of the Śaka era. In each of those instances, it is true, the word is in a passage that refers itself specifically to the Śaka era. And for comparatively modern times, say from the commencement of the eleventh century A.D., general usage is certainly in favour of the position assumed by Prof. Dowson in respect of the particular abbreviation *saṁvat*,—*viz.* that, if used alone, it must *primâ facie*, if not absolutely, be understood to denote years of the era of Vikramâditya. But the case is quite otherwise in respect of the earlier times with which we have to deal, in considering the original nomenclature of this and other Hindû eras. And the instances that I shall quote in illustrating the nomenclature, will show amply that, in those earlier times, the word *saṁvatsara* and its abbreviations had no such restricted meaning at all, but were used freely, whether with or without qualifying expressions, to denote years of any of the eras that were in use. In his paper from which I have quoted above, Prof. Dowson goes on to say, in respect of the unlucky *saṁvatsara* or *saṁvat*:—"This word has offered a tempting gap in the tangled mazes of Hindû chronology for escaping difficulties and arriving at a conclusion, right or otherwise. A more strict adherence to the meaning it has so long borne is due to it, and will, it is to be hoped, lead to more satisfactory results." But, it is just by restricting the meaning of the word in the way in which he seeks to restrict it, that such difficulties, which would not otherwise exist, are created. If once it is fully recognised that there is no authority whatsoever for so restricting the meaning of the word *saṁvatsara*,—and if once the present

purely artificial use of the abbreviation *saṁvat* by itself to denote the era of Vikramâditya is by general consent abandoned,—a great advance will have been made towards clearing the way for determining the starting points of such eras or successions of dates as are still doubtful.[1]

I. THE ŚAKA ERA.

The earliest technical expression for this era, furnished by an epigraphical record as to the interpretation of the date of which there is no uncertainty, *viz.* simply

Saṁvatsara

or 'the year', is supplied by—1, the first Kaira grant of the Gurjara king Dadda II.[2] The date, which is given in both words and numerical symbols, is expressed (ll. 50-1) by *Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê=śîty-adhikê Kârttika-śuddha-pañchadaśyâṁ* * * * * * * || *Saṁ 380 Kârttika śu 15.* And the same expression is used in—2, the second Kaira grant of Dadda II.,[3] in which the date is given in the same way (ll. 49-50) by *Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê pañchâśi(śî)ty-adhikê Kârtta(rtti)ka-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ* * * * * * * [||*] *Saṁ 385 Kârttika bhu(śu) 15.* That these are Śaka dates, is shown by Nos. 3 and 4 below, inscriptions of the same king, which refer themselves specifically to the Śaka era. Here, therefore, at the outset, we have two instances in which the word *saṁvatsara* and its abbreviation *saṁ* are used, without any qualifying expression, to denote years of the Śaka era. These instances suggest that by that time either the era had not received any specific name, or that, if it had, its name was not a widely or very well known one. But, however this may be, they are enough to set us free to refer to the Śaka era, quite as much as to any other, any epigraphical record of the same early period, in which the date is expressed in the same simple way.

The next technical expression, *viz.*

Śaka-nṛipa-kâla

or 'the time of the Śaka king,'[4] is furnished by—3, the Umêtâ grant of the same Gurjara king Dadda II.,[5] in which the date is given (l. 22) by *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-śata-chatushṭayê Vaiśâkha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ.* And the same expression is used in—4, the Ilâô grant of the same king,[6] (ll. 18-19), *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-śata-chatushṭayê saptadaś-âdhikê Yê(jyai)shṭh-a(â)ma-(mâ)vâsya(syâ)-su(sû)rya-grâhê.*

After that, this expression seems to have fallen for a considerable time into desuetude. But it was revived by the Râshṭrakûṭas, who must have brought it with them from the north, and who made it their dynastic expression, and adhered to it almost quite uniformly. Thus, to select a few instances only, we find it used in—5, the Canarese Country grant of Gôvinda III.,[7] (ll. 1-3) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷ=êḷ-nûṟ=i(î)rppatt-âraneya* (for 825) *Subhânu embhâ(mbâ) varshadâ Vaiśâ(śâ)-kha-mâsa-kṛishṇa-paksha-pañchame(mî)-Bṛihaspatî(ti)vâram=âgî(gi)*; in—6, the Waṇi grant of the same king,[9] (ll. 46-7) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu tri(tri)ṁśad-adhikêshu* (for 728) *Vyaya-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-sita-paurṇamâsî-sômagrahaṇa-mahâparvvaṇi*; in—7, the Kardâ grant of Kakka III.,[8] (ll. 47-9) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu chatur-ṇṇa(nna)vaty-adhikêshv=aṅkataḥ saṁvat 894 Aṅgirâ-saṁvatsar-ântarggata-Âśvayuja-paurṇṇamâsyâyâṁ Vu(bu)dha-dinê sômagrahaṇa-mahâparvvaṇi*; and in—8, the Sâṅglî grant of Gôvinda V.,[10] (ll. 44-6) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu pañcha-pañchâśad-adhikêshv=aṁkatô=pi saṁvatsarâṇâṁ 855 pravarttamâna-Vijaya-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Śrâvaṇa-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ vârê Gurôḥ Pûrvvâ-Bhadrapadâ-nakshattrê(trê).*

It was also used by the Gaṅgas; *e.g.*—9, the Biḷi-ûr inscription of Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ,[11] (ll. 1-3 and 5-6) *Śaka-nṛip-âtîtâ(ta)-kâla*[12]*-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷ=enṭu nûṟ=ombhattaneya varsham=pravarttisutt-ire* * * * * * * *Phâlguṇa(na)-mâsada śrî-pañchame(mî)y-andu*; and in—10, the Lakshmêśwar inscription of Mârasiṁha-Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ,[13] (l. 24) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu navaty-uttarêshu pravarttamânê Vibhava-saṁvatsarê.*

We find it next used by the Western Châ-

[1] Kaliyuga-Saṁvat, Vikrama-Saṁvat, Śaka-Saṁvat, Gupta-Saṁvat, Valabhî-Saṁvat, Kalachuri-Saṁvat, Siṁha-Saṁvat, &c., would be uniform names for the different eras,—and quite unobjectionable, if it is borne in mind that *saṁvat* is not a declinable base meaning 'era,' but is only a technical abbreviation of *saṁvatsarâṇâm.*

[2] and [3] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. I. pp. 247 ff.

[4] Or 'kings'; this applies throughout.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 61 ff.

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 19 ff.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 125 ff.

[8] *id.* pp. 156 ff.

[9] and [10] To be shortly published in this Journal.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 102 f.

[12] *Atîtâ-kâla* is written through carelessness for *kâl-âtîta.*

[13] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 101, ff.

lukyas; but sparingly, as it was not their dynastic expression. Thus, to give all the instances as yet known to me, we have it in—11, the Saundatti inscription of Taila II.,[14] (ll. 34-5) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śataṁga[ḷ*] 902neya Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Paushya(sha)-śuddha-daśamî-Brihaspativârad-aṁdin=uttarâyaṇa-śa(sa)ṁkramaṇadoḷ*; in—12 a Bêlûr inscription of Jayasiṁha III.,[15] (ll. 29-31) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga[ḷ*] 944neya Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsaram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiyuṁ vyatîpâtamum=Âdityavârad-andu*;—13, the Miraj grant of the same king,[16] *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu navasu shaṭ-chatvâriṁśad=adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ saṁvat 946 Raktâkshi-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Vaiśâkha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Âditya-vârê*;—14, a Hûli inscription of Sômêśvara I., (ll. 20-2) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷu 966neya Târaṇa-saṁvatsarada Puśya-(shya) su(śu)dhdha(ddha) 10 Âdivâram=a(u)-ttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy-aṁdu*;—15, a Chillûr-Baḍṇi inscription of the same king, (ll. 26-7) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga-[ḷ*] 984neya [Śu]bhakṛitu-saṁvatsarada Pauśya-(shya) su(śu)ddha dasa(śa)mi Âdityavâram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti-vyatîpâtad-andu*;—16, a Hulgûr inscription of the same king, (ll. 11-14) *Sa(śa)ka-[n]ripa-kâḷ-âkrânta-saṁvatsara-śataṁga[ḷ*] 984neya Śubhakṛit-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise tad-varsh-âbhyantarada Pushya bahuḷa saptame(mi) Âdityavâramum=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy-andu*;[17]—17, a Hulgûr inscription of Vikramâditya VI. and Jayasiṁha IV., (ll. 14-16) *Sa(śa)-ka-nṛipa-k[âl]-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁgaḷu 999neya Piṁgaḷa-saṁvatsarada Âshâḍa(ḍha) su-(śu)ddha 2 Adityavâra saṁkrânti pavitrârôhaṇad-aṁdu*;—18, a Hulgûr inscription of Taila III., (l. 18) *Śaka-nri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtîta-śataṁgaḷ 1076-neya Bhâva-saṁvatsarada Âśâ(shâ)ḍa(ḍha) su(śu)-ddha 5 Bri(bṛi)haspativârad-aṁdu*; and—19, a Ḍambaḷ inscription of Sômêśvara IV.,[18] (ll.71-2) *Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara 1106-neya Krôdhi-saṁvatsarad=Âśâ(shâ)ḍa(ḍha)d=amâvâsye Sômavâra sûryyagrahaṇa-saṁkrâṁti-vyatîpâtad-aṁdu.*

The same expression was used sometimes by the Śilâhâras, both of the Koṅkaṇ and of Kôlhâpur; thus—20, the Bhâṇḍup grant of Chhittarâja,[19] (ll. 32-5) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)têshu navasu ashṭa-chatvâriṁśad-adhikêshu Kshaya-saṁvatsar-ântargga-ta-Kârttika-su(śu)ddha-paṁchadaśyâṁ yatr=âṁkatô=pi 948 Kârttika su(śu)ddha 15 Ravau saṁjâtô(tê) âdityagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi*;—21, the Miraj grant of Mârasiṁha,[20] (ll. 44-6) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śateshu | asî(śî)ty-adhika-nava-śatêshv=aṁkêshu*[21] | *pravarttata-yiti*(sic) *Viḷaṁbi-saṁvatsarê | Pausha-mâsasya śuddha-pakshê | saptamyâṁ Bṛihaspativârê | udagayana-parvvaṇi*;—22, the Khârêpâṭaṇ grant of Anantapâla or Anantadêva,[22] (ll. 73-5) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-daśa-sa(śa)-têshu shôḍas(ś)-âdhikêshu Bhâva-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Mâgha-su(śu)ddha-pratipadâyâṁ yatr=âṁkatô=pi saṁvat 1016*;—23, the Tâlalêṁ grant of Gaṇḍarâditya,[23] (ll. 26-7) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-dvâtriṁśad-uttara-sahasrê* (for 1031) *Virôdhi-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-śuddha-daśam-yâṁ Maṁgala-vârê*;—24, an inscription, now in the Hall of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of Mallikârjuna, (ll. 3—6) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu daśa-[su*] ashṭa-saptaty-adhikêshu Śaka-saṁvat 1078 Dhâtâ (tṛi or tu)-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-suddha-aksha[ya*]tṛitîyâyâṁ yugâdi-parvvaṇi Bhauma-dinê mṛigaśira-nakshatrê*; and—25, a Kôlhâpur grant of Bhôja II., (ll. 2-3) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâlâd=ârabhya varshêshu dvâdaś-ôttara-śat-âdhika-sahasrêshu nivṛittêshu varttamâna-Sâdhâraṇa-saṁvatsar-ântarggata-Pushya-bahula-dvâdaśyâṁ Bhauma-vârê bhânôr=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-parvvaṇi*, and (ll. 13-14) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâlâd=ârabhya varshêshu chaturddaś-ôttara-śat-âdhika-sahasrêshu nivṛittêshu varttamâna-Paridhâvi-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Âśvija-śuddha-pratipadi Śukravârê.*

This expression was used sometimes, but not as a rule, by the Kalachuris, *e.g.*—26, the Bêhaṭṭi grant of Siṅghaṇa,[24] (ll. 59-61) *Śa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîtê cha paṁch-ôttara-śat-âdhika-sahasra-tagê*(sc. *gatê*) *Śôbhakṛit-saṁvat-*

[14] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 204 ff.
[15] *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 70.
[16] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 10 ff.
[17] This date and the preceding one, compared together, have evidently something wrong in one or the other of them.
[18] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 102.
[19] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 276 ff.
[20] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, No. 10 of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India, pp. 102 ff.
[21] The repetition of the date in figures, however, was omitted.
[22] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 33 ff.
[23] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII. pp. 1 ff.
[24] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. pp. 274 ff.

sarê Âśvayukt-âmâvâsyâṁ Sômavârê vyatîpâta-yôgê.

It was also used sometimes by the Hoysaḷas; *e.g.*—27, the Gadag inscription of Ballâḷa II.,[25] (ll. 43-4) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu chaturddaś-âdhikêshv=êkâdaśasu aṁkatô=pi 1114 varttamâna-Paridhâvi-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata - Mârggaśirsha - paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Sanaiśchara-vârê sôma-grahaṇê;* and—28, another Gadag inscription of the same king,[26] (ll. 32-4) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷu 1121neya Siddhârtthi-saṁvatsarada Pratham-Âshâḍa(ḍha)-śuddhapaksh-âshṭamî-Brihaspativâra-bya(vya)tîpâta-puṇya-dinadoḷ.*

And it was used occasionally by the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri; *e.g.*—29, a Gadag inscription of Siṅghaṇa II.,[27] (ll. 34-6) *Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âkrâṁta-saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷu 1135neya* (for 1134) *Âṅgirasa-saṁvatsarada Phâlguṇa(na) śudhdha-(ddha) bidige Śanaiścharavârad-aṁdu.*

Almost identical with the preceding is the expression

Śaka-bhûpâla-kâla

or 'the time of the Śaka king,' which is furnished by——30, a Hatti-Mattûr inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Indra IV., (ll. 3-5) *Sa(śa)ka - bhûpâḷa-kâḷ-a(â)krânta-saṁ[va*]tsara - Prabâ(bha)v-âdi - nâmadê(dhê)yam=uttama-madhyama-jaghanya-pa(pha)ḷadâ(da)-prabhriti-gaḷ=eṇṭu nûṟa mûvatt-eṇṭe(ṇṭa)neya Dhâtu-saṁvatsar-a(â)ntarggata.* The same expression occurs also in——31, a Gadag inscripion of the Western Châlukya king Satyâśraya II., (ll. 7-8) *Sa(śa)ka-bhûpâḷa-kâḷ-âkrâṁta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga[ḷ*] 924neya Śubhakrit-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise tad-varsh-âbhyantara Chaitra śuddha 5 Âdityavârad-andu;* and in 32, the Pâṭṇâ inscription of Gôvana III. of the Nikumbha family,[28] (ll. 20-1) *Varshâṇâṁ paṁcha-saptatyâ sahasrê sâdhikê gatê | 1075 | Śaka-bhûpâḷa-kâlasya tathâ Śrîmukha-vatsarê.*

In the same category with the preceding two expressions we may classify that of

Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara

or 'the years of the Śaka king,' which is supplied by—33, the Haidarâbâd grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśî II.,[29] (ll. 12-13) *Śaka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śatêshu chatus-triṁś-âdhikêshu pañchasv=atîtêshu Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâyâṁ sûryya-grahaṇa-nimittaṁ.*

And in the same category we may classify the almost identical expression

Śaka-nṛipa-saṁvatsara

or 'the years of the Śaka king,' which is furnished by—34, the Kaḍab grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III.,[30] in which the date is expressed (ll. 83-4) by *Śaka-nṛipa-saṁvatsarêshu śara-śikhi-munishu vyatîtêshu Jê(jyai)shṭha-mâsa-śukla-paksha-daśamyâṁ Pushya-nakshatrê Chandravârê.* The same expression is used in—35, a Balagâṁve inscription of the Hoysaḷa king Ballâḷa II.,[31] (ll. 34-6) *Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra(râ)m(d)=ârabhya śat-âdhika-sahasr-ôpari-saptadacha(śa)mê* (for 1116) *Â[na*]nda-saṁvachhcha(tsa)rê Mârggaśirsh-âmâvâsyâyâṁ Sômavârê vyatîpâta-yôgê.*

The next technical expression for this era, *viz.*

Śaka-nṛipati-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsara

or 'the years of the inauguration in the sovereignty of the Śaka king,'[32] is supplied by—36, the Bâdâmi inscription of the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalîśvara,[33] in which the date is given (ll. 6-7 and 11) by *Śaka-nṛipati-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvva(va)tsarêshv=atikkrâ(krâ)ntêshu pañchasu śatêshu * * * * * * mahâ-Kârttika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ.* This inscription furnishes the important information that the starting-point of the era was, not the birth, but the coronation of the king or kings whose name, or whose dynastic name, it bears. I have not as yet found any instance of this expression being repeated, or of any other expression so particularly explicit being used.

The next technical expression, *viz.*

Śaka-kâla

or 'the time of Śaka of the Śakas,' is supplied by—37, the Goa grant of the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalîśvara's son or feudatory, Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarmâ,[34] in which the date is given (ll. 6 and 18-19) by *Mâgha-paurṇṇamâsyâm * * * * * * Śaka-kâlah=pañcha varsha-śatâni dvâ-tri(tri)ṁśâni.*

And the same expression was used occasionally by the Râshṭrakûṭas; *e.g.*—38, the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga,[35] (ll. 30-1)

[25] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. pp. 299 ff.
[26] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 99.
[27] *id.* No. 100.
[28] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 39 ff.
[29] *id.* Vol. VI. pp. 72 ff.
[30] *id.* Vol. XII. pp. 11 ff.
[31] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 194.
[32] Or 'kings.'
[33] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 363 f.; and Vol. X. pp. 57 f.
[34] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 348 ff.
[35] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 108 ff.

Pañcha-saptaty-adhika-Śaka-kâla-saṁvatsara-śata-shaṭkê vyatîtê saṁvata(t) 675 pai(?pô or pau)hachchhikâyâ Mâgha-mâsa-rathasaptamyâṁ tulâpurusha-sthitê;—39, the Saundatti inscription of Krishṇa II.,[36] (ll. 12-13) *Sapta-sa(śa)tyâ navatyâ cha samâyukta(ktê)sa(shu) saptasu Sa(śa)ka-kâḷêsv(shv)=atîtêshu Manmath-âhvaya-vatsarê*;—40, a Nargund inscription of Jagattuṅga II., (ll. 2-4) *Eṇṭu nûṟa nâlvattavutâ* (for 841) || *Śaka-kâlaṁgaḷ=varshaṁ prakaṭaṁ pesariṁ Pramâthi varttise dinapaṁ makarakke varppa saṁkramaṇa-kâladoḷ=kûḍe banda Paushada tithiyoḷ*; and—41, the Sâlôṭgi inscription of Krishṇa IV.,[37] (ll. 3-5 and 45-50) *Śaka-kâlâd=gat-âvdâ(bdâ)nâṁ sa-saptâdhika-shashṭishu gatêshv=ashṭasu tâvatsu samânâm=aṁkatô=pi cha*[38] | *varttamânê Plavaṁg-âvdê(bdê)* * * * * * * *pûrvv-ôktê varttamân-âvdê(bdê) mâsê Bhâdrapadê=ṁchitê pitṛi-parvvaṇi tasy=aiva Kujavârêṇa saṁyutê sûryya-grahaṇa-kâlê tu madhyagê cha divâkarê*.

And I have found the same expression used in—42, a Guḍikaṭṭi inscription of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara III., (ll. 19-20) *Sa(śa)ka-kâlaṁ guṇa-sapta-naṁḍa*(for 974)*-mṛi-(mi* or *vṛi)tam=âgal=varttakaṁ Nandan-âbdakam.*

With the preceding we may class the very similar expression

Śaka-samaya

or 'the time of Śaka or of the Śakas,' which is furnished by—43, the Eastern Chalukya grant of Amma II.,[39] (ll. 31-3) *Giri-rasa-vasu-saṁkhy-âbdê Śaka-samayê Mârggaśirsha=mâsê=smin krishṇa-trayôdaśa-dinê Bhriguvârê Mitra-nakshatrê* || *Dhanushi ravau ghaṭa-lagnê.*

After the Haidarâbâd grant of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśî II., the next record that we have is—44, the Aihoḷe inscription of the same king,[40] in which the date, referred to both the Śaka and the Kaliyuga eras (the latter under the name of the Bhârata war), is expressed (l. 16) by *Triṁśatsu tri-sahasrêshu Bhâratâd=âhavâd=itaḥ sapt-âbdaśata-yuktêshu śa-(ga)têshv=abdêshu pañchasu* [||*] *Pañchâśatsu Kalau kâlê shaṭsu pañcha-śatâsu cha samâsu samatîtâsu Śakânâm=api bhûbhujâm* ||. This passage does not furnish anything in the way of a technical expression for the era. But we may note that it speaks of it as 'the years of the Śaka *kings*,'—as if the establishment of it was connected, at any rate by the tradition of that time, with more than one king.

The next technical expression for the era, *viz.*

Śaka-varsha

or 'the years of Śaka or of the Śakas,' is furnished by—45, the 'Togurshode' grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya,[41] in which the date is expressed (ll. 24-6) by *Êkâdaś-ôttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu* * * * * * * *Kârttika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ*. And this expression is uniformly adhered to in all the subsequent Western Chalukya records that are dated in the Śaka era at all;[42] *e.g.*—46, the Bâdâmi inscription of Vijayâditya,[43] (ll. 7-8) *Êkaviṁś-ôttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu Jyê(jyai)shṭhyâṁ paurṇṇamâsyâṁ*; and—47, the Wokkalêri grant of Kîrttivarmâ III.,[44] (ll. 61-2 and 64) *Ga(na)va-saptaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu* * * * * * * *Bhâdrapada-paurṇamâsyâṁ*.

Instances in which this expression was used by the Râshṭrakûṭas are but few. I have only obtained the following three:—48, a Kaḷas inscription of Gôvinda V., (ll. 22-3) *[Śa]ka-varsha 857neya (for* 852) *Vikṛita-saṁvatsarada Mâghada puṇṇumey=Âdityavâram=Âślêsha(shâ)-nakshatrado(?)ḷ(?) sôma-grahaṇaṁ samanise tuḷâ-pu[rusham=i ?]ḷdu tat-samayadoḷ*;—49, an Âlûr inscription of Krishṇa IV., (ll. 1-2) *Śaka-varisham=eṇṭu nûṟa eppatt-eṇṭaneya Naḷa-saṁvatsa[rada Vaiśâ]kha bahuḷa pañchame(mi) Su(śu)kravâra* . . . .; and—50, a Gunḍûr inscription of Kakka III., (ll. 13-16) *Sa(śa)kha(ka)-varsham=eṇṭu nûṟa toṁbhatt-âraneya (for* 895) *Śrîmukha-saṁvatsar-Âshâḍa(ḍha)-dakshiṇâyaṇa(na)-saṁkrântiyum = Adityavârad-anduṁ*.

The expression was revived, as their dynastic

[36] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 194 ff.

[37] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. pp. 205 ff.

[38] The repetition of the date in figures, however, was omitted.

[39] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 15 ff.

[40] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 237 ff.

[41] *Id.* Vol. VI. pp. 85 ff.

[42] Contrasted with the use of the expression *Śaka-nṛipa-kâla* in the Gaṅga grants of Śaka 890 on the same stones,—the use of this expression *Śaka-varsha* in the Lakshmêśwar inscriptions of Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, and Vikramâditya II. (Vol. VII. pp. 101 ff.) is sufficient to show that, though these inscriptions were engraved, as we now have them, in the tenth century A.D., they are correct copies of genuine originals,—being probably put on stone from copper-plates.

[43] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. pp. 60 f.

[44] *id.* Vol. VIII. pp. 23 ff.

expression, by the Western Châlukyas; *e.g.*—51, a Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription of Taila II.,[45] (l. 4) *Sa(śa)ka-varsha* 911 *Vikri(kri)-tam=eṁba saṁvatsara pravarttise*;—52, a Munawaḷḷi inscription of Satyâśraya II., (ll. 10-11) *Sa(śa)ka-varisha* 930 *K[î]laka-[saṁva]-tsa[rada] Śrâvaṇa bahuḷa taddi(di)[ge*] Sôma-vârad-aṁdu*;—53, the Baḷagâṁve inscription of Jayasiṁha III.,[46] (ll. 25-6) *Śaka-varsha 941neya Siddhârtthi-saṁvatsarada Pushya śuddha bidige Âdittya(tya)vârad-aṁdin=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrâṁtiya parbba(rvva)-nimitta-diṁ*;—54, the Baḷagâṁve inscription of Sômêśvara I.,[47] (ll. 12-13) *Śaka-varsha 970-neya Sarvvadhâri-saṁvatsarada Jyê(jyai)shṭha śuddha trayô[da]śi Âdityavârad-andu*;—55, a Baḷagâṁve inscription of Sômêśvara II.,[48] (ll. 12-13) *Sa(śa)ka-varsha 993neya Virô-dhikṛit-saṁvatsarada Pushya su(śu)ddha 7 Sômavârad- aṁdin=uttarayaṇa - saṁkrânti -par-bba(rvva)-nimittadiṁ*;—56, a Narêndra inscription of Vikramâditya VI., (ll. 108-9) *Śaka-varshaṁ 1047neya Visvâ(śvâ)vasu-saṁvatsa-rada [Bhâ]drapada ba 13 Śukravâra mahâ-tithi yugâdiy-aṁdu*;—57, an Iṅglêśwar inscription of Sômêśvara III.,[49] *Śakha(ka)-varusha 1057neya* (for 1050) *Kîlaka-saṁvat-sarada Kârttika-paurṇṇamâseyoḷ sôma-grahaṇa-nimittaṁ*; and—58, a Yemmiganûr inscription of Jagadêkamalla II.,[50] *Śrîmach-Châḷu-kyachakravartti - Jagadêkamalla - varushada sâsirad=eppattaneya Vibhava-saṁvatsarada Pushyad=amâvâsyey=uttarâyaṇa - saṁkramaṇa-vyatîpâta-Sômavârad-aṁdu.*

This expression was also used by the Kaḷachuris; *e.g.*—59, a Baḷagâṁve inscription of Bijjala,[51] (l. 62) *Śaka-varshaṁ 1080neya Bahu-dhânya saṁvatcha(tsa)rada Puśya(shya)da puṇṇami Sômavâram=uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrâṁti-vyatîpâta-sômagrahaṇad-aṁdu.*

It was also used by the Hoysaḷas; *e.g.*—60, the Bêlûr grant of Vishṇuvardhana,[52] (ll.117-20) *Śaka-varsha sâsirada mûvatt-oṁbha-tte(tta)neya Hêmaḷaṁbi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra śuddha pañchamiy=Âdivâra.*

And it was also used by the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri; *e.g.*—61, the Munawaḷḷi inscription of Siṅghaṇa II.,[53] (ll. 24-5) *Sa(śa)ka-varsha 1145neya* (for 1144) *Chittra(tra)bhânu-saṁvat-sarada Kârttika su(śu)dhdha(ddha) puṇṇami Sômavâra sômagrahaṇa-vyatîpâtadalli.*

It was also used freely by the feudatory families,—the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum; the Kâdambas of Banawâsi and Hângal, and of Goa; the Sindas of Erambarage; the Śilâhâras of Kôlhâpur; the Guttas of Guttal; &c.

It was also used by the Kâkatiya kings of Anmakoṇḍa; *e.g.*—62, the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradêva,[54] (ll. 6-7) *Śaka-varsha-mulu 1084 vumeṁti Chitrabhânu saṁvatsara Mâgha śu 13 Vaḍḍavâramunâṁdu.*

And finally it was used, though not so frequently as their properly dynastic expression which will be noted further on, by the Vijayanagara kings; *e.g.*—63, the Bâdâmi inscription of Harihara I.,[55] (ll.1-2) *Śaka-varusha 1267-neya* (for 1263) *Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Chaitra su(śu) 7 Gu*;—64, a Chitaldurg inscription of Bukka,[56] (ll. 13-14) *Sa(śa)ka-varusha 1277 Manumatha-saṁvachhchha(tsa)rada Jê(jyai)-shṭa(shṭha) śudhdha(ddha) 7 Sô*;—65, a Bêlûr grant of Harihara II.,[57] (ll. 37-9) *Śaka-varsha sâvirada mû-nûrra nâkaneya Duṁ-dubhi-saṁvatsarada Kârttika bahula daśami Âdivâra*; and—66, a Hâsan grant of Dêvarâya,[58] (ll. 21-3) *Sa(śa)ka-varsha 1328 var-ttamâna-Vyaya-saṁvatsarê Kârttika-mâsa-krishṇa-pakshê daśamyâṁ Śu(?)kra(?)vârê U(?)tta(?)râ(?)-Bhâdrapadê prîti-yôgê bava-karaṇe * * * * * * paṭṭâbhishêka-samayê.*

Analogous to the preceding is the expression

Śak-âbda

or 'the years of Śaka or of the Śakas,' which is furnished by—67, a Guḍikaṭṭi inscription of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha III.,

[45] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 86.

[46] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 15 ff.

[47] *id.* Vol. IV. pp. 179 ff.

[48] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 159.

[49] Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I. pp. 687 ff.—From the time of Vikramâditya VI. it became the custom for the Western Châlukyas to date their inscriptions in the years of their reign; and after his time the Śaka era was used by them very rarely indeed. I have, in fact, as yet obtained no instances of its use, except these two in the Elliot Collection, which may perhaps not be reliable.

[50] Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I. pp. 818 ff.—I transcribe the date as it is given; but the number of the years seems to show that the original stone has *Śaka-varsha* instead of *Śrîmach-Châḷukya &c.*

[51] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 183.

[52] *id.* No. 18.

[53] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 11 ff.

[54] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff.

[55] *id.* Vol. X. pp. 62 f.

[56] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 149.

[57] *id.* No. 23.

[58] *id.* No. 25.

(ll. 13-14) *Sa(śa)kam=â(a)bda gaja-dvi-nidhi* (for 929) ***Plavaṁgadoḷu.*** The same expression occurs in—68, a Hângal inscription of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV.,[59] (ll. 74-5) ***Janita-Śak-âbdaṁ śâsirada nûra haṁnoṁdanêya*** *Saumy-âṁk-âbdaṁ vinut-ôttarâyaṇaṁ kûḍe ṅerppaḍaṁ paḍeye su-bya(vya)tîpâta-dinaṁ*; in—69, the Chikka-Bâgiwâḍi grant of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Krishṇa,[60] (ll. 19-22) *Êka-saptaty-uttara-śat-âdha(dhi)ka-sahasra-saṁkhyêshu Śak-âvdê(bdê)shv=atîtêshu pravarttamânê Sauṁ[61]mya-saṁvatsarê tad-aṁta[r*]-gat-Âshâḍha-paurṇṇamâsyâm Śanaiścharavârê Pûrv-Âshâḍha(dhâ)-nakshatrê Vaidhriti-yôgê;* and in—70, a Hâsan grant of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II.,[62] (ll. 36-8) *Śak-âvda-(bda) ṛishi-chaṁdr-âshni(gni)-vidhun=âyata-vatsarê | Yuv-âkhyê Mâgha(?)-mâ(?)sê(?) cha śukla-pakshê śubha(bhê) dinê | saptamyâṁ cha mahâ-parvaṇi.*

Almost identical with the preceding is the expression—

Śâk-âbda

or 'the years of Śâka or of the Śâkas,' which is furnished by two grants of the Chôḷa successors of the Eastern Chalukya kings;—71, a grant of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II., (ll. 49-51) *Śâk-âbdânâṁ pramâṇe rasa-viśikha-viyach-chaṁdra-saṁkhyâṁ prayâte* * * * * * * *s-Ârdr-Arkshê pûrvva-ma(pa)kshê vishuvati sutithâ (thau);* and—72, a grant of Vîra-Chôḍa or Vishṇuvardhana, (ll. 76-7) *Śâk-âbdê śaśikha-dvay-êṁdu-gaṇitê siṁh-âdhirûḍê(ḍhê) ravau chaṁdrê vṛiddhimati trayôdaśa-tithau vârê Gurôr=vvṛiśchikê lagnê=tha śravaṇê.*

In the same category with the preceding three expressions we may classify that of

Śaka-vatsara

or 'the years of Śaka or of the Śakas,' which is furnished by—73, a grant of Râjarâja, one of the Chôḷa successors of the Eastern Chalukya kings, (ll. 65-7) *Śaka-vatsarêshu vêd-âṁburâśi-nidhi-varttishu siṁha-gê=rkkê kṛishṇa-dvitîya-divas-Ôttara-Bhadrikâyâṁ vârê Gurôr=vvaṇiji lagna-varê.* This expression occurs also in—74, a Dêvanhaḷḷi grant of Raṅgarâya of the Vijayanagara dynasty,[63] (ll. 114-17) *Khyât-âṁg-âṁbara-bâṇ-êṁdu-gaṇitê Śaka-vatsarê | vatsarê Târaṇ-âbhikhyê mâsi Kârttika-nâmani | pakshê valakshê puṇyâyâṁ paurṇimâyâṁ mahâ-tithau | sôm-ôparâga-samayê;* and in—75, a Śimoggâ grant of the same king,[64] (ll. 18-20) *Vêd-âṁbudhi-śara-kshôṇî-gaṇitê Śaka-vatsarê Durmaty-âkhyê.*[65]

The next expression that we meet with, *viz.*

Śaka-Saṁvat

or 'of the years of Śaka or of the Śakas,'—containing, as it does, the abbreviation *saṁvat* for *saṁvatsarâṇâm*; and standing alone, without any of the customary fuller expressions preceding it,—is of a more purely technical nature than any of the terms that have been noted above, and supplies the best name for the era if the simple word 'Śaka' is not considered sufficient. It is furnished by—76, the Ambarnâth inscription of Mâmvâṇi of the Śilâhâras of the Koṅkaṇa,[66] (l. 1) *Śaka-saṁvat 982 Śrâva(?)-ṇa(?) śuddha 9 Su(śu)krê.* It occurs again, in the same way, in—78, an inscription, now in the Hall of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of Aparâditya of the same dynasty,[67] (ll. 1-2) *Śaka-saṁvatu 1109* (for 1108) *Parâbhava-saṁvatsarê* || *Mâghê mâsi*! And it was used also by the Yâdavas of Chandrâdityapura; *e.g.*—79, the Bassein grant of Sêûṇêndu or Sêûṇachandra II.,[68] (ll. 24-5) *Sa-(śa)ka-saṁvat êka-navaty-adhika-nava-sa(śa)-têshu saṁvat 991 Saumya-saṁvatsarîya Śrâvaṇa su(śu) di chaturdasya(śyâ)ṁ Gurudinê;* and—80, the Añjanêri grant of Sêûṇadêva or Sêûṇachandra III.,[69] (ll. 1-2) *Śrî-Śaka-saṁvat 1063* (for 1064) *Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsar-âṁtarggata-Jyê-(jyai)shṭha su(śu) di paṁchadaśyâṁ Sômê Anurâdhâ-nakshatrê Siddha-yôgê.* We have already had it, but preceded by a fuller expression, and not standing alone, in No. 24 above.

The next technical expression, *viz.* simply

Śaka

or 'the era,' is furnished by—81, a Kôlhâpur inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II., (ll. 1-2) *Śrî-Śaka 1157 Manmatha-saṁvatsarê Śrâvaṇa bahula 30 Gurau.* It occurs again in—82, another Kôlhâpur inscription of the same king, (ll. 1-2) *Śrî-Śaka 1158 Durmmukha-saṁvatsarê Mâgha-su(śu)ddha-pûrṇṇa-mâsyâṁ tithau Sô(? bhau)ma-dinê;* and again

[59] *P. S.* and *O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 90.
[60] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 25 ff.
[61] This *Anusvâra* is superfluous.
[62] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 24.
[63] *id.* No. 28.
[64] *id.* No. 29.
[65] The remaining details of the date are illegible in the photograph.
[66] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 329 ff.
[67] *id.* pp. 333 ff.
[68] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 119 ff.
[69] *id.* pp. 126 ff.

in—83, a grant of Harihara II. of the Vijayanagara dynasty,[70] *Śrî-Śakê trayôdaśâdhika-tri-śat-ôttara-sahasrê gatê varttamâna-Prajâpati-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê amâvâsyâyâṁ Saumyadinê sûry-ôparâga-puṇya-kâlê.*

Almost identical with the preceding is the expression

Śaku[71]

or 'the era,' which is furnished by—84, the Ambâ inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II.,[72] (l. 27) *Śrî-Sa(śa)ku 1162 Śârvarî(ri)-saṁvatsarê | Kârttika śuddha da 10.* It occurs again in—85, the 'Terwan' grant of Kâmvadêvarâya, who claims to be of the Western Châlukya family,[73] (ll. 1-2) *Śrî-Śaku 1182 varshê Raudra-saṁvatsarê | Pushya va(ba) di saptami(mî) Śanidinê*; and again in—86, a Renadâḷ inscription of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Mahâdêva, (l. 1) *Śrî-Śaku 1183 Dû-(du)rmmati-saṁvatsarê.*

Again almost identical with the expression *Śaka*, is that of

Śâka

or 'the era,' or perhaps '(*the era*) belonging to Śaka or the Sakas,' which is furnished by—87, a Harihar inscription of Harihara II. of the Vijayanagara dynasty,[74] (ll. 39-40) *Śaśikha-śikhi-chaṁdra-samitê Śâkê Sidhdhâ(ddhâ)-rththi(rtthi)-saṁjñitê ch=âbdê Kârttika-mâsasya sita-dvâdaśyâṁ Bhâskarê vârê.* It occurs again in—88, a Harihar inscription of Dêvarâya of the same dynasty,[75] (ll. 15-16) *Śâkê nêtr-âgni-vahn-iṁdu-saṁkhyê Vikru(kṛi)ti-nâmakê varushê Nabhasya-dvâdaśyâṁ śuklâyâṁ Sômavârakê*; and in—89, a Harihar inscription of Achyutarâya of the same dynasty,[76] (ll. 8-11) *Śâkê chaṁdra-ras-Âmarêṁdra-gaṇitê . . . . Bhâdrapadasya . . . . . dvâdaśy-abhikhyê tithau vârê Bhûmisutasya.*

Finally,—and, with the exception of the preceding term *Śâka*, last in chronological order, as far as I am able to determine,—we come to the expression by which, through accepting too freely the statements of the *Purâṇas* as authority for early times, it has too frequently become the custom to speak of this era, *viz.*

Śâlivâhana-Śaka

or, 'the era of Śâlivâhana.' The name in the first part of the compound is sometimes Śâlivâhana, and sometimes Śâlivâha; and, in the latter part of the compound sometimes simply *Śaka* is used, sometimes *Śakavarsha*, and sometimes *Śakâbda*. The earliest instance of the use of this expression that I have been able to obtain is—90, the Ṭhâṇâ grant of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Râmachandra,[77] *Śrî-Śâlivâhana-śakê 1194 Aṁgirâ-saṁvatsarê Âśvina śuddha 15 Ravau.* It occurs again in—91, another Ṭhâṇâ grant of the same king,[78] *Śrî-Śâlivâhana-śakê 1212* (for 1211) *Virôdhi-saṁvatsarê Vaiśâkha-śuddha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Bhaumê.* But it does not occur with such frequency as to show that it was fully established, until the time of the Vijayanagara kings. It was used by them in the large majority of their inscriptions; and, whatever may have been its origin, it was plainly adopted by them as their dynastic expression. Thus, we have it in—92, the Harihar grant of Bukka,[79] (ll. 19-23) *Śrî-jayâbhyudaya-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-śaka 1276neya* (for 1275) *Vijaya-saṁvatsarada Mâgha śudha-(ddha) 15 Chaṁdravâra sôm-ôparâma(gâ)-parvvaṇi vu(u)shṇa-kâladallu*; in—93, the Dambaḷ grant of Harihara II.,[80] (ll. 100-2) *Śak-âbdê Śâlivâhasya sahasrêṇa tribhiḥ śataiḥ | êk-âdhikaiś=cha gaṇitê Siddâ(ddhâ)rthê=bdê śubhê dinê | Jyaishṭhyaṁ Bhaumê niśânâth-ôparâgê*; in—94, the Hampe inscription of Kṛishṇarâya,[81] (ll. 27-8) *Śrî-vijayâbhyudaya-Śâlivâhana-śaka-varsha 1430 saṁdu mêle nadeva Śukla-saṁvatsarada Mâghâ śu 14lu*; in—95, the Harihar inscription of Achyutarâya,[82] (ll. 3-5) *Śrî-jayâbhyudaya-Śâlivâhana-śaka-varsha 1452 Vikru-(kṛi)ti-saṁvatsarada . Śrâvaṇa bahuḷa 8yu(ya) Sômavâra Jayaṁtî-puṁ[83]ṇya-kâladalli Śrî-Kru(kṛi)shṇ-âvatâra-samayadalli*; in — 96, another Harihar inscription of the same king,[84] (ll. 15-17) *Śâlivâhana-nirṇîta-śaka-varuśa(sha)-kram-âgatê | vyôma-tarkka-chatuś-chaṁdra-*

[70] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. pp. 115 f.

[71] I do not feel certain whether the *u* is intended to be vocalised, or whether it is used to represent the *Virâma* and the word is to be pronounced *Śak*.

[72] Archæological Survey of Western India, *Third Report*, pp. 85 ff.

[73] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. pp. 105 f.

[74] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 126.

[75] *id.* No. 127.

[76] *id.* No. 132.

[77] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. V. pp. 183 ff.

[78] *id.* pp. 178 ff.

[79] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 346 ff.

[80] *id.* pp. 352 ff.

[81] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 73 ff.

[82] *id.* Vol. IV. pp. 323 ff.

[83] This *Anusvâra* is superfluous.

[84] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. 329 ff.

saṁkhyayâ cha samanvitê || *Viḷaṁbi-namakê varshê mâsê Kârttika-nâmani paurṇamâsyâṁ sitê pakshê vârê Śaśisutasya cha*; and in—97, the Bâdâmi inscription of Sadâśiva,[85] (ll. 1-5) *Śrî-jâyâbhyudaya-Śâlivâhana-śaka 1469neya Plavaṁga saṁvatsarada A(â)śvayuja śu 15yalû.*

No. 96 above speaks of the era as being established (*nirṇîta*) by Śâlivâhana. I have met with no inscription which states, as the *Purâṇas* do, that the era was reckoned from his birth. In fact, the only epigraphical passage that speaks of the epoch of the era, No. 36 above, refers it to his coronation, and *not* to his birth. But I quote a passage to that effect published by Professor Max Müller.[86] It is—98, a verse at the end of the *Muhûrtamârtaṇḍa*, recording the date of its composition; *Try-aṅk-Êṁdra-pramitê varshê Śâlivâhana-janmataḥ* | *kṛitas=Tapasi Mârtaṁḍô=yam=alaṁ jayat=ûdgataḥ*. As Professor Max Müller has pointed out, in his comments on this passage, it is not exactly *wrong* to speak of the era as the Sâlivâhana era or *Śâlivâhana-Śaka*; for, as I have shown above, there are ample instances in which the natives of India, in epigraphical records of authority and of some antiquity, themselves give it that name. At the same time, whatever opinion may be held as to the existence of a king named Śâlivâhana at the time when the era was established, those same instances shew that it was only in comparatively modern times that his name came to be connected with the era, and that in all discussions respecting early dates it is an anachronism, and it is a mistake, to call it by his name.

(To be continued.)

(*Continued from p.* 165.)

SANSKṚIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

No. CXXVIII.

Gôvinda III. was succeeded by his son, Amôghavarsha I. This is only a title; but it is the appellation by which he is best known. The present inscription gives him also the titles of Atiśayadhavala and Nṛipatuṅga I. The only historical facts recorded of him, in the other inscriptions of his dynasty, are that he defeated the Chaḷukyas, Abhyûshakhas, and others, at a place named Viṅgavalli, which is evidently a Canarese name, but which I cannot identify,—and that he built the city of Mânyakhêṭa, which became the capital of his descendants. This city has been satisfactorily identified by Dr. Bühler[1] with Mâlkhêḍ[2] in the Nizâm's Dominions, about ninety miles in a south-easterly direction from Shôlâpur. Mânyakhêṭa, however, would appear to have been a Râshṭrakûṭa city even before the time of Amôghavarsha I. Dr. Bühler's grant of Dhruva III. (of the Gujarât Branch) explicitly gives Śubhatuṅga as one of the titles of Kṛishṇa I.[3] And the same title,—though, owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription the full bearing of it could not then be seen,—has already occurred in connection with Kṛishṇa I., in verse 13 of the Kâvî grant,[4] where the original reading probably was *Śubhatuṅga-tuṅga-*[*nâmâ*]. And a MS. of the *Kathâkôśa*, belonging to a Jain priest of the Seṭṭikêri street in Belgaum,[5] has in it, at page 4*a*, the verse:—

Atr=aiva bhavati Mânyakhêṭ-âkhya-nagarê varê |
râj=âbhûch=Chhubhatuṁg-âkhyas = tan-mantrî Purushôttamaḥ ||

"Here, O lady! at the excellent city named Mânyakhêṭa, there was a king named Śubhatuṅga; his councillor was Purushôttama."

We have two inscriptions of the reign of Amôghavarsha I. in the Kaṇhêri Caves, which are dated Śaka 775 for 773 (A.D. 851-2), the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, and Śaka 799, and record that, in the time of Kapardî II. of the Koṅkaṇa branch of the Śilâhâra family, the whole of the Koṅkaṇa was presented by Amôghavarsha, apparently to Kapardî II.[6] The second of these two inscriptions gives the latest date that has as yet been obtained for

[85] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. pp. 64 ff.
[86] *India; What can it teach us?* pp. 300 f.
[1] *Ante.* Vol. VI. p. 64.—This identification was first suggested by Prof. H. H. Wilson; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. II. p. 393. At any rate, by 'Mankhera in the Hyderabad country,' he seems to mean Mâlkhêḍ.
[2] The 'Mulkaid' of the maps; Lat. 17° 12′ N., Long. 77° 14′ E.
[3] *Ante.* pp. 179ff.
[4] Vol. V. pp. 144 ff.
[5] Shown to me by Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak.
[6] Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIII., p. 11.

Amôghavarsha I. More to the south, in the Canarese country, his inscriptions appear to be fairly numerous.

The present inscription, unfortunately a good deal damaged at the top, is from a stone-tablet standing to the south of the *hûde* or 'village-bastion' at Śirûr, in the Nawalgund Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. I have no information as to what sculptures there may be at the top of the stone. The writing covers a space of 3′ 7″ high by 3′ 3″ broad. The language is Sanskṛit down to line 6, and Old-Canarese from there.

This inscription is dated in Śaka 788 (A.D. 866-7), the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, and the fifty-second year of the reign of Amôghavarsha I. It accordingly fixes Śaka 736 (A.D. 814-5) or 737 for his accession to the throne. The genealogical portion commences with Nirupama, or Dhruva I.,—this verse, and the one that precedes it, being taken from the copper-plate grants. It then mentions Gôvinda III., as having conquered the Kêraḷas, Mâlavas, Śauṭas,[7] Gurjaras, and some other dynasty at the hill-fort of Chitrakûṭa,[8]—possibly the Kaḷachuris or Kuḷachuris of the north,—but unfortunately the name is destroyed. And it then speaks of Amôghavarsha as having homage done to him by the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mâlava, and Veṅgi. In the further description of Amôghavarsha, the form of the dynastic name used is 'Raṭṭa'; this is the earliest instance that I have as yet obtained. Also, as with the later Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Beḷgaum, he is called the supreme lord of the city of Lattalûr, and is said to have the sign or mark or banner of Garuḍa, and the sounds of the musical instrument called *ṭiviḷi*.[9] The inscription then mentions Dêvaṇṇayya, a feudatory of Amôghavarsha I., who was governing the Beḷvola Three-hundred, at Annigeṟe.[10] And it then proceeds to record that, in the year mentioned above, at the time of an eclipse of the sun, on Sunday the new-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha, Dêvaṇṇayya, having laved the feet of the Two-hundred *Mahâjanas* of Śrivûr, made a grant of the tax on clarified butter. As a prohibition is entered against destroying the ordinance and "consuming" the clarified butter, it is plain that the tax was a percentage levied in kind; and Dêvaṇṇayya must have made the grant for the benefit of the priests of some temple at Śirûr at which the inscription originally stood.

Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak has furnished me with an interesting literary reference to Amôghavarsha I. and his son Kṛishṇa II., from the Jain *Mahâpurâṇa*. Part of the *Âdipurâṇa*, or first half of this work, was written by Jinasênâchârya; and that part was finished, and the *Uttarapurâṇa* or second half of the work was written, by his disciple Guṇabhadra. The reference to Amôghavarsha I. and Kṛishṇa II. is in the *Praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa*. The MS., which is on palm-leaves, belongs to the Jain *Svâmî* of Kôlhâpur, and is worshipped and held in such veneration by him that Mr. Pâṭhak was not allowed to read the *Praśasti* for himself, but had to write it down from dictation. The consequence is that the version of it obtained by him is evidently not altogether correct; but it is sufficiently so for present purposes.

The *Praśasti* opens by mentioning the Sêna *anvaya*,[11] or 'succession' of teachers and disciples, which was a part of the Mûlasaṁgha sect (v. 1), and in which Vîrasênabhaṭṭâraka became famous.

His disciple was Jinasêna (v. 7):—

Yasya prâṁśu-nakh-âṁśu-jâla-visarad-dhâ[12]r-âṁtar-âvirbhava-
t-pâdâṁbhôja-rajaḥ-piśaṁga-makuṭa-pratyagra-ratna-dyutiḥ |

[7] Śauṭa is probably the same as the Śauḍa of Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskṛit Dictionary*.

[8] A hill and district, the modern Chitrakôṭ or Chatarkôṭ (near Kampta), situated on the river Paisuni (Piśunî) about fifty miles south-east of the town of Bandah in Bundelkhund, Lat. 25° 12′ N., Long. 80° 47′ E.;—Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskṛit Dictionary*.

[9] This is evidently the same as the *trivaḷî-tûrya* of the later Raṭṭa inscriptions.

[10] In the Nawalgund Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The name is now written Aṇṇigere. The engraver of the inscription may perhaps have made a mistake in using *nni* for *ṇṇi*.

[11] Mentioned also in the Muḷgund inscription of Kṛishṇa II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 190 ff.), and in one of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. pp. 265 f.) The correct transliteration of the latter is:—
[1] Sura-châpaṁ-bôle vidyul-lategaḷa teṟa-vôl=mañju-vôl=tôṟi bêgaṁ
[2] piridhu(du) śrî-rûpa-lîlâ-dhana-vibhava-mahârâśigaḷ-nillav=ârgg[e*]
[3] param-ârttha[ṁ*] mechche nân=î dharaṇiyuḷ-iravân=endu saṅ[n*]yâsana[ṁ*]-g[e*]-
[4] yd=uru-satvan=Nandisêna-pravara-muni-varan=dêva-lôkakke sandân ||*

[12] The copy reads *visaradvâ* &c.

saṁsmartâ svam=Amôghavarsha-nṛipatiḥ pûtô=ham=ady=êty=alaṁ
sa śrîmân Jinasêna-pûjya-bhagavat-pâdô jagan-maṁgalaṁ || (v. 8)

"When the fresh lustre of the jewels in his diadem was made of a reddish colour by the pollen of the waterlilies which were (*his*) feet, appearing between the streams that flowed forth from the rays of the high nails of his (*feet*), the glorious king Amôghavarsha,—whose holy feet were worthy to be worshipped by Jinasêna, (*and who was*) the (*embodiment of the*) prosperity of the world,—thought of himself, 'I am purified to-day; it is enough.'"

The *Sadharmâ*[13] of Jinasêna was Daśaratha (v. 11). And the disciple of these two was Guṇabhadra (v. 13), who finished the *Mahâpurâṇa* that had been already (*partly*) declared by Jinasêna (vv. 16 to 20).

The chief among Guṇabhadra's disciples was Lôkasêna (v. 25), whose merits are described in the next three verses.

The *Praśasti* then continues :—

Akâlavarsha-bhûpâlê pâlayaty=akhilâm=ilâṁ |
tasmin=vidhvasta-niḥśêsha-dvishi vidhra-[14]yaśô-jushi || (v. 29)
Padmâlaya-kula-mukula-[15]
pravikâsaka-satpratâpa-tata-[16]mahasi |
śrîmati Lôkâdityê
pradhvasta-prathita-śatru-saṁtamasê || (v. 30)
Chella-patâkê Chella-
dhvaj-ânujê[17] Chellakê-tana-tanûjê |
Jainêṁdra-dharma-vṛiddhi-vi-
dhâyini vidhu-vidhra-pṛithu-yaśasi || (v. 31)
Vanavâsa-dêśam=akhilaṁ
bhuṁjati sati niḥkaṁṭaka-sukha-suchiraṁ |
tat-pitṛi-nija-nâma-kṛitê
khyâtê Va(ba)ṁkâpurê purêshv=adhikê || (v. 32)
Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âbhyaṁtara-
viṁśaty-adhik-âshṭa-śata-mit-âbd-âṁtê |
maṁgala-mahârtha-kâriṇi
maṁgala-nâmani samasta-jana-sukhadê || (v. 33)
Srî-paṁchamyâṁ Budh-Ârdrâ-yuga-[18]divasa-karê Maṁtrivârê budh-âṁśê
pûrvâyâṁ siṁha-lagnê dhanushi dharaṇijê vṛiśchikâ-kau tulâyâṁ
sarpê śuklê kulîrê gavi cha suragurau nishṭhitaṁ bhavya-varyaiḥ
prâpt-êjyaṁ sarva-sâraṁ jagati vijayatê puṇyam=êtat=purâṇaṁ || (v. 34)

"Victorious in the world is this holy *Purâṇa*, worthy to be worshipped by the best of good people (*and*) possessed of all excellence,—(*which was*) completed at the end of the year which is measured by eight hundred increased by twenty (*years*) in the time of the Śaka king, (*and*) which causes prosperity and great wealth, (*and*) which has an auspicious name,[19] (*and*) which confers happiness on all mankind,—on the (*fifth lunar day called*) *Śrî-pañchamî*,[20] . . . . ;[21]

"While the king Akâlavarsha,—who had destroyed all his enemies, (*and*) who was possessed of lustrous fame,—was governing the whole earth :—

"(*And*) while the glorious Lôkâditya,[22]—whose greatness, enhanced by (*his*) excellent splendour, caused the bud which was the family of Padmâlaya to blossom ; who dispelled the dense darkness which was (*his*) illustrious enemies ; who had the *chellapatâka*-banner ; who was the younger brother of Chelladhvaja ; who was the son of Chellakêtana ; who caused the increase of the religion of Jainêndra ; (*and*) who was possessed of great fame as lustrous as the moon,—was enjoying the whole country of Vanavâsa, which had had for a long time the happiness of being free from troubles, at the famous city of Baṅkâpura, the greatest among cities, which had been made by his father by his own name."[23]

Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak has also brought to my notice a short poem named *Praśnôttararatnamâlâ* on the rules of good behaviour, consisting

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[13] *Sadharman*, or *sadharma*, also *sahadharmin*, 'following the same duties, customs, or religious practices.'
[14] Possibly here, and in v. 31, the *Svâmî* read this out by mistake for *śubhra*.
[15] The copy reads *Padmâlaya-mukula-kula*.
[16] The copy reads *tataḥ*.
[17] The copy reads *Chelladhvajênujê*.
[18] The copy reads *yubê*.
[19] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Śaka 820 was the Kâlayukti *saṁvatsara*. This *Praśasti*, however, seems to indicate rather the Siddhârthi *saṁvatsara*, Śaka 821.
[20] The fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Mâgha.
[21] Verse 34 seems to have several mistakes in it. I cannot translate it as it stands.
[22] Mentioned in inscriptions as the feudatory of Kṛishṇa II. He was a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, of the Chellapatâka or Chellakêtana family. (See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 35-37 and 85).
[23] Lôkâditya's father, therefore, was the Baṅka or Baṅkeyarasa, who is mentioned in inscriptions as a feudatory of Amôghavarsha I.—The expression in the text does not make it plain whether Baṅkeyarasa founded and built Baṅkâpura, or whether he only named after himself a city that was already existing.

of thirty verses, a MS. of which is in the possession of a Jain inhabitant of Shâhâpur near Belgaum. The concluding verse is:—

Vivêkât=tyakta-râjyêna râjñ=êyam Ratnamâlikâ |
rachit=Âmôghavarshêṇa su-dhiyâ sad-alaṁkritiḥ || (v. 30)

"This *Ratnamâlikâ*, possessed of good decorations, was composed by the learned king Amôghavarsha, who through discrimination had laid aside the sovereignty."—The Amôghavarsha mentioned here, however, may be either the first or the second or the third of that name.

We have already seen that Gôvinda III. subjugated the lord of Veṅgî,—probably Vijayâditya-Narêndramṛigarâja, of the Eastern Chalukya family, who reigned from about Śaka 710 to about Śaka 750. And it is either to the latter part of his reign, or to the early part of the reign of Amôghavarsha I., that we must refer the long war between the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas that is mentioned in a grant of Amma I. from the Krishṇâ District. It is therein said of Vijayâditya-Narêndramṛigarâja:—

Gaṁgga(ga)-Raṭṭa-balais=sârddham dvâdaś=âbdân=ahâ(ha)r-nniśam |
bhuj-[â*]rjjita-bala-khaḍga-sahâyô naya-vikramaiḥ ||
Ashṭ-ôttaraṁ yuddha-śatam yuddhvâ Śaṁbhôr=mmah-âlayân |
tat-saṁkhyâ(khya)y=âkarôd=vîrô Vijayâditya-bhûpatiḥ ||

"Aided (*only*) by (*his*) sword, the strength of which had been acquired by (*his*) arm, the brave king Vijayâditya during twelve years fought day and night a hundred and eight battles with the forces of the Gaṅgas and the Raṭṭas, which were possessed of discipline and prowess, and built the same number of great temples of Śambhu."—The Gaṅgas here referred to were *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*, feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas, whose inscriptions are found in the Belgaum and Dhârwâḍ Districts.

Transcription.[24]

[1] [Svasti ||] Sa vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâbhi-kamalaṁ kṛi]ta[ṁ] Haraś=cha yasya kânt-[ê]ndukalayâ kam=alaṁkṛitam [||*]
[2] [Labdha-pratishṭham=achirâya Kaliṁ su]dû[25][ra]m=utsâryya śuddha-charitair=ddharaṇitalasya kṛitvâ punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śri-
[3] [yam=apy=aśêshâṁ chi]tr[aṁ] k[a]th[aṁ] Nirupama[ḥ*] Kali-vallabhô=bhû[t*] [||*] Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvinda-râja[ḥ*] śauryyêshu vikramaṁ
[4] — — — — — — — st... Jagat[t*]uṅga iti śruta[ḥ*] [||*] Kêraḷa-Mâḷava-Śauṭân=sa-Gu[r*]jjarâ[n*] Chitrakûṭa-giridurgga-sthân=ba-
[5] — — — — — śa...n=atha sa kîrtti-Nârâyaṇ[ô*] jagati [||*] Arinṛipati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭita-charaṇas=sakala-bhuvana-va-
[6] [laya-vidita]-śauryy[ô*] Vaṅg-Âṅga-Magadha-Mâḷava-Veṁg-îśair=archchitô=Tiśaya-dhavaḷaḥ [||*] Svasti Samadhigartô(ta)pañcha-
[7] mâ(ma)hâśabda-mahârâjâdhirâja[ṁ*] paramêśvara[ṁ*] bhaṭṭâraka[ṁ*] chatur-udadhi-valayavâla-yuta-sakala-dharâtala-
[8] prâtirâjy-ânêka-maṇḍalikarkkaḷâ kaṭaka-kâ(ka)ṭisûtra-kuṇḍala-kêyûra-hâr-âbharaṇ-âlaṁkṛita-gaṇik[â*]-sahasra-
[9] châmar-ândhakâra-vâdi(dhi)[r*]yya-vî[r*]yya-mâna-śvêtâtapatratraya-kaḷahaśaṁkha-pâḷidhvaj-ô(au)kakêtu-patâk-âchchhâdita-
[10] digantar-ella[ṁ*] sri(śṛi)shṭi-sênâpati puravara-taḷa-vargga[ṁ*] daṇḍanâyaka-sâmant-âdy-â(a)nêka-vishaya-vinâ(na)mn(mr)-ô-
[11] ttuṅga-kirîṭa-makuṭa-ghṛishṭa-pâdâravindayugma[ṁ*] nirjjita-vairi ripu-nivaha-kâladaṇḍa[ṁ*] dushṭa-mada-bhajja(ñja)na-
[12] na[26][ṁ*] amôgha-râma[ṁ*] para-chakra-pañch[â*]nanaṁ sur-âsura-marddanaṁ vairi-bhayakaraṁ badde(?ḍḍe)-manôharaṁ abhimâna-mandiraṁ
[13] Raṭṭa-vaṁś-ôdbhavaṁ Garuḍa-lâñcha(ñchha)naṁ ṭiviḷi-pareghôshaṇaṁ Lattalûrapura-paramêśvaraṁ Śrî-Nṛipatuṅga-

[24] From an ink-impression.
[25] This *dû* is visible through having been at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
[26] This second *na* is an unnecessary repetition.

[14] nâm-âṁkita-lakshmîvallabhêndraṁ(nâ) chandr-âdityara kâlaṁ varegaṁ mahâ-Vishṇuva râjyaṁ-bôl uttar-ôttaraṁ râjy-âbhi-
[15] vri(vṛi)ddhi salutt-ire [|*] Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ=êḷ-nûṟ=eṇbhatt-eṇṭaneya Vyayam=emba sa[ṁ*]vatsaraṁ prava-
[16] rttise [|*] Śri(śrî)mad-Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga-nâm-âṅkitanâ vijaya-râjya-pravardda-(rddha)mâna-saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ=ayvatt-eraḍu-
[17] m=uttar-ôttaraṁ rajya[27]jy-âbhivṛiddhi salutt-ire [|*] Atiśayadhavaḷa-narêndra-prasa(sâ)-dadinda[m=A*]moghavarsha-
[18] dêva-padapaṁkaja-bhramara[ṁ*] viśishṭa-jan-âśrayan=appa śri(śrî)mad-Dêvaṇṇayya[ṁ*] Beḷvola-mûnûṟuma-
[19] n=âḷuttum=Anni(ṇṇi ?)[28]gereyaḷ(l)=ire [|*] Jê(jyai)shṭa(shṭha)-mâsad=ama(mâ)seyum=Âdityavâra[mu*]m=âge sûryya-grahaṇad-andu
[20] Śrivûrada Ravikayya modal-âgi iḷ-nûvvo(rvva)ruṁ mahâjanada kâlaṁ kaḷchi tuppa-dereyaṁ biṭṭoṁ [||*]
[21] Î sthitiyaṁ kâdâtâ(ta)ṅge Bâraṇâsivadoḷ[29] s[â*]sira kavileyaṁ koṭṭa phalam=akkuṁ[|*] î(i)dan=aḻidu tuppam=uṇḍâtaṁ Bâraṇâsiyu[l*] sâsira kavileyu[ṁ*] sâsirvvar=pp[â*]rvvaruman=aḻidon=akkuṁ [||*]
[22] Nimbichchara-Bam[m*]ayya besageysido Mâdhavayyana likhitaṁ Nâg[â*]rjjunaṁ bhe(be)sageydo
[23] Sirigâvuṇḍana eḷtu puḍi(?di)dudu [||*]

Translation.

[Hail! May he protect you, the waterlily in whose navel] is made [a habitation by Vêdhas]; and Hara, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent-moon!

(L. 2.)—Since, with his pure actions, he [quickly] drove far away [Kali, who had established himself] on the earth, and made again [complete even] the splendour of the Kṛitayuga,—it is wonderful how Nirupama became (*invested with the name of*) Kalivallabha.

(L. 3.)—The king Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvinda, ... his prowess in deeds of valour, (*was*) renowned under the name of Jagattuṅga. [Having conquered] the Kêraḷas, the Mâḷavas, (*and*) the Śauṭas, together with the Gurjaras, (*and*) . . . . who dwelt at the hill-fort of Chitrakûṭa, then he (*became*) a very Nârâyaṇa on the earth in respect of fame.

(L. 5.)—Having his feet touched by the diadems of hostile kings, and being possessed of heroism that is known throughout the whole circuit of the earth,—Atiśayadhavaḷa (*is*) worshipped by the lords of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mâḷava and Veṅgi.

(L. 6.)—Hail! While the increase of the sovereignty, ever greater and greater, of the high favourite of Lakshmî, who is marked with the name of Śrî-Nṛipatuṅga,—the supreme king of great kings, who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; the supreme lord; the worshipful one; he who covers all the space between the regions with the thousands of courtesans, decorated with the ornaments of zones and hip-belts and earrings and armlets and necklaces, of the numerous *Maṇḍalikas* of hostile kingdoms over the whole earth which is encircled by the four oceans, and with the darkness and deafness (*caused by the waving*) of (*his*) *chauris*, and with (*his*) heroism and pride, (*his*) three white umbrellas, (*his*) *śaṅkha*-shell of battle, (*his*) *pâḷidhvaja*, (*his*) banner of a bird (?),[30] and (*his other*) standards; who is by birth a leader of armies; who is possessed of a number of sites of excellent cities; whose feet, which are like waterlilies, are rubbed by the diadems and crowns of lofty people, bowing down (*before him*), in the many countries of *Daṇḍanâyakas*, *Sâmantas*, &c.; who has conquered his foes; who is a very staff of death to the host of his enemies; who breaks the foolish pride of wicked people; who is possessed of fruitful joy; who is a very lion to the multitude of his foes; who subdues gods and demons; who causes fear to his enemies; who is charming in his pertinacity (?);[31] who is

[27] This *jya* was half erased by the engraver.
[28] See note 10 above.
[29] Compare the form in No. CV. l. 6; Vol. X. p. 167.
[30] This perhaps refers to the *Garuḍa-lâñchhana*, mentioned below.
[31] The meaning of *badde*, or perhaps *baḍde*, is not apparent. The nearest approach to the word in the dictionaries is *baddu*, 'rivalry, pertinacity, perverseness.'

the habitation of pride; born in the lineage of the Raṭṭas; he who possesses the sign of Garuḍa; he who has the sounds of the *(musical instrument called) tiviḷi*; the supreme lord of the city of Lattalûra,—was continuing, like the kingdom of the great Vishṇu, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun might last:—

(L. 15.)—While the *saṁvatsara* named Vyaya, which was the seven hundred and eighty-seventh *(of)* the years that had elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, was current; *(and)* while the fifty-second *(of)* the augmenting years of the victorious reign of him who was marked with the glorious name of Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga was continuing with perpetual increase of sovereignty:—

(L. 17.)—While, through the favour of the king Atiśayadhavaḷa, the glorious Dêvaṇṇayya,—who is a bee at the water-lilies which are the feet of Amôghavarshadêva; and who is the refuge of excellent people,—was dwelling at Annigeṛe, governing the Beḷvola Three-hundred:—

(L. 19.)—At the time of an eclipse of the sun, on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha,—having washed the feet of the two hundred *Mahâjanas*, headed by Ravikayya, of *(the village of)* Śrivûra, he[32] allotted the tax on clarified butter.

(L. 21.)—He who preserves this ordinance, shall acquire the reward of giving a thousand cows at Bâraṇâsi; he who destroys it and consumes the clarified butter, shall be *(as)* one who destroys a thousand tawny-coloured cows or a thousand Brâhmaṇs at Bâraṇâsi.

(L. 22.)—Written by Mâḍhavayya, at the command of Nimbichchara-Bammayya;; set up(?) by Sirigâvuṇḍa, at the command of Nâgârjuna.

No. CXXIX.

Amôghavarsha I. was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇa II., also called Kannara, Kandhara-vallabha, Krishṇávallabha, and Akâlavarsha II.[33] His wife, whose name is not mentioned, was a daughter of Kokkala or Kokkalla I. of the Kaḷachuri or Kulachuri dynasty of Tripura or Tewar. His inscriptions are fairly numerous in the Canarese country. And he is mentioned in several of the inscriptions of the later Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum. The earliest of them mentions him as reigning in Śaka 797 (A.D. 875-6), the Manmatha *saṁvatsara*; but he must at that time have been only the *Yuvarâja*, or heir-apparent and viceroy of his father in the southern part of his dominions. In two of the Raṭṭa inscriptions he is called Kṛishṇa-Kandhara and Kṛishṇa-Kandhâra. And in one of these two passages he has the title of *Kandhâra-puravar-âdhîśvara*, or 'supreme lord of Kandhârapura, the best of cities.' There may have been an original city of the Râshṭrakûṭas, named Kandhârapura; but the present mention of it is as yet an isolated one.

The present inscription,[34] of which a lithograph has been given on the second side of the Plate in Vol. XI. pp. 126-7, is on the exposed part of the stone beam over the entrance to the *adytum* of the shrine of the temple of the god Mûkâdêva at Nandwâḍige, in the Hungund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. The temple seems to have been originally Jain, as there are Lakshmî and her elephants on the lintel of the door of the shrine;[35] it has now been appropriated to *liṅga* worship. It seems to be in no way remarkable for architecture or sculpture, and to be of importance only on account of the inscription in it. When I saw it in 1876, it was in a state of great decay, and seemed likely soon to collapse and fall in. The inscription covers a space of 9″ high by 7′ 6″ broad. There are no sculptures above the inscription. The language is Old-Canarese.

The first part of the king's name, and the number of the centuries in the date, are now quite effaced; but there can be no doubt as to the letters that have to be supplied. It is an inscription of Akâlavarsha, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa II.; and it is dated in Śaka 822 for 824 (A.D. 902-3), the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*. The name of the god of the temple is effaced. The inscription records a grant of land, the details of which are partly effaced.

The Eastern Chalukya inscription, from which I have quoted at page 218 above, shows that

[32] *i.e.* Dêvaṇṇayya.

[33] As we learn now from the Kaḍab grant, Krishṇa I. was Akâlavarsha I.

[34] *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 85.—Through some mistake which I do not now understand, I have spoken of it there, and also in Vol. VII. p. 210 of this journal, as being dated Śaka 722 and of the time of Dhruva or of Gôvinda III.

[35] Gaja-Lakshmî is however also a Vaishṇava cognisance.—J. B.

the wars between the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas continued in the time of Kṛishṇa II. It is therein said of Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya, who reigned from about Śaka 752 to about Śaka 792 :—

Gaṁgân=Aṁgajavairi-śaktir=asamân Raṭṭ-êśa-saṁchôditô
jitvâ Maṁgi-śirô=harat yudhi mahâ-bâhv-âpta-vîryy-âryyamâ |
Kṛishṇaṁ saṁkilam=aṁkit-âkhila-bala-prâpt-ôru-sad-vikramô bhît-ârttâ(rtta)[ṁ*] cha
vidhâya tat-pura-ma(va)raṁ yô nirddadâha prabhuḥ ||

"Having been challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas, he, the lord,—who possessed the power of Aṅgajavairi;[36] who had for (*his*) bosom-friend the bravery that had been acquired by (*his*) mighty arm; (*and*) who was possessed of great and excellent prowess acquired by (*his*) notorious and perfect strength,—conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas, and took the head of Maṅgi in battle, and, having made the fire-brand Kṛishṇa frightened and distressed, burned his excellent city."

After this, however, the Râshṭrakûṭas appear to have had the advantage, as the same inscription continues :—

Sa samastabhuvanâśraya-Śrî-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśâd-varshâṇi || Tad-anu savitaryy=astaṁ-gatê timira-paṭalên=êva Raṭṭa-dâyâda-balên=âbhivyâptam Veṁgî-maṇḍalam ||

"He, the asylum of the universe, Śrî-Vijayâditya (*reigned over the country of Vengî*) for forty-four years. After that, the province of Veṅgî was overrun by the army of the Raṭṭa claimants, as if by dense darkness on the setting of the sun."

Transcription.[37]

[1] [Svasty=Akâḷa]varshadêva śrîpṛithivîvallabha mahârâjâdhirâja paramêśvara paramabhaṭṭârakara râjy-abhivṛiddhiy=uttar-ôttaraṁ salutt-ire [|*] Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁva-

[2] [t]s[a]r[aṁgaḷ=eṇṭu nûṟa] irppatt-eraḍaneya Dundubhiy=emba varisha[ṁ] prava[r*]ttise [|*] tad-va[r*]sh-âbhyantara-Mâgha-su(śu)ddha-paṁchamiyuṁ Bṛihapa(spa)tivârad-andu[ṁ] Uttar-Âshâḍa(ḍhâ)-nakshatramuṁ Siddhiy=emba [yôgamu]-

[3] m=âge [|*] — — —dêvaraṁ pratishṭhe-geyda tad-dinad-andu Kapila-rishi-samânar=appa tamma mûṟuṁ modala mahâjanaṁ sa-bâḷa-vṛiddham=iḷdu mûḍa[38]ṇa polada pu(?)liṁgeya bâgi(?)— — —

[4] — — — — —[hi]ṭṭar [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ || Divâkara-kku(kri)ta-likhitaṁ [||*] Maṁgaḷa-mahâ-śrî[ḥ ||] — — —

[5] — — — — — —dalli Châvuṇḍayyaṁ pattu mattar=keyu(yya)ṁ kottaṁ || Svan=dâtu[ṁ] su-mahach=chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pâḷanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâlanâd=y(v)=êti[39] dânâ[ch=chhrê]yô=n[upâlanaṁ ||]

Translation.

[Hail!] While the increase of the sovereignty of [the glorious Akâḷa]varshadêva,—the favourite of Śrî and of the earth; the supreme king of great kings; the most worshipful one,—was continuing (*so as to be ever*) greater and greater :—

(L. 1.)—While the year named Dundubhi, which was the [eight-hundred and] twenty-second[40] (*of*) the years that had elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, was current :—

(L. 2.)—On Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) Mâgha in that year, under the Uttar-Âshâḍhâ *nakshatra* and the Siddhi *yôga* ;—

(L. 3.)—On that day, on which they established the god. . . . . ,—the *Mahâjanas*, headed by his own three (?) who were equal to the saint Kapila,—together with the children and old men,—allotted . . . . of the eastern fields.

(L. 4.)—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who

[36] Śiva, as the foe and destroyer of Kâmadêva.
[37] From the original stone.
[38] The space after this letter, *ḍa*, seems to be a fault in the stone.
[39] The proper reading is *pâlanaṁ v=êti.*
[40] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 824, and Śaka 822 was the Raudri *saṁvatsara*.

confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

The writing (*is*) made by Divâkara. (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

At . . . . , Châvuṇḍayya gave ten *mattars* of culturable land.

(L. 5.)—It is very easy to give one's own property, but the preservation of (*the grant of*) another is difficult; if (*it is asked*) whether giving or preserving (*is the more meritorious*), [preservation] is better than giving!

No. CXXX.

This is another inscription of Kṛishṇa II. In Vol. IX. p. 74, I have mentioned the temple of the god Galiganâtha in Survey No. 75 at Aihoḷe, in the Hungund Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District. Just outside the sculptured gateway of the courtyard of this temple, and a few steps to the south of it, there is a small stone cell, partly below the level of the ground, facing north. The present inscription,[41] of which a lithograph has been given on the second side of the Plate in Vol. XI. pp. 126-7, is on the front face of a stone over the door of the inner cell. The writing covers a space of 9″ high by 3′ 9″ broad. There are no sculptures over the inscription. The language is Old-Canarese.

The inscription records the building of the cell, for a saint named Monibhaṭâra, which should perhaps be Mauuibhaṭâra, in Śaka 831 for 833 (A.D. 911-2), the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, while Kannara, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa II., was reigning.

Transcription.[42]

[1] Svasti Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âti(tî)ta-saṁvatsara-śataṁgaḷ=eṇṭu nûṟa vu(mû)vatto[n]da-neyâ

[2] Prajâpatiy=eṁba saṁvatsara[ṁ*] pravarttise [|*] Kannara[ṁ*] pri(pṛi)thivîrâjyaṁgeyye [|*]

[3] Nagara-samudâya-ndha(dha)rmma[ṁ*] [||*] Pûrvvôkta[43]-munibhir=dṛishṭaṁ dharmma-śâstra-prachô-

[4] ditaṁ yôgi-gâram[44]=idaṁ p[r*]ôktaṁ su(sû)ribhiḥ parivêshṭitaṁ [||*] Mo(mau?)ni-bhaṭârara guhe [||*]

Translation.

While the *saṁvatsara* named Prajâpati, which was the eight hundred and thirty-first[45] (*of*) the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, was current; while Kannara was ruling the earth;—(*this cell was built as*) the religious act of the assemblage of (*all the people of*) the city.

(L. 3.)—This abode of an ascetic,—which has been beheld by saints previously mentioned,[46] (*and the building of*) which has been prescribed by the writings of religion,—is declared (*to be*) surrounded by learned people. (*This is*) the cave of Monibhaṭâra.

No. CXXXI.

Kṛishṇa II. was succeeded by his son Jagattuṅga II.[47] This, again, is only a title; the real name being as yet unknown.

The present inscription is from a stone-tablet at the well called Koḷakokkana-bhâvi at the hamlet of Daṇḍâpur, which is two miles to the west by north from Nargund in the Nawalgund Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The sculptures at the top of the stone, which are done in outline and not in the usual finished style, are—central, a *liṅga*;—others, Nandî; a cow and calf; the sun and moon; and the word *śri*, for *śrî*, in characters of the same type as those of the inscription itself. The inscription covers a space of 2′ 9½″ high by 2′ 3″ broad. The language is Old-Canarese; and the inscription is entirely in verse.

The inscription records grants that were made to a tank called Kaṇṭhamagere, in Śaka 840 for 841 (A.D. 929-30), the Pramâthi *saṁvatsara*, at the time of the *makara-saṁkramaṇa* or passage of the sun from Sagittarius into Capricornus,—while Prabhûtavarsha III. was reigning.

This inscription gives a new date and a new title in the genealogy. We know that Amôghavarsha I. reigned from Śaka 736-7 up

[41] *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 79. [42] From the original stone.

[43] The mark after this letter, *kta*, appears to be a fault in the stone, rather than to be intended for an *anusvâra*.

[44] *Gâra* usually occurs only in the compound form *âgâra*, 'room, covered place, dwelling-house, receptacle.'

[45] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology* the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 833, and Śaka 831 was the Śukla *saṁvatsara*.

[46] Not in this inscription, however.

[47] I find that, in the case of both this king and Gôvinda III., the title of Jagadrudra is due only to a mistake of Mr. Wathen in reading *Jagadrudra* instead of *Jagattuṅga* in l. 12 of the Kardâ plates, which will be published shortly in this series.

to at any rate Śaka 799. It is, therefore, unlikely that his son, K ṛ i s h ṇ a II., reigned much longer after Śaka 833, when he had already been in power for thirty-six years. And, whereas we have already the title of Akâlavarsha for Kṛishṇa II., there is no evidence, and it seems improbable, that any of the Râshṭrakûṭas had more than one title ending in *varsha*. There can, therefore, be little, if any doubt, that the P r a b h û t a v a r s h a of this inscription is J a g a t t u ṅ g a II., for whom we have as yet no title ending in *varsha*. His great-grandfather, Gôvinda III., had the same titles of Prabhûtavarsha and Jagattuṅga. Accordingly, it seems not improbable that, if ever the inscriptions disclose the real name of Jagattuṅga II., it will be found to be G ô v i n d a V.[48]

Transcription.[49]

[1] Svasti Prabhûtavarshaṁ vistṛita-kuvaḷayavan=uttarôttara-vibhava-prastu-
[2] tyateyiṁ rakshipa vistarad-and=eṇṭu nûṟa nâlvattavutâ || Śaka-kâ-
[3] -laṁgaḷ=varshaṁ prakaṭaṁ pesariṁ Pramâthi varttise dinapaṁ makarakke va-
[4] ṟppa saṁkramaṇa-kâladoḷ=kûḍe banda Paushada tithiyoḷ |(||) Pannir-mmatta-
[5] r=kkeyyaṁ mânyaṁ-guḍug=endu pêḷe Vô(?)[50]rana besadoḷ nanni-veḍe(ḍa)ṁgaṁ Li[ṁgaṁ ?]
[6] tann=aḷtiye koṭṭu kerege yaśamaṁ paḍedaṁ |(||) Viprara vivâham=ûr-oḷ[a]-[51]
[7] g[52]=app-aṇitaroḷ=ellam=osage drammam=mûṟaṁ tappâ(ppa)de[53]
[8] mâṇiyoḷ=eraḍaṁ keppidar=î śûdra-gaṇada maduveyoḷ=ondaṁ ||
[9] Prâyaśchitta-nimittadôḷ=âyada paṇam=ene(ni)tan=ittum=ûroḷ=sahiraṇy-[â]-[54]
[10] yada paṇamuṁ per-ggeṟeg=âyam=id=end=osadu koṭṭor=î dvija-mukhyar [||*]
[11] Nereve guṇ-âdya(ḍhya)r=Kkaṇṭhama-geṟeg=inituṁ dravya-dâyamaṁ[55] koṭṭ=â(a)vargga(rga)ḷ[56]
[12] tarisand=î śâsanaman=nirisidar=â-chandra-târak-ântam=baṟegam |(||)
[13] Mâtinoḷ=ên=î sthitiyaṁ ghâtisi kiḍisida naraṁ chiraṁ pañchamah[â]-
[14] pâtakana pôda lôkakk=âtan=tâṁ pôkum=endar=aduv=êm=piriḍê ||
[15] Moraḍiya modaloḷ=koṭṭ=or-ttere-variyaram=âḷvud=endu kêri sa-
[16] mastaṁ kerege padinêḷu mattar=tiṟuvudu Kêsabbey=itta keyy=i-
[17] m-mattar |(||) Baredon=idaṁ Śrî-Vijâ(ja)yaṁ nerad=iṇ(n)-nûṟ-irppadimbaruṁ pêḷ=ene tâ[ṁ]
[18] pariṇatan=î ka[bba]ṁgaḷan=oredaṁ Ravinâgabhaṭṭan=atyâdaradin ||

Translation.

Hail! In the length (*of time*) when P r a b h û t a v a r s h a was protecting the broad circuit of the earth with ever increasing praiseworthiness of power:—

(L. 2.)—When the eight hundred and fortieth year (*of*) the Ś a k a era, that is known by the name of Pramâthi,[57] was current; at the time of the *saṁkramaṇa* when the sun came to (*the sign*) *makara*, (*and*) on the lunar day of (*the month*) Pausha that coincided (*with that saṁkramaṇa*):—

(L. 4.)—At the command of Vôra(?), who said:—"Let him give a *mânya*-grant,"—Liṅga (?), who was a marvel of truth, having of his own pleasure given twelve *mattars* of culturable land to the tank, acquired fame.

(L. 6.)—They gave as a tax, without fail, three *drammas* on account of every marriage of Brâhmaṇs that occurred in the village,—

[48] Though the argument cannot be pressed as far as he seeks to press it, yet there is, of course, a good deal of force in the suggestion made by Mr. Rice at p. 11 above. But the information that we already possess (see the genealogy in Vol. XI. p. 109) shows that, whatever relations there were between the names and the titles of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings, they were not absolutely constant ones.

[49] From an ink-impression.

[50] This letter is rather a nondescript one. The nearest approach to the consonant is the *v* of *maduveyoḷ*, l. 8.

[51] Part of the *ḷ* is just visible on the broken edge of the stone.

[52] The space left blank before this *ga* seems to be in consequence of some fault in the stone.

[53] Part of the consonant, and also of the vowel, is visible on the broken edge of the stone. The metre shows that we must correct the preceding *ppâ* into *ppa*, and that we can read nothing but *ḍe* here.

[54] Part of the *ṇy* is visible on the broken edge of the stone.

[55] Or we may read *dravyad=âyamaṁ*.

[56] Part of this *ḷ* is visible on the broken edge of the stone. The metre shows that we must correct *ṭṭ=â* into *ṭṭ=a*, and that we can read nothing but *ḷ* here.

[57] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Pramâthi *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 841, and Śaka 840 was the Bahudhânya *saṁvatsara*.

(*and*) two on (*each*) *membrum virile*,[58]—(*and*) one on (*each*) marriage of the class of Śûdras. Giving a *paṇa* as the contribution on (*each*) occasion of the performance of penance,—these best of the twice-born, saying, "This (*is*) the contribution to the large tank," gave with pleasure a *paṇa* of the contribution of gold in the village. They, who abounded in virtuous qualities,—having assembled together, and having given this grant of property to (*the tank called*) Kaṇṭhamagere,—set up this charter of settlement, (*to endure*) to the end of the moon and the stars. They said, "The man who even in speech injures and destroys this ordinance, shall himself go for a long time to the world to which he goes who commits the five great sins;" how great (*is*) that (*saying*)!

(L. 15.)—Saying, "The whole (*population of the*) street shall manage . . . .[59] the seventeen *mattars* (*of land*) that were given to the tank at the foot of the rising ground,"—two *mattars* of culturable land were given by Kêsabbe, (*as a*) sacred (*grant*).[60]

(L. 17.)—Śrî-Vijaya wrote this; when the Two-hundred-and-twenty (*Mahâjanas*) having assembled together, said, "Speak!",—the humble Ravinâgabhaṭṭa himself, with great deference, declared[61] these verses.

No. CXXXII.

Jagattuṅga II. had two wives. By his first wife, Lakshmî,—the daughter of Raṇavigraha, who was the son of Kokkala or Kokkalla I. of the Kalachuri or Kulachuri dynasty of Tripura,—he had one son, Indra IV., also called Nityavarsha I.[62]

The present inscription is from a stone-tablet that was found lying buried towards the west above the *hoṇḍa*, or 'tank in the village,' at Hattî-Mattûr, in the Karajgi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The sculptures at the top of the stone are Nandi and the sun and moon. Towards the bottom of the stone, and dividing lines 10 to 19 of the inscription in half vertically, there is sculptured a Jain flower-vase, of the description of which several instances are given by Dr. Burgess in his *Amarâvatî Stûpa*, with flowers or leaves hanging out over the rim of it; above it there is a plain circle, with a *svastika* in the centre of it. The writing covers a space of about 2′8″ high by 2′3½″ broad. The language is Old-Canarese throughout.

Lines 1 to 13 contain an inscription of the reign of Nityavarsha I., *i.e.* Indra IV. It is dated in Śaka 838 (A.D. 916-7), the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*. And it records a grant of the village of Vutavura of Kachchavara-Kâdamma by the *Mahâsâmanta* Leṇḍeyarasa, in the presence of the Two-hundred-and-twenty *Mahâjanas* of Paḷtiya-Maḷtavura,—the modern Hattî-Mattûr, or 'Mattûr of the cotton-(*lands*).' The object of the grant is not stated; but the sculpture at the bottom of the stone shows that the grant must have been made to some Jain establishment.

Lines 14 to 19 are another inscription, undated, of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. It records grants of oil and rice to the god Bhôgêśvara. Being written on the same stone with the other inscription, it must record grants to the same establishment. It follows, therefore, that, by the time of the second inscription, the Jain establishment to which the grant recorded in the first inscription was made, must have been converted into a temple of Śiva under the name of Bhôgêśvara.

Transcription.[63]

[1] Svasti Nityavarsha-śri(śrî)pṛitu(thi)vivallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramê-
[2] śvara-paramabha[64]ṭṭhâ(ṭṭâ)raka-vijaya-râjyam=uttarôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddha-
[3] mâna[m=â*]-chandr-ârka-taraṁ baraṁ sale [|*] Sa(śa)ka-bhûpâḷa-kâḷ-[â*]krânta-saṁ-
[va*]tsara-
[4] Prabâ[65](bha)v-âdi-nâmadê(dhê)yam=uttama-madhyama-jaghanya-pa(pha)ḷadâ(da)-prabhṛi-

[58] *Mâṇiyoḷ*; *i.e.* "on every male."—In respect of an inscription at Aihoḷe (No. LXIII.; Vol. IX. p. 74), *mâṇi* was explained to me as meaning perhaps 'an old woman' or 'a goddess.' But here it seems clearly to have the meaning of *membrum virile*, which is the only meaning given to it by Sanderson.

[59] The meaning of *or-ttere-variyaram* is not apparent. In the first part of the compound, we have either the modern *ottera*, 'one kind or sort,' or *or*, 'one,' and *tere*, *tere*, 'tax, assessment.' In the second part, we have either some derivative from *vari*, 'tax, assessment,' or a corruption of the Sanskrit *parihâra*.

[60] *i.e.*, perhaps, to be managed by the priests of some temple, in contrast to the management of the seventeen *mattars* just spoken of.

[61] *i.e.* "composed."

[62] On the authority of the Sâṅglî plates,—the next to be published,—as well as of the present inscription.

[63] From an ink-impression.

[64] This *bha* was at first omitted, and then inserted below the preceding *ma*.

[65] This *bâ* was at first omitted, and then inserted, half-size, on the upper line of the writing.

[5] tigaḻ=eṇṭu nûṟa mûvatt-eṇṭe(ṇṭa)neya Dhâtu-saṁvatsar-[â*]ntarggata [*]
[6] Svasti Samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-mahâsâmanta unnat-âditya apû
[7] Kusumâyudha abhimâna-saluki śrîmat Leṇḍe(? ṇṭe)y-arasaru Purige-
[8] ṟe-mûṇûṟuman=âḻutt-ire Paḻtiya-Maḻtavurada nûṟ-
[9] rppadiṁborum=iḻdu daye-geyye Kachchavara-Kâdammaṇa
[10] Vutavuraṁ biḍisidoṁ [||*] Idaṁ kâdâtaṅge aśvamêdhada
[11] phalaṁ [|*] i(î) sti(sthi)tiyann(n)=aḻidâtaṅge Bâraṇâsi-
[12] yoḷ=sâyira kavileyumaṁ sâsirbboru[ṁ*]
[13] pârvvaruman=aḻida brahmâtiy[66]=akku ||*

Second Inscription.

[14] Śri-Bhôgêsva(śva)ra-dêvargge telliga Jayasiṁgayya-seṭṭi Juṁ[67]mmi
[15] seṭṭi Mâḻi-seṭṭi Nâmi-seṭṭi Kâṁvi-seṭṭi int=ivar=mmo-
[16] dal=âgi ayvatt-okkalum=irddu sodariṁge koṭṭa-
[17] r soṁtige enneya[ṁ*] || Idaṁ naḍasidargge ananta-puṇya[ṁ*] ||*
[18] Śrî-Bhôgêśvara-dêvargge aṁgaḍiya seṭṭi[68]yar soṁṭṭi(ṭi)ge Holli-seṭṭi
[19] bhattamaṁ biṭṭar [||*] Î dharmmama[ṁ*] naḍesidavarig=akshe(ksha)ya-puṇya[ṁ*] ||
Idan=aḻidaṁge naraka[ṁ*] ||

Translation.

Hail! While the victorious reign of Nityavarsha,—the favourite of Śrî and of the earth; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most worshipful one,—was continuing with perpetual increase, (*so as to endure*) as long as the moon and sun and stars should last:—

(L. 3.)—In the Dhâtu *saṁvatsara*, (*which was*) the eight hundred and thirty-eighth of the years that have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, which have the names of Prabhava, *&c.*, (*and*) which consist of those that give the most excellent results and those that give mediocre results and those that give the worst results and others:—[69]

(L. 6.)—Hail! The Two-hundred-and-twenty *Mahâjanas* of (*the village of*) Paḻtiya-Maḻtavura, being (*in assembly*)—the glorious Leṇḍeyarasa, the *Mahâsâmanta* who had attained the *pañchamahâśabda*; he who was the sun of noble people; a very Kusumâyudha[70] . . . .;[71] . . . . .[72] in respect of pride,—while governing the Purigeṟe Three hundred,—in kindness caused (*the village of*) Vutavura of Kachchavara-Kâdamma to be allotted.

(L. 10.)—To him who preserves this (*grant*), (*there shall be*) the reward of (*celebrating*) an *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice; to him who destroys this ordinance, there shall be (*the guilt of*) the slaughter of a Brâhmaṇ in destroying a thousand tawny-coloured cows or a thousand Brâhmaṇs at Bâraṇâsi!

Second Inscription.

(L. 14.)—Headed by the oil-man Jayasiṅgayyaseṭṭi, (*and*) Jummiseṭṭi, (*and*) Mâḻiseṭṭi, (*and*) Nâmiseṭṭi, (*and*) Kâmviseṭṭi,—the Fifty Cultivators,[73] being (*in assembly*), gave to the god Śrî-Bhôgêśvara a *soṇṭige*[74] of oil for the lamp (*of the temple*). To those who continue this, (*there shall be*) infinite religious merit!

(L. 18.)—The merchants of the shops allotted to the god Śrî-Bhôgêśvara a *soṇṭige* (*of oil*); (*and*) Holliseṭṭi (*allotted*) some rice in the husk. To those who continue this act of piety, (*there shall be*) imperishable religious merit; to him who destroys it, (*there shall be*) hell!

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66 sc. *brahma-hatyey=*

67 This *Anusvâra* is superfluous.

68 This *ṭṭi* was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line.

69 This idea is still current; but I was not able to obtain any classification of the *saṁvatsaras* in accordance with it, until Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak supplied me with the following passage, in which we have the identical words that are used in this inscription, from a *MS.* of Mâghaṇandî's *Śrâvakâchâra*, Chap. II., p. 665,—

Dakshiṇâyanam=uttarâyaṇam=end=it-teran=â yeraḍariṁ barisaṁ | avu | Prabhava-Vibhava-(*&c., in the usual order, down to*)-Vyaya î 20 uttama-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷu | Sarvajitu-Sarvadhâri-(*&c., in the usual order, down to*)-Parâbhava î 20 madhyama-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷu | Plavaṁga-Kîlaka-(*&c., in the usual order, down to*)-Kshaya î 20 jaghanya-saṁvatsaraṁgaḷu ||

The qualities of each of the sixty *saṁvatsaras* separately are detailed in the Sanskrit *Nârada-Saṁhitâ*, in the chapter called *Saṁvatsara-phala*.

70 Kâmadêva.

71 The meaning of *apû* is not apparent, unless *apûrvva*, 'unprecedented,' should have been written, or, some such word as *rûpa* or *mûrtti* being required in such a connection, unless it stands for *vapus*, 'form, person, beauty,'—*conf.* the Vêdic form *apus*.

72 The meaning of *saḷuki* is not apparent.

73 *Ayvatt-okkalum*; this, which occurs in many inscriptions, is a technical term, and does not necessarily mean the exact number of fifty.

74 A measure connected with the old form of the modern Canarese *sôṭu*, 'a spoon or ladle.'

ON THE GRAMMARIAN BHARTṚIHARI.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, PH. D., GÖTTINGEN.

Whatever may be the opinions of scholars regarding the dates generally which Professor Müller in his *Note* on the "Renaissance of Sanskṛit Literature"[1] has assigned to the chief works of the so-called classical Sanskṛit, there can be no doubt that Professor Müller is right in placing the grammarian Bhartṛihari and the *Kâśikâ-vṛitti* before the middle of the 7th century A.D. This date is fixed by that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who has left us an interesting account of the course of study pursued in the grammatical schools of India at the time of his visit to that country.[2] I propose to compare I-tsing's statements regarding the works of Bhartṛihari with what we know of them from existing MSS. or commentaries, and to inquire if those works furnish any data that may help to fix the time of other authors.

According to Professor Müller, I-tsing's account of Bhartṛihari's works, so far as it is necessary to mention it here, is as follows :—

'Next, there is the Bhartṛihari-discourse, a commentary on the . . . . *Chûrṇi*, the work of the great scholar Bhartṛihari. It contains 25,000 ślokas.'

'There is, besides, the Vâkya-discourse (*Vâkyapadîka*), which contains 700 ślokas.'

'Next, there is the *Pina* or *Pida* or *Vina*. It contains 3,000 verses of Bhartṛihari.'

In the first of these works Professor Müller recognizes Bhartṛihari's commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya*, and in the second the *Vâkyapadîya*; as regards the last work he inclines to believe that I-tsing is speaking of the *Bhaṭṭi-kâvya*, 'supposing that Bhaṭṭi could in Chinese have been represented by Pida.'

From existing MSS. we know that Bhartṛihari has written a commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya*, and a work in three chapters (*kâṇḍa*) commonly called *Vâkyapadîya*. The commentators and later grammarians generally inform us that his commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* did not extend over more than three Pâdas, and, so far as I know, they do not ascribe to him any works besides that commentary and the *Vâkyapadîya*.[3] In proof of this I may quote Helârâja, who, towards the end of his own commentary, thus speaks of Bhartṛihari :—

त्रैलोक्यगामिनी येन त्रिकाण्डी त्रिपदी कृता ।
तस्मै समस्तविद्याश्रीकान्ताय हरये नमः ॥

Whether the whole of Bhartṛihari's commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* is still in existence, it is impossible to say. I have never heard of any MS. of it except the Berlin one which does not go beyond the 7th Âhnika of the first Pâda; it is incomplete at the beginning and defective in the middle, and altogether very incorrect. But even from this imperfect and faulty MS. it is clear that Bhartṛihari's was a very full and elaborate commentary, that its author knew more than one gloss on the *Mahâbhâshya* of which we know nothing, that his MSS. exhibited readings not to be met with in any of the MSS. which have hitherto become accessible, and that Kaiyaṭa's commentary—at least for the first seven Âhnikas—is but a very meagre extract from the work of Bhartṛihari. Considering that Bhartṛihari's commentary is at least four times as extensive as Kaiyaṭa's, and that Kaiyaṭa's comment on the first three Pâdas contains about 6,000 ślokas, we may well believe that the *Tripadî* contained 25,000 ślokas, which is the figure given by I-tsing. I-tsing is right too in calling Bhartṛihari's work a commentary on the *Chûrṇi*, for Bhartṛihari himself calls the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* the Chûrṇikâra, or author of the *Chûrṇi*. (Berlin MS. pp. 92*a*, 102*b*, 121*a*.)

[1] *India, What can it teach us?* pp. 281-366.

[2] *Loc. cit.* pp. 343-349. In the first work mentioned by I-tsing, the elementary *Siddhânta*, I would recognize a kind of *Lipi-* or *Mâtṛikâ-viveka*, similar to the one of Kshemendraśarman, which teaches the letters, their combinations, the organs with which they are pronounced, &c. I think I am right in stating that both in Brâhmanical and Jaina indigenous schools, the first thing children learn is the phrase ओं नमः सिद्धम्.—For the use of the *auspicious* word सिद्ध at the commencement of *literary* works I need refer only e.g. to the first of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas and I would draw attention to the fact that Kâtyâyana has employed the same auspicious term at the end of the last Vârttika in *every one* of the eight Adhyâyas. Curious it is that the author of the *Vâjasaneyi-prâtiśâkhya* should have wound up every one of *his* eight Adhyâyas with the similarly auspicious expression वृद्धं वृद्धिः.—I-tsing's statement about the so-called *Khilas* appears to me to contain some mistake. *Khilapâṭha* occurs *Kâś-vṛitti*, I, 3, 2, and is explained there by Haradatta to comprise the '*Dhatupâṭha, Prâtipadika* (*i.e., Gaṇa*)-*pâṭha* and *Vâkya-paṭha*.'

[3] The *Hari-kârikâs* are no separate work, *Hari-kârikâ* being merely another expression for 'a verse from the *Vâkyapadîya*.'

The work usually called *Vâkyapadîya* has long ceased to be studied in India. MSS. of it are rare, and generally incorrect. In all of them the work is divided into three Kâṇḍas, and the whole is therefore also named *Trikâṇḍî*. The first of the three chapters which is called *Brahmakâṇḍa* or *Âgama-samuchchaya* contains in most MSS. 183, the second or *Vâkya-kâṇḍa* 487 ślokas. The third or *Pada-kâṇḍa* consists of 14 sections (*Samuddeśa*), with a total of 1315 ślokas. The *Vâkyapadîya* then, such as we have it, contains altogether 1985, or in round numbers 2000 ślokas, and this is the figure given at the end of Colebrooke's MS. (together with the additional remark 'Rupees 2¾').

Such being the case, it appears to me that I-tsing's statement, according to which the Vâkya-discourse contained 700 ślokas, cannot refer to the work to which our MSS. give the title *Vâkyapadîya*; for I see no reason to believe that a writer who gives correctly the extent of Pâṇini's grammar, of the *Kâśikâ-vṛitti*, of the *Mahâbhâshya*, and, so far as we can judge, of Bhartṛihari's commentary, should have made a mistake or been misinformed in *this* case. On the contrary, I hope to show that I-tsing's account is as accurate here as it is in the case of the other works which he describes, and I believe that I can at the same time suggest the Sanskṛit title of the last work mentioned by him, the '*Pina* or *Pida* or *Vina*' which Professor Müller hesitatingly understands to be the *Bhaṭṭikâvya*.

Vardhamâna describes Bhartṛihari, whom he mentions in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, as **वाक्यपदीयप्रकीर्णकयोः कर्ता महाभाष्यत्रिपद्या व्याख्याता च** 'the author of the *Vâkyapadîya* and *Prakîrṇaka*, and commentator of three Pâdas of the *Mahâbhâshya*.' The expression '*Vâkyapadîya* and *Prakîrṇaka*,' is here equivalent to the term *Trikâṇḍî* in the verse cited from Helârâja, and must be understood to denote the work which the MSS. call simply *Vâkyapadîya*. As a South-Indian MS. uses *Prakîrṇaka* synonymously with *Pada-kâṇḍa*, and as moreover Helârâja calls his commentary on the *Pada-kâṇḍa*—*Prakîrṇa-prakâśa*, it is clear that *Prakîrṇa* or *Prakîrṇaka* was a name for what is now considered the third chapter of the *Vâkyapadîya*, and it follows that as late as the 12th century the term *Vâkyapadîya* was employed to denote the first and second chapters only of Bhartṛihari's work.

After this it is hardly necessary to say that I understand I-tsing's statement about the Vâkya discourse to refer to the *Vâkyapadîya* in this restricted sense, which would contain 670 or, roughly speaking, 700 ślokas, and that I would recognize in the '*Pina*' the *Prakîrṇa* or *Pada-kâṇḍa*. I am aware that the number of ślokas which I-tsing assigns to the *Pina* does not agree with the actual number of ślokas of the *Prakîrṇa*, but am inclined to think that this very discrepancy speaks rather in favour of than against my identification. Not to mention my own views on the subject, we have Puṇyarâja's distinct testimony, that already in his time the *Pada-kâṇḍa* was no longer complete, 'either because it had ceased to be studied, or through the carelessness of copyists, or through other causes.' I-tsing's statement is the more valuable as suggesting how much of Bhartṛihari's work may really have been lost.

Excepting the well-known verses at the end of the *Vâkya-kâṇḍa*, Bhartṛihari refers to other literary works, both in the *Vâkyapadîya* and the *Prakîrṇa*, only in such general terms as *Smṛityantara* and *Vyâkaraṇântara*, by which the commentators understand the grammars of Âpiśali and Kâśakṛitsna. In his commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* he cites of writers on grammar by name the Âpiśalâḥ and Kuṇi, the commentator of the *Ashṭâdhyâyî*. Besides he mentions or quotes:—the *Taittirîyâḥ* and *Vâjasaneyinaḥ*; the *Âśvalâyana-* and *Âpastamba-(śrauta)-sûtras*, and a *Bahvṛicha-(śrauta)-sûtra-bhâshya*; the *Nirukta*, *Prâtiśâkhyas*, *Śikshâs* in general, and a verse from the *Pâṇinîya-śikshâ* in particular; *Dharmasûtrakâráh*; the *Mîmâṁsaka-darśana*, *Sâṅkhya-darśana*, *Vaiśeshika-darśana* and the *Naiyâyikâḥ*. But what I would call particular attention to, is the fact that Bhartṛihari also mentions and quotes three times from the *Vaidyaka* and Charaka, and that it is therefore certain that of Indian writers on medicine Charaka at any rate *must* be placed before the middle of the 7th century.

I hope to prove elsewhere by the help of Bhartṛihari's commentary, that later grammarians are wrong in identifying Gonardîya with Patanjali.

THE RÂSHṬRÂKÛṬA KING KṚISHṆARÂJAI AND ÊLÂPURA.

BY PROF. RAMCHANDRA GOPAL BHANDARKAR M.A., POONA.

While preparing a paper on the early history of the Dekhan for the *Bombay Gazetteer*, I had to give an account of Kṛishṇarâja, an early Râshṭrakûṭa monarch and successor of Dantidurga, and in this connection had to examine the Baroda copperplate inscription published in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. VIII, pp. 292ff. It struck me that an important passage relating to this king had been misunderstood by the translator, and I found that Dr. Bühler and Mr. Fleet, when they had occasion to write about Kṛishṇarâja accepted this translation, and spoke of Kṛishṇarâja as having built a fort on the hill at Êlâpura. Dr. Bühler thought one of the stanzas was badly deciphered or was corrupt, and made out that a temple of Śiva was constructed in addition to a hill fort; but he did not identify Êlâpura.[1] Mr. Fleet expressed his opinion that Êlâpura was the same as Yellâpur in North Kanara.[2] And now, in the number of this *Journal* for June last,[3] Mr. Fleet has given a revised transcript and translation of the inscription, together with a *facsimile*. But I am sorry to observe his translation of the passage in question is still unsatisfactory. As the point involved is important, I take the liberty of discussing the sense of the passage, and feel little doubt that a scholar like Mr. Fleet will himself acknowledge the appropriateness of the translation I have to give. The two stanzas are:—

एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसन्निवेशं
यद्वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामरेन्द्राः ।
एतत्स्व(स्व)यम्भु शिवधाम न कृत्रिमे श्री-
र्दृष्टेदृशीति सततं बहु चर्चयन्ति ॥
भूयस्तथाविधकृतौ व्यवसायहाने-
रेतन्मया कथमहो कृतमित्यकस्मात् ।
कर्तापि यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी
तन्नाम कीर्तनमकार्यत येन राज्ञा ॥

Mr. Fleet corrects the कृत्रिमे of his *facsimile* to कृत्रिमम् in line 2. But the original is appropriate, and the emendation will not do.

Mr. Fleet translates the passage thus:—"Having seen his wonderful encampment situated on the mountain of Êlâpura, the astonished immortals, who travel in celestial cars, always take much thought, saying:—'This is the abode of Svayambhu-Śiva, and no artificially made (*dwelling*); Śrî, (*if she could be*) seen, (*would be*) such as this.' Verily even the architect who built it felt astonishment, saying:—'(*The utmost*) perseverance would fail to accomplish such a work again; aho! how has it been achieved by me!'; (*and*), by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name."

The evident objections against this translation are:—1st. Mr. Fleet takes एला—सांनिवेशम् as a *karmadhâraya* compound, and a substantive noun, not an adjective. But in that case its gender ought to be masculine, since संनिवेश is a masc. noun; but it is not so here, because यद् which is neuter qualifies it. यद् ought to be यम् if the compound is a *karmadhâraya* and a substantive. 2. There must be a तद् to answer to this यद्, but where this तद् is, does not clearly appear from the translation. Mr. Fleet perhaps takes यद् to refer to king Kṛishṇa, but in that case it ought to be यस्य, and then only can it be connected with the compound एला—सांनिवेशम्. 3. Svayambhu-Śiva is taken as a compound; but Svayambhu as an adjective of Śiva or as a crude ought to have the ending vowel long, while it is short here; and the metre does require a short vowel. 4. There is no reason why कृत्रिमे should be regarded as a mistake for कृत्रिमम्. 5. When a noun and an adjective are put together, the *copula* only can be understood between them and not verbs of the potential or conditional mood. Mr. Fleet, however, understands 'would be' after Śrî, and 'if she could be' in connection with दृष्टा. 6. Mr. Fleet translates येन as "by reason of it." "Of what?" I would ask. Certainly not, "of his being struck with astonishment," which is what precedes. 7. What could have led the author of the verses to compare "an encampment" with a temple of Śiva? Such a comparison is inappropriate as there is no resemblance. 8. Why should an abode of Śiva be contrasted with an *artificially* made dwelling; in other words, what is the necessity of denying this attribute of a temple of Śiva?

According to my way of taking it the two stanzas form one sentence. The principal clause is येन राज्ञा कीर्तनमकार्यत and the rest are attributive adjuncts of कीर्तन. The word कीर्तन has

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 61.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 124.
[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII, p. 156.

been understood in its usual and etymological sense by Mr. Fleet and the first translator; that sense is not at all appropriate here and the word must be taken to signify "a temple." Though the dictionaries do not give this sense, there is no question the word does denote a "temple." Thus in Mr. Telang's Śilâhâra grant, we have

सं(शं)भोर्यो द्वादसा(शा)पि व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तनामि(नि).

"Who verily constructed in a short time twelve *temples* of Śiva."[4] (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. IX, p. 34, ll. 1-2.) The word occurs in other inscriptions also where it must be interpreted as "a temple." In the *Agni Purâṇa* we have in the Chapter 'on the Construction of Temples,'—

तस्माद्वित्तं समासाद्य दैवाद्वा पौरुषादथ ।
दद्यात्सम्यग्द्विजाग्र्येभ्यः कीर्तनानि च कारयेत् ॥

(Ed. *Bib. Ind.* vol. I, p. 111.)

"Therefore having got wealth by luck or by exertion, one should give it in the proper way to the best among the twice-born and cause *temples* to be constructed." Similarly in Bâṇa's *Kâdambarî*, in the description of the victorious march of a prince, we have—

आदिशन्देशव्यवस्थाः स्थापयन्स्वचिंह्नानि कुर्वन्कीर्तनानि लेखयन् शासनानि......पृथिवीं विचचार ।

"He traversed the earth, dictating arrangements for the government of countries, placing his memorials, constructing *temples*, causing grants to be written, &c." In Someśvara's *Kîrtikaumudî* we have

महतां विद्यमानानां वित्तेनोपकरोति यः ।
स्वर्गतानां जरत्पुर्तकीर्त्तनोद्धरणेन तु ॥

This occurs in the description of Vastupâla in the fourth canto. The sense is, "[That Vastupâla] who does good to the great who are living by means of wealth, and to those who are dead by the restoration of dilapidated works of public utility (such as tanks, wells &c.) and *temples*."[5]

The words in the two stanzas before us are to be thus syntactically connected:—

यद् एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसंनिवेशम् [कीर्तनम्] वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामरेन्द्राः "एतद् शिवधाम स्वयंभु, ईदृशी श्रीः कृत्रिमे न दृष्टा" इति सततम् बहु चर्चयन्ति; **यस्य** [कीर्तनस्य] कर्ता शिल्पी अपि खलु भूयस्तथाविधकृतौ व्यवसायहानेः "अहो कथम् एतद् मया कृतम्" इति अकस्मात् विस्मयम् आप **तद्** नाम कीर्तनम् येन राज्ञा अकार्यत.

Here **येन राज्ञा** is, like **यो** and **यस्मिन्** in the preceding sentences and **येन** in the following, to be connected with **कृष्णराजः जज्ञे** in the first sentence in which the description of this king begins. It is usual in Sanskrit literature when a description is given, to introduce each sentence by the relative pronoun and make it an attributive adjunct of the subject in the principal sentence, *i.e.*, the thing or person described. A close translation of this is:—

"[*That king*] by whom, verily, was caused to be constructed a temple on the hill at Êlâpura, of a wonderful structure,—on seeing which the best of immortals who move in celestial cars, struck with astonishment, think much constantly, saying, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; in a thing made by art such beauty is not seen,'—a temple, the architect-builder of which, in consequence of the failure of his energy as regards [*the construction of*] another such work, was himself suddenly struck with astonishment, saying, 'Oh, how was it that I built it!'"

एला—संनिवेशम् is to be taken as a *Bahuvrîhi* qualifying **कीर्तनम्** understood; **नाम** is an indeclinable adverb meaning "verily;" **स्वयंभू** has its final vowel shortened because it qualifies the neuter noun *Śivadhâma*.

In this passage therefore, Kṛishṇarâja is represented to have caused to be constructed on the hill at Êlâpur, a temple of Śiva of extraordinary beauty, and in the next stanza the idol is spoken of as having been decorated by the king with rubies, gold, and all other precious things. Here, too, Mr. Fleet translates *yena* by "by means of it," but it ought, as in the preceding sentence, to be rendered as "by whom," *i.e.*, by the king. Now, when the ending *pura* of names of places undergoes a change in the vernaculars it becomes *ura*, and in rare cases *ora*. Thus we have *Chittur* for Chitrapura, *Indor* for Indrapura, *Sirur* for Śrîpura, *Siṁhur* for Siṁhapura, *Nândur* or *Nândor* for Nândipura, *Bishnur* for Vishṇupura, *Mahisur* for Mahishapura, *Teur* (often spelt Tevur) for Tripura, &c. Thus then Êlâpura should become Elur, and with the termination *ka* which is the Sanskrit original of the vernacular ending *â*, we have Êlurâ. It is, therefore, a temple of extraordinary beauty on the hill at Elurâ that Kṛishṇarâja, in these two stanzas is said to have caused to be constructed; very likely it was the Kailâsa itself, since it is spoken of with such admiration.

The date of the grant in which Dantidurga is represented to have conquered the Châlukyas and become paramount sovereign is Śâka 675, and

[4] This reference I owe to Mr. Telang himself.

[5] My attention was called to this passage by Prof. Abaji V. Kâthavaṭe, of Ahmedabad, who has been editing the *Kîrtikaumudî* for the *Bombay Sanskṛit Series*.

Kṛishṇarâja is in the Râdhanapur grant also spoken of as having wrested the supreme sovereignty from the Châlukyas. It therefore appears that Dantidurga died without completing his work, *i.e.*, soon after Śaka 675, since his successor had to continue it. Kṛishṇarâja, therefore, reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, *i.e.*, between 753 and 778 A.D.

MISCELLANEA.

RÂJAPITÂMAHA.—THE ŚILÂHÂRA TITLE.

With reference to what Mr. R. D. Davê has written at p. 150 above, on the meaning of *Râja-pitâmaha*, or more correctly *Râya-Pitâmaha*,—since *pitâmaha*, as well as being a name of the god Brahmâ, means 'grandfather,' the title may of course be taken as meaning 'the grandfather of kings,' as was done by the author of the *Kumârapâlacharita*, in order to suit the fancy that he had in his mind. But, so far as the inscriptions are concerned, it undoubtedly means,—as Mr. Wathen did not 'suggest,' but properly took it to mean, in the case of the analogous expression *Maṇḍalika-Pitâmaha*,—nothing but "a Pitâmaha (or Brahmâ) of a king," or "a very Pitâmaha among kings."—Compare the analogous titles, not capable of the same double interpretation, of—*Râya-Nârâyaṇa*, applied to the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. in l. 3 of the Gôlihaḷḷi inscription (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296), and to the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Kṛishṇa in l. 14 of the Bêhaṭṭi grant (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 42), and to Râmachandra of the same dynasty in the two Ṭhâṇâ grants (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. V., No. 9, p. 178, and No. 10, p. 183);—*Râya-Murâri*, applied to the Kaḷachuri king Sôvidêva or Sômêśvara in l. 1 of a Baḷagâṁve inscription (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 188);—*Śrî-nṛipati-Trinêtra*, applied to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda V. in l. 38 of the Sâṅglî plates (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. p. 100);—*Râja-Sarvajñabhûpa*, applied to the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara III. in l. 9 of the Paṭṭadakal inscription (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 259);—*Râjarâja-Trinêtra*, applied to the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Kṛishṇa in l. 12 of the Munawaḷḷi inscription (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 34);—*Râja-Manôja*, applied to the same king in l. 17 of the same inscription;—*Maṇḍalika-Kusumakôdaṇḍa*, applied to Permâḍi I. of the Sinda family in l. 33 of the Narêgal inscription (*id.* Vol. XI. p. 224);—*Yâdava-Nârâyaṇa*, applied to the Hoysaḷa king Ballâḷa II. in l. 5-6 of a Haḷêbiḍ inscription (*P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 233), and to the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Siṅghaṇa II. in l. 13-14 of the other Munawaḷḷi inscription (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 11), and to Sêüṇachandra III. of the Yâdavas of Nâsik in l. 3 of the Añjanêri inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 126);—*Śrî-vikrânta-Nârâyaṇa*, applied to the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda V. in l. 38 of the Sâṅglî plates;—and *Śrî-vîra-Nârâyaṇa*, applied to the same king in l. 6 of a Kaḷas inscription.—The title of *Râya-Pitâmaha* was not confined to the Śilâhâras. It is applied also—to the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Râmachandra in the second of the Ṭhâṇâ grants referred to above;—and to Śivachitta or Permâḍi of the Kâdambas of Goa in l. 14 of the Gôlihaḷḷi inscription (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 296).—Other titles in which the name of Pitâmaha occurs in the same way are—*Sâmanta-Pitâmaha*, applied to Sêüṇachandra III. in l. 3 of the Añjanêri inscription referred to above;—and *Maṇḍalika-Pitâmaha*, applied to Achyutanâyaka, the feudatory of Râmachandra, in the second of the Ṭhâṇâ inscriptions referred to above.

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

Simla, 26th May 1883.

VIKRAMÂDITYA ERA.

In Max Müller's *India: What can it teach us?* there is a long note (pp. 281—366) on "The Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature," in which the author, among other matters, discusses, with his usual clearness of statement and fulness of reference, the origin of the Saṁvat and Śaka eras. The whole note is full of the most interesting and important data, but we can only find room for the following extract from the first ten pages of it:—

It has long been an open secret among all who are interested in Indian coins and inscriptions, that there is absolutely no documentary evidence whatever for the existence of such a king Vikramâditya in the first century B.C. But the puzzle has always been, how the belief in such a king, living in the first century B.C. and in all his wonderful achievements, could have arisen, and this puzzle has at last been solved, I believe by what I may be allowed to call the architectonical genius of Mr. Fergusson.[1]

I do not mean to say that all difficulties which beset that period of Indian chronology have been removed by him, but I cannot help thinking that in the main his solution will turn out to be correct. Mr. Fergusson tries to prove that what is called

[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII. (1880), pp. 259—285, On the Śaka, Saṁvat and Gupta Eras; a supplement to his paper on Indian Chronology, vol. IV., (1869), pp. 81—137.

the era of Vikramâditya, 56 B.C., was a date arrived at by taking the date of the great battle of Korur,[2] in which Vikramâditya, *i.e.* Harsha of Ujjayinî, finally defeated the Mlechchhas, 544 A.D.,[3] and by throwing back the beginning of the new era 6 + 100 (or 10 + 60) before that date, *i.e.*, 56 B.C. By a similar process, *i.e.* by adding 10 + 100 years, another chronological era, called the Harsha era,[4] was fixed at 456 B.C., though it never seems to have come into actual use.

This certainly seems very plausible.[5] We could thus understand why much that was said originally of the Vikramâditya of the sixth century A.D. was reflected on the purely nominal Vikramâditya of the Vikramâ era 56 B.C., the inventor of the era being projected 600 years before his actual reign, a period when there is really no monumental, numismatic, or historical evidence of the existence of any such king.

It has been said that there is as yet no other evidence for this battle of Korur (Kurukshetra ?) besides Albiruni's statement. But Albiruni does not invent battles. He tells us what he was told, and he may sometimes have misunderstood what he was told. But in our case the chronological side of the argument is too strong to be set aside by mere general suspicions and surmises, though, no doubt, it would have to yield to contemporaneous evidence which should make a great battle against foreign invaders at that time and in that place impossible. Besides, the statements of Târânâtha as to Harsha's victory near Multan, though no doubt very modern, cannot be due to mere accident.

Others had guessed at such a solution before Mr. Fergusson, but what I admire in him is his pluck, and the clearness with which he puts forward his theories.

Nothing, I feel sure, has injured Sanskrit studies so much as the want of a certain amount of scientific manliness and straightforwardness on the part of scholars, who never venture to say Yes or No! and who always involve a crowd of reasons for and against in a cloud of words difficult to construe. Mr. Fergusson, whether he is right or wrong, at all events puts down his foot firmly and sticks to his colours as long as he can. There is an immense advantage in this. If he is wrong, he can be knocked down, and no one is likely to defend again what he has been unable to uphold. If he is right, there can be no mistake as to where he has planted his standard, and others may safely push forward beyond the point which he has reached. . . . . .

The contest has been going on for some time, Dr. Bhao Daji[6] arrived at the conclusion that 'not a single inscription or copper-plate grant is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat before the eleventh century of the Christian era, and that the Vikrama Saṁvat was brought into use on the revival of Jainism and the establishment of the Anhilpura dynasty in Gujarât.' Mr. Fergusson[7] thought at first that the Vikrama era was invented in the age of Bhoja of Dhârâ (A.D. 993), or rather by the revived Châlukyas (A.D. 1003). This, however, was going too far. General Cunningham in his *Archæological Reports*, vol. II, p. 266, denies indeed the possibility of any inscription being dated in the Saṁvat era in 747, and reads in consequence the date of one of Tod's inscriptions, not 747—56=691, but 747+78=825-6. Afterwards, however, on p. 68, he speaks of an inscription dated 811, which he interprets in the Vikrama era, *i.e.* 754-5 A.D., and which he quotes as the earliest inscription he is aware of, dated in that mediæval era.[8] Sir Walter Elliot published translations of some Châlukya inscriptions in 1836 (*J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. (1837), p. 14), in which the incipient substitution of the Vikrama for the Śaka

[2] This battle of Korur is described by Albiruni in his account of the Śaka era. (Reinaud, *Fragm. Arabes et Persans*, pp. 140f.), and Bhao Daji, *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society*, vol. VIII. (1864), p. 242; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde* (1849), p. 79. This battle of Korur may be the same as that of Multan mentioned by Târânâtha, 'Śrî Harsha abolished the teaching of Mlechchhas by massacring them at Multan.' Asanga and Vasubandhu were his contemporaries (900 p. B. N.), his predecessor was called Gambhîrapaksha, his successor Śîla, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV. (1875), p. 365.

[3] See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIV. (1880), p. 273. The same date, 466 Śaka=544 A.D. is mentioned in the *Śatruñjaya Mâhâtmya* as the beginning of Vikramâditya's reign; Keru. Preface, p. 15, on the authority of Wilford. Bühler, however, calls the *Śatruñjaya Mâhâtmya* 'a wretched forgery of the 12th or 14th century.' It has been edited by Professor Weber.

[4] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII. (1880), p. 275; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 136. It is strange that Albiruni should not have guessed the real state of the case, when he was told by a native that Harsha lived 400 years before Vikramâ; but that according to the Almanack of Kasmira Harshà ought to be placed 664 years later, *i.e.* 608 A.D. The number of years may not be quite right, but what really took place is clearly indicated.

[5] Many years ago Holtzmann (*über den greich. Ursprung des indischen Thierkreises*, p. 19), remarked, 'to assign to Vikramâditya the first year of his era might be quite as great a mistake as we should commit in placing Pope Gregory XIII. in the year 1 of the Gregorian calendar, or even Julius Cæsar in the first year of the Julian period, to which his name has been given, *i.e.* in the year 4713 B.C.' See Weber, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 202.

[6] *Journal of the Bombay Br. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VIII, p. 242 note.

[7] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV. (1870), p. 132.

[8] There is no contradiction in this, as Mr. Fergusson seems to think (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII. (1880), pp. 271, 272); but what seems strange is that on other occasions General Cunningham should translate Sam. 5 as B.C. 52. See *Archæological Survey Rep.*, vol. III., p. 31.

era is alluded to.[9] Of course, nothing short of a contemporaneous document dated less than 600 of the Vikrama era would really upset Mr. Fergusson's theory, and such a date has, as yet, not been met with.

My learned friend, Professor Bühler, who still holds to the belief that the Vikrama era, which begins 56 B.C., was really established by a king of that name who lived before the beginning of the Christian era, has for years been engaged in the study of Indian inscriptions, and has of course been most anxious to produce at least one inscription dated contemporaneously in any year before 600 of Vikrama, or 544 A.D. He could easily prove that Bhao Daji's limit was much too late, as there is the Samângadh plate, the date of which in the Vikrama era comes to 754 A.D.[10] He also pointed out the Pâṭhaṇ inscriptions of Saṁvat 802 (746 A.D.), recording the accession of Vanarâja, though here Mr. Burgess expressed some doubts as to its genuineness. Anyhow the fact remained that a scholar who had probably seen more inscriptions than any other, could not produce a single case where the Vikrama era was used before 754 A.D., that is, 810 years after its supposed introduction.[11] I should have expected therefore that Professor Bühler would have hesitated, when he suddenly came on the Kâvî inscription which gives the date 430 A.D. for its grantor Jayabhaṭa, before accepting it as a Vikrama date.[12] Under other circumstances his arguments might have carried conviction, but when this is the only case of a Vikrama date before 600, the circumstantial evidence on which he relies requires, surely, careful reconsideration. If Jayabhaṭa is the father of Dada II, and if Dada's dates range from Śaka 380 to 417 (A.D. 459-498),[13] no doubt the date assigned to his father—viz. 486, cannot be Śaka (A.D. 564). But does it follow therefore that it is Vikrama 864, *i.e.* 430 A.D.? Is it likely that the father would use one era, and the son another? Besides, the date in the inscription is injured, and even if the date were right, there would be considerable doubt whether the Ashâḍha Śudi[14] could have fallen on a Sunday in 430 A.D.[15] Heartily as I should welcome any evidence that would settle this interesting point either way, I cannot think that this one date[16] of Jayabhaṭa will settle it. What has to be proved is that an era, invented by a great king in 56 B.C., remained dormant for 600 years at least. This will require very plausible arguments, and the strongest monumental evidence.

Let us now see how, according to Dr. Bhao Daji[17] and Mr. Fergusson,[18] the real date of Vikramâditya, the inventor of the Vikrama era, can be determined. During the whole of Hiouen-thsang's travels in India, Śîlâditya (Harshavardhana Kumârarâja) was on the throne of Kânyakubja, as supreme ruler in the north of India.[19] The date of these travels, according to Chinese chronology, is from 629-645. In about 640, or during his second stay at Nâlanda, Hiouen-thsang had a vision that king Śîlâ ditya would die in ten years. This, apart from all visions, would place the king's death in 650 A.D. When Hiouen-thsang took leave of king Śîlâditya, he had reigned thirty years, and was holding his sixth quinquennial assembly (called *Mokshamahâparishad*, or *Pañchaparishad*). The beginning of his reign must therefore be fixed at 610, its end about 650. He was by caste a Vaiśya.[20]

The Chinese historian Ma Tuan-lin gives slightly different dates, for he speaks of an embassy sent to Magadha in 648[21] which found king Śîlâditya dead, and his minister O-lo-na-shan

[9] 'Tribhuvaṇa malla (1182 A.D.) rubbed out the Śaka, and instituted the Vikrama era in its stead.' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV. (1837), p. 14; vol. XII. (1880) p. 278. *Jour. of the Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society*, vol. IX. p. 316. [This is quite a different Vikrama era: *viz.* that instituted by the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., dating from his coronation on Monday 5th Phâlguṇa śudi of Ś. 997. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, pp. 187-193.—ED.]

[10] *Jour. of the Bombay Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. II, p. 371 seq. [This plate is *not* dated in the Vikrama-Saṁvat era at all: see *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 188; vol. XI, p. 110.—ED.].

[11] Professor Bühler informs me that he now possesses an inscription, dated Saṁvat 794 = A.D. 737-8 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XII, pp. 151f.)

[12] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 110.—ED. *I. A.*

[13] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 111; vol. VII, p. 61.—ED.

[14] Mr. D. B. Hutcheon calculates that Ashâḍha Śudi 10th, in Saṁ. 486, fell on *Wednesday*, 29th May, 429 A.D. and in Sam. 487 (486 *elapsed*) it fell on *Tuesday*, 17th June, 430 A.D., and in this latter year the karkasaṁ krânti fell on 20th June or 13th Ashâḍha śudi. This confirms Prof. Keru L. Chhatre's computation (*Ind. Ant.* vol, V, p. 112, note).—J. B.

[15] This should be 429 A.D.—ED. *I. A.*

[16] Professor Bühler's remark (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, 1876, p. 152) has not escaped me; but here again the reading of the figures is very doubtful, see Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V (1876) p. 68, and Professor Bühler himself admits now that there is no Saṁvat date on that plate (conf. vol. VIII, p. 241).

[17] *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. VI, (1860), p. 225; vol. IX, p. 149.

[18] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV. (1870), p. 85.

[19] Dr. Edkins (*Athenæum*, 1880, July 3, p. 8) informs us that the same emperor who received Hiouen-thsang, received with equal favour the Syrian Christians, Alopen and his companions, in A.D. 639.

[20] *Hiouen-thsang*, tome I, p. 111. Vaiśya is sometimes changed into Vaidya (conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 169ff).

[21] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV, (1870), p. 85; *Journal of the Bombay Br. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VI, p. 69. Julien, *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, p. 164, gives 646 as the date of the departure of the embassy, Na-fo-ti-a-la-na-shun as the name of the minister, and Śrîkumâra as king of Eastern India, probably Bhâskaravarman Kumâra.

(A-la-na-shun) ruling in his stead. So small a difference, however, in Indian chronology, is really to be considered as a confirmation rather than as a difficulty; and so is Ma Tuan-lin's account of the wars between Śîlâditya and his great opponent Pulakêśin[22] of Kalyâṇa (whom he does not name), which he places in 618-627.[23]

The father of this Śîlâditya was Prabhâkara (or Prabhâkaravardhana), and his elder brother. Râjyavardhana.[24] Both had been reigning before The elder brother had been defeated and killed by Saśâṅka (moon) of Karṇasuvarṇa,[25] an enemy of the Buddhists,[26] and it was then that Śîlâditya was proclaimed king, though he declined the title of Mahârâja, preferring that of Kumârarâja. In six years he conquered the 'five Indies,' but peace was not restored during thirty years. Being a strict Buddhist, he forbad the eating of meat. His minister was Po-ni (Bhaṇḍi). This account of Śîlâditya of Kânyakubja, the supreme ruler of Northern India, and his two predecessors, coming from an eye-witness, the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-thsang, is confirmed by a well-known Sanskrit author Bâṇa, in his *Harshacharita*. This text was discovered by Dr. F. Hall, and its great importance pointed out in his preface to the *Vâsavadattâ*. It has since been published at Calcutta. In this work, again the work of an eye-witness, the same Harsha or Harshavardhana Śîlâditya is represented as the son of Pratâpaśîla and Yaśovatî, his elder brother being Râjyavardhana.[27] Prabhâkaravardhana is said to have been a worshipper of the sun, while his father Pushpabhûti had been a worshipper of Śiva. Prabhâkaravardhana's spiritual guide was called Mâdhavagupta, his astrologer Târaka, his physician Susheṇa.[28] Both he and his brother had been educated by Bhaṇḍi. Their sister, Râjyaśrî, was married to Grahavarman, who was killed by the king of Mâlava[29] on the same day that Prabhâkara was defeated. This king of Mâlava was afterwards slain by Râjyavardhana, and when Râjyavardhana succumbed to Gupta, king of Gauḍa, Harsha (Harsha Dêva or Harsha Malla) succeeded. While Bhaṇḍi defeated the Mâlavas, and Râjyaśrî was recovered, Harsha made an alliance with Bhâskaravarman, of Prâgjyotisha, the same as Bhâskaravarman, the king of Kâmarûpa, whom Hiouen-thsang visited, his title being Kumâra (*Hiouen-thsang*, tome III, p. 77), like that of Harsha.[30]

The duration of the reigns of Râjyavardhana and Prabhâkara is not given, but as it is stated that about 640 Śîlâditya had reigned thirty years, and that, about sixty years before that time, the throne was occupied by Śîlâditya Pratâpaśîla, Mr. Fergusson proposes to fix the end of Śîlâditya Pratâpaśîla's reign in 580, which leaves about thirty years, 580-610 for Prabhâkaravardhana and Râjyavardhana. Śîlâditya Pratâpaśîla ruled fifty years, 530—580,[31] and was preceded by Vikramâditya (at Śrâvastî[32]), whose reign would accordingly have ended in 530. From what Hiouen-thsang tells us of Vikrama's treatment of the Buddhist Manoratha,[33] the king seems for a time to have favoured the Brâhmaṇs, while his successor Śîlâditya favoured Vasubandhu and the Buddhists, though it is easy to see that, during most of these reigns, all sects enjoyed equal freedom and peace. One king is a Buddhist, the next a Brâhmaṇist. Sometimes the same king favours both systems, or favours one at one time, the other at another. We hear of fathers turning Buddhists, and their children remaining Brâhmaṇists,[34]

[22] The inscriptions are supposed to give a different date for Pulakêśin, the rival of Harsha. Bhao Daji, *Journal of the Bombay Br. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VIII, p. 250; and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IV, (1870), pp. 92-95. See, however, Fergusson, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 94, and Fleet, in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, (1876) p. 67 (also vol. VIII, p. 241). At p. 91, Prof. Max Müller refers the Manuti inscription to Ś. 507 instead of Ś. 557 or A.D. 635, below he gives A.D. 635; below he give A.D. 634.—Ed.].

[23] See Stan. Julien, l. c. p. 162.

[24] *Hiouen-thsang*, tome I, p. 112.

[25] *Hiouen-thsang*, tome I, p. 112.

[26] L. c. tome II, p. 250. He was the same who destroyed the Bodhi-tree 'dans ces derniers temps,' l. c. tome II, p. 463, but different from Sâhasâṅka, whose life was written by Maheśvara, and by the later Harsha; see Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, pref. p. 18.

[27] See Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall's important Introduction to his edition of *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 17, note. Harshavardhana, mentioned in the inscriptions, was vanquished by Pulakeśin II, Satyâśraya, whose reign began in 609 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II, 1873, p. 94), while his great-grandson reigned 700-705, according to inscriptions. See *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. III, pt. ii. Jan. (1851) pp. 205, 207, 211; vol. II, Oct. (1844) p. 5. Bhao Daji, vol. VI, On Kâlidâsa, p. 20.

[28] The author of the *Romaka-siddhânta* is called Śrîsheṇa, but its date, 505 A.D., is too early to allow us to identify Sushena and Śrisheṇa.

[29] A son of the king of Mâlava was a guest at Harsha's court (*Vâsavad.* pref. p. 12), and a hostage (p. 50).

[30] It is to be hoped that the researches carried on with so much success by M. A. Barth and M. A. Bergaigne will bring to light some contemporaneous sovereigns in the inscriptions of Kamboja. Unfortunately the inscriptions hitherto deciphered are deficient at the very time which interests us most, namely, the seventh century (*Journal Asiatique*, tome XX, 1882, p. 188). But the many names, ending in varman, the name of Narendra, and the title of Kumâra (for, I think, it is a title on p. 227, l. 11) all give the impression that the sovereignty of the kings of Kâmarûpa may have extended to the valley of the Irâvatî. Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. XII, pp. 113, 114.

[31] Ferishtah, who calls him Bhoja, assigns fifty years to him. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII, (1880) p. 278 note.

[32] *Hiouen-thsang*, tome II, p. 115.

[33] Manorhita, which would only be Mano'rhita, seems to be meant for Manoratha (Jou-i, in Chinese), see *Hiouen-thsang*, tome I, p. 405.

[34] M. M., *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 173. *Journal Asiatique*, 1882, p. 163.

and if there are any feuds between the rival sects, they are settled by intellectual rather than by physical force.

Now this proposal to assign thirty years to the reigns of Prabhâkaravardhana and Râjyavardhana, seems to me to create unnecessary difficulties. Hiouen-thsang says no more than that sixty years before 640 the throne was occupied by Śîlâditya. If we assign to Śîlâditya a reign from 550 to 600, it would have been equally true to say that Śîlâditya reigned sixty years before 640. There would then remain ten years for the reigns of Prabhâkaravardhana and Râjyavardhana, both of whom died a violent death, and we should have the battle of Korur and the starting-point of the Vikrama era, as well as the appointment of Mâtṛigupta to the throne of Kaśmîra, well within the reign of Vikramâditya, his reign extending to 550 A.D. 'Sixty years' is probably meant for the Bṛihaspati cycle.

This may be seen from the following table:—

550. Vikramâditya Harsha of Ujjayinî.

531-579. Khosru Nushirvân and Barzôî.

544. Battle of Korur, 600 after 56 B.C., era of Vikrama.

Siddhasena Sûri, a Jain, helps in reckoning the era.

544. Mâtṛigupta, ruler of Kaśmîra, contemporary of Bhartṛimentha.

Kâlidâsa, contemporary of Dignâga, Vasubandhu and Asaṅga.

Kâlidâsa, mentioned with Bhâravi in inscript. 634 A.D.; his *Setukâvya* praised by Daṇḍin (6th cent.): he quotes Bhâsa, Saumilla.

Varâha-mihira, died 587; quotes Aryabhaṭa, born 476.

Varâha-mihara quotes *Romaka-siddhânta* by Śrîsheṇa, 505, based on Lâta, Vasishṭha, Vijaya nandin, &c.; quotes *Pauliśa-siddhânta* by Paulus all Yunâni; quotes *Vasishṭha-sid dhânta* by Vishṇu-chandra; quotes *Saura-siddhânta*; Va-âha-mihira, quotes *Paitâmaha-siddhânta*; also Satya Bhadanta, Bâdarâyaṇa, &c.

Amara-siṁha, translated into Chinese 561-566.

Jishṇu, father of Brahmagupta (born 598).

Dignâga, criticised by Uddyotakara, who is mentioned by Subandhu, who is mentioned by Bâṇa.

Manoratha, teacher of Vasubandhu, disgraced, 900 P. B. N.?

550-600. Śîlâditya Pratâpaśîla (Mâlava), called Bhoja by Ferishtah.

Vasubandhu restored, Paṇḍit at Nâlanda, brother of Asaṅga; died before 569.

Prabhâkaravardhana.

Mâdhavagupta, Târaka, Susheṇa, at his Court.

Râjyavardhana (eldest son). Defeats king of Mâlava. Is defeated by Śaśâṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa, an enemy of Buddha, or Gupta of Gauḍa. Fei-tu, Chinese ambassador, 605.

610-650. Śîlâditya Harshavardhana (younger son), called Kumâraràja, a Vaiśya.

His sister, Râjyaśrî, wife of Grahavarman, who was killed by king of Mâlava.

His minister Bhaṇḍi (Po-ni).

Alliance with Bhâskara-varman, Kumâra of Prâgjyotisha (Kâmarûpa).

Wars with Pulakeśin II of Mahârâshṭra, temp. Hiouen-thsang (618-625, Ma Tuan-lin).

Defeated by Pulakeśin II, Satyâśraya, who began to reign 609.

Chinese embassy to Magadha, leaves 648, arrives after Śîlâditya's death.

Visited by Hiouen-thsang, 629-645; by Alopen, 639.

Daṇḍin *Daśakumâracharita*, *Kâvyâdarśa*, old.

Subandhu, *Vâsavadattâ* quoted by Bâṇa.

" " quotes Uddyotakara, Dharmakîrti, pupil of Asaṅga.

Bâṇa, *Harshacharita*, *Kâdambarî*, *Chaṇḍikâstotra*, *Ratnâvalî* (Dhâvaka ?) *Pârvatîpariṇayanâtaka* (ed. Bombay).

Mayûra, *Mayûra-śataka*.

Mânatuṅga Sûri, *Bhaktâmara-stotra*.

Nârâyaṇa.

Âdhyarâja.

Bhartṛihari, died 650 (I-tsing).

Jayâditya (*Kâśikâ*), died 660 (I-tsing).

Brahmagupta, born 598.

Though some of the links in this chronological system are still doubtful, the belief in the existence of a Vikramâditya in the first century B.C. may now be accounted for, while his real existence in the sixth century admits of little doubt.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PYGMIES, THE MARTIKHORA, THE GRIFFINS, AND THE DIKARION OF KTESIAS.[1]

Having recently been engaged in an endeavour to identify the localities of the sources of the

[1] From the *Academy*, April 21, 1883, p. 277.

different mineral productions mentioned by the earliest writers on India, my attention has been drawn to the allusions which accompany them to many so-called fabulous races of men and species of animals and plants. A tolerably intimate acquaintance with the wilder tribes of India and with some of its natural productions enables me, I venture to think, to make some new contributions towards explaining the origin of certain of these Oriental myths. The portion of my work which refers to the mineral productions will shortly be published; but, as it may be some time before I can complete my notes on the races of men, animals, and plants, I make an offering of this instalment to those who are interested in the subject, hoping that what I have to say will be subjected to their criticism. My knowledge of Ktesias and his commentators is almost wholly founded on Mr. M'Crindle's recently published work.[2]

First, as regards the Pygmies. They were of small stature, covered with long hair, and lived by hunting. In the country occupied by them there was a lake which produced oil,[3] and there were also many silver mines situated in the same region.[4] Other accounts represent them as fighting with cranes and robbing their nests. Now, without going into details, it will be sufficient, perhaps, to point to the facts that a hairy tribe of men of low stature who live in trees is reported to dwell in the upper valley of the Irawadi, between Momein and Manipur. In this region, too, are the famous Upper Burma petroleum wells of Ye-nan-gyoung, while in the Shan States and towards Bhamo argentiferous galena is worked at the present day, and the silver is extracted. The robbing the cranes' nests, &c., may have arisen simply from a figurative description of the fact that these people had their dwellings in the tops of trees.

The *martikhora* is described as an animal of the size of the lion, red in colour, with three rows of teeth and stings on various parts of its body, but especially on the tail, which caused it to resemble the scorpion. Its name records the fact that it was a man-eater (Persian *mardkhor*), which is also expressly stated by Ktesias. It was hunted by the natives from the backs of elephants. Although it has been suggested by some commentators that this was the tiger, others appear to be unwilling to accept it as such, and regard the whole as pure fable. Now, among facts not generally known, though mentioned in some works on zoology, is one which I can state from my own personal knowledge is familiar to Indian Shikaris —it is that at the extremity of the tail of the tiger, as well as of other *felidae*, there is a little horny dermal structure like a claw or nail, which, I doubt not, the natives regard as analogous to the sting of the scorpion. Moreover, the whiskers of the tiger are by many natives regarded as capable of causing injury; and sportsmen know, where this is the case, that, if they do not take precautions, the skins of their slaughtered tigers will be destroyed by the removal or burning of the whiskers—to prevent accidents. The idea of the three rows of teeth probably had its origin in the three lobes of the carnivorous molar, which is of such a different type from the molar of the ruminant or of the horse. The *martikhora* was therefore, I believe, the tiger, and the account of it embodies actual facts, though they were somewhat distorted in the telling.

The griffins, or gryphons, which guarded the gold, are described as "a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers, except only on the breast, where they are red." If from this account we exclude the word birds, and for feathers read hair, we have a tolerably accurate description of the hairy black-and-tan coloured Thibetan mastiffs, which would naturally be, and are, in fact, the custodians of the dwellings of Thibetans —those of gold-miners, no doubt, as well as of others. Capt. Gill's frequent references to these fierce dogs in his *River of Golden Sand* fully bear out this identification. They appear to have played a part, too, in the other fable of the gold-digging ants which has been so fully cleared up by Sir H. Rawlinson and Prof. Schiern.[5]

The bird (!) called *dikarion*, which was the size of a partridge's egg, and buried its dung, may be identified with the beetle of that size, a species of scarabaeus, or dung beetle, and which is called *gabaronda* in Hindustani. As is well known, it buries pellets of cattle droppings as a receptacle for its eggs or larvæ.

I might add many items to this list, but I forbear further trespassing on your space, save that I would point out that the amber of Ktesias and the red insects with which it is associated may obviously be identified with shell-lac and lac dye (*coccus lacca*), while the *Siptakhora* tree on which they were found may possibly be the *Khusm*. H. (*Schleichera trijuga*), the fruit of which is edible. Or it may have been the *Mhowa* (*Bassia latifolia*), the flowers of which, when dried, constitute an important article of food, and the fruit is also eaten. V. BALL.

Trinity College, Dublin, April 6, 1883.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. X, pp. 296 ff.
[3] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 148.
[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 234.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, pp. 225ff.

SEAMY SIDE OF THE VEDIC RELIGION.

By Andrew Lang, M.A.

It may seem almost blasphemous to say that the *Vêdas* have their seamy side; but truths even more painful, if possible, than this must be faced in the sacred interests of science. Mr. Max Müller has recently said, in *India; What it can Teach Us*, that "in the *Vêdas* we have a nearer approach to a beginning, and an intelligible beginning, than in the wild invocations of Hottentots and Bushmen." The *Vêdas*, according to Max Müller, are the religious hymns of a highly civilized people, of a people whose ancestors were practically civilized before the Aryan separation, before the language in which the hymns were chanted was a language at all. It is difficult to see how the religion of a society so long matured can be nearer "the beginning" than the religion of races who have not yet evolved or accepted civilized society. Again, there is nothing particularly "wild" in some of the "invocations" of Bushmen. Qing, an uncorrupted Bushman, gave the first Europeans he met, Mr. Orpen and his companions, the following account of the rudiments of his faith:—"He said, 'Cagn made all things, and we pray to him.' I said (Mr. Orpen writes) 'How do you pray to him?' Answer: (in a low imploring voice), 'O Cagn, O Cagn, are we not your children? Do you not see our hunger? Give us food! And he gives us both hands full.'" (*Cape Monthly Magazine*, July 1874). Take an example of the "wild invocations" of the Banks islander. Here is the prayer of a Papuan in danger at sea. He addresses Qate:—"Qate, Marawa! Look down on me; smooth the sea for us two, that I may go safely on the sea. Beat down for me the crests of the tide-rip that I may come to a quiet landing-place" (Codrington, "Religious Beliefs in Melanesia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Feb. 1881). Compare the prayer of Odysseus to the Phæacian river:—"O King, whosoever thou art, unto thee am I come as to one that receiveth prayer. . . . nay, pity me, O King, for I avow myself thy suppliant. So spake he, and the god stayed his stream and withheld his waves and made the water smooth before him." These Greek, Bushman and Papuan prayers are all on a level, and all are not only near the beginning, but near the heart, of religious hope. It is true that Cagn is a kind of grasshopper, and Marawa a spider. But the religious sentiment is there, undisturbed by the ludicrous myths of the spider and grasshopper. We propose to show that civilized and ancient as was the society which produced the Vedic poems, yet the faith of Vedic worshippers was very near akin in the wildness of its details and of its mythology to the faith of Bushmen and Hottentots. The evidence for the Vedic religion is to be found, of course, in the hymns of the *Vêda* and in the ritual of the *Brâhmaṇas*. Dates cannot be given with any certainty, but we may assume the collection of the *Vêda* to be not later than 1000 B. C., while the *Brâhmaṇas* (directions for the ritual of sacrifice and explanations of the separate details) may, we presume, be three or four hundred years later. The *Brâhmaṇas*, however, contain many myths and legends which may be as old as, and even older than, the *Vêdas*; just as the *scholia* on Homer contain legends which, in one form or another, may be older than the Iliad or Odyssey. Other legends are clearly the late explanatory inventions of a superstitious priesthood, working on the old lines of mythological belief. . . .

In the *Ṛig Vêda* human sacrifice has left its traces, but the practice chiefly endures in symbols and substitutes. Behind the *Vêda*, earlier than the *Vêda*, "nearer the beginning" than the *Vêda*, was the age of human sacrifice. Wilson writes (*Ṛ.* VI, 59-63; I, xxiv,) that it is inferrible from some passages that "human sacrifices were not unknown, although infrequent." One famous story is accepted as proof that human sacrifice was, if not actually practised, at least a lively recollection of the religious spirit. Among other passages, a valuable example is found in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XII, p. 59). A cake is offered as a substitute for an animal "which, it would seem, was originally a substitute for the human sacrifice." "At first the gods," says the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, "offered up a man as a victim." When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into the horse, and thence into a number of animal victims. Finally, it entered the earth and was dug up in rice and barley, and therefore rice and barley cakes are now substituted for human and animal sacrifices. Similar substitutes for human sacrifice, "men of straw," are now offered by the Oraons, a wild tribe of India, and by other races. A curious vestige of human sacrifice is found in a famous hymn, the Ninetieth of the Tenth Book of the *Ṛig Vêda*. The hymn tells us how all things were made out of the mangled limbs of a magnified non-natural man, Purusha. Now, whether this hymn be an ancient one or not, whether it be "near the beginning" or not, the legend which it relates is found among Scandinavians, Iroquois, Egyptians, Greeks and other races. Among these people the world, or great part of it, is constructed out of the mangled frame of a non-natural man or giant. Among the Vedic bards the man or god is Purusha; among the Iroquois he is Chokanipok; among the

Scandinavians he is Ymir; Omorcas among the Chaldeans; and the savage Tinnehs have their representative of Purusha. Among the Tinnehs not a man, but a dog, is the victim. The limbs of Set and Osiris in Egypt, of Dionysus Zagreus in Greece, of Ru in Mangaia, were "utilized" in the manufacture of various plants, stones, animals and metals. We have never observed these coincidences noted by learned disputants as to the meaning of the myth of Purusha. The only peculiarity of the Vedic hymn is its ritual character. In the other stories the giants were sliced into component parts of the universe in a rude casual way, in the *Purusha Súkta* the gods sacrifice Purusha with all due attention to ritual. "These were the earliest rites," says the *Ṛig Vêda*; and very nice rites they were, and uncommonly "near the beginning." Necessarily the ritual details must be later than the elaboration of sacrifice (whether that be late or early), but the general savage conception is a feature of the myths of very backward races in various parts of the world. Haug observes, and we partly agree with him, that "the ideas which the hymn contains are certainly of a primeval antiquity. In fact the hymn is found in the *Yajur Vêda* among the formulæ connected with human sacrifices, which were formerly practised in India. Were we to pursue the topic of cosmogonic myths among the Vedic people, it would be easy to show that Vishṇu, when in the shape of a boar, brought up the world from the waters, was equivalent to the North American cayotes and musk-rats, who performed the same useful feat. The myth of the origin of species in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* is "very curious and disgusting." Purusha was alone in the world. He differentiated himself into husband and wife; afterwards the woman reflected that Purusha was both her father and lord. Reasoning that their union was a crime, she assumed all manner of animal forms, and became in each shape the mother of a separate species. The animal metamorphoses and amatory pursuits of Zeus, Kronos, Demeter, Nemesis and other Greek gods are analogous to this singular story. In the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* the earth was only the size of a span. A boar called Ernuka fished it up. Here the myth recurs among the Navajoes, while the boar, as we have said, recalls the musk-rat of the Tacullies. He, too, fished up a fragment of soil, which grew into the earth as we know it. If the *Brâhmaṇas* are "near the beginning" of thought, they are also near the notions of the Tacullies and the Navajoes. Of course the Aryan mind has not been idle. When we find the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* declaring that all creatures are descended from a tortoise, we seem to be among the Indians of the North Pacific coast, or the Australians, who derive men from lizards. But when the tortoise is identified with Âditya, and when the Âdityas prove to be solar deities, and when Aditi, their mother, is recognized as the Dawn, the Earth, or Attica (according to the interpretations of various scholars), then we perceive the superiority of Aryan fancy.

The gods in the Vedic religion are, on the whole, to be regarded as the usual departmental deities of Polytheism. They do not confine themselves to their departments, and now one, now another god is regarded as supreme for the moment, probably by a bard in whose clan that god received peculiar honour. The gods are, in many cases, nature gods; that is, Thunder, Fire, the Heaven and so forth, are worshipped as personal beings; and a god who directs thunder, or animates fire, or controls heaven, is next evolved in fancy. But it is a peculiarity of the savage imagination to regard the great powers and phenomena of nature not only as persons, but as savage persons. Now the savage draws no fixed line between himself and the other things, animate or inanimate, in the world. He, or at least his medicine man, may become a bird, beast or fish; may transform others into the same shapes; may fly in the air; may influence the weather; may "milk the sky-cow," as the Zulus say, or "trap the Thunder-bird," as Kaffirs and Red Men believe. Now when the savage worships Thunder, the Heaven, the Wind, or what not, he worships them as persons, and moreover as persons gifted with the power of transmigration and with the other accomplishments we have described. He "anthropomorphizes" the powers of nature, but the anthropomorphic shape in which he casts them is all unlike our civilized conception of what is anthropomorphic. He makes gods in what he conceives to be his own image, and a very old image it is. All people do the same. The ritualistic compilers of the *Brâhmaṇas* make their gods constantly engaged in sacrifice; always busy with ritual details that drive away the evil spirits; always engaged in magical austerities. But the conservatism of religion does not allow the Vedic believer, while he regards his gods as constantly occupied in ritual, to discard the older savage notions, according to which the gods behaved just like savage sorcerers. Consequently the *Vêda* and the *Brâhmaṇas* often show us the gods in animal form fighting with animals, afraid of enemies (the Asuras), changing their foes into stars, and in other ways behaving just like the half-anthropomorphic and half-theriomorphic deities of the Australians, Hottentots, and Bushmen.

The origin of the gods is conceived of in various ways. Sometimes, as in Greek, Maori and Mangaian myths, Heaven and Earth are regarded as two persons indissolubly united, who begat the gods, and were finally thrust apart by their own offspring, by Maui, or Kronos, or Indra. The gods are not naturally or necessarily immortal, any more than they are in Scandinavian mythology. They drink immortality from the charmed ocean of milk, or, in an earlier myth, they overcome death by means of certain sacrifices, much to the chagrin of death. Coming to individual gods, we find a legend about Indra which may or may not be "near the beginning" of religious thought, but which is painfully near the ideas of the Hottentots, which are wild. "What god, O Indra, was present in the fray when thou didst slay thy father, seizing him by the foot?" asks a Vedic poet (*R. V.* IV, 18.12), quoted by Dr. Muir. To explain this Vedic text (which in itself is a little damaging) a passage from the Black *Yajur Vêda* is quoted. "Yajña desired Dakshiṇâ. He consorted with her. Indra was apprehensive of this. He reflected, 'Whoever is born of her, will be *this*.' Having considered, he"—took steps which caused Dakshiṇâ to produce a cow. Thus the *Ṛig Vêda* observes (IV. 18.1.) :—"His mother, a cow, bore Indra, an unlicked calf." Now Heitsi-Eibib, a god of the Namas, was also borne by a cow. "There was grass growing, and a cow came and ate of that grass, and she brought forth a young bull." This bull was Heitsi-Eibib (Hahn. *Tsuni Gamo: the Supreme Being of the Hottentots*, p. 68). The *Vêda* and the "wild invocations of the Hottentots" are not so absolutely discrepant, then, in their accounts of the birth of gods. Indra is also said to be referred to in the *Vêda* as a Ram, "of which," says Wilson, "no very satisfactory explanation is given," though the Ram-god of ancient Egypt is familiar to all, and was worshipped (*Herodotus*, ii. 32), with rites precisely like those of the Buzzard among the Indians of California. The Ram, like the Buzzard, was sacred all the year; but on one solemn day the Ram, like the Buzzard, was sacrificed to himself. By an interesting coincidence, Indra, the Sheep, and the Kshattriya caste were all born at one moment from the breast and arms of Prajâpati, as, in the Mangaian myth, Tangaroa was born from the arm of Papa. Whether such ideas are the birth of civilized thought, or are retained from a state of thought like that of Hottentots and Mangaians of the past, it seems almost superfluous to inquire. According to a Vedic hymn, Indra cannot well have been a god from the beginning, for he "conquered heaven by austerity," a method of obtaining celestial promotion which is open to mortals. Indra was a great soma drinker. He once swigged thirty bowls of soma, though Dr. Haug, who has tried the liquor, could only manage one teaspoonful. According to Sâyaṇa, Indra took the shape of a quill when he went for soma, as Odin was an eagle when he flew off into the mead, and Yehl (the Thlinkeet god) was in a raven's shape when he stole the water. Indra's great feat was the slaughter of a serpent, which, like the frog in the Murri and Californian myths, had swallowed all the water. Indra also recovered some cows belonging to the gods which had been stolen.

It would take several articles to unfold all the seamy side of Vedic religion. We have merely touched on Indra; the *chronique scandaleuse* of his divine companions must be left untold, or told in a future essay. Suffice it to remark that as Racine says of the Greek gods, burning was too good for most of the Vedic deities, if we regard them in the seamy aspect of their legend. That lofty moral prayers are addressed to such creatures is a proof of the conservatism of religion, and of that moral advance by which men's ethical conceptions are always moving beyond the religious ideas bequeathed by their past experience. If any one wishes to see at a glance how much savage thought persisted till the age of the *Brâhmaṇas*, let him compare the myths of the constellations (*Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa,—Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XII, pp. 282-286), with the similar myths in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, or with any collection of savage stellar myths which he may have at hand. The prize for ferocious license of puerile fancy must be given to the *Brâhmaṇas*. Max Müller says the contrast between the myths of real savages and those of Aryans is "strong," though "very difficult to explain." We think the chief difference is that the savage in this are told, *sans phrase*, by people to whom they still seem natural, while Aryans have sometimes added their ritualistic idea to the savage myths they retain, and have sometimes attempted to explain them away as allegories, or as founded on linguistic misconceptions. Except on the hypothesis that the Aryans came civilized into the world, they must have descended from savage ancestors. That they retained savage practices, such as human sacrifice and much worse things, is universally admitted. Why should they not have retained savage ideas in religion and mythology, especially as of savage ideas Aryan mythology and religion are full to the brim?[1]

[1] *Saturday Review*, Feb. 24, 1883.

THE ILICHPUR GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II OF VÂKÂṬAKA.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

THE subjoined grant of the Vâkâṭaka king, Pravarasena II, was made over to me for translation by Dr. J. Burgess. A transcript of it, prepared by Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî, has been published in Dr. Burgess' *Notes on the Bauddha Rock Temples of Ajaṇṭá*, (Bombay 1879) p. 54, as well as some information regarding the place where it was found.

The grant is incised on seven small plates, measuring 7·5 inches by 3·6, which are held together by one ring with a plain round seal sliding on the ring. The first and last plates are inscribed on one side only, the blank side being turned outwards. Plates III*a* and IV*a* have six lines each, plate IV*b* four lines, and the remainder five each. The execution of the inscription is good, though the engraver has left out a few syllables. The preservation, too, is very fair. The alphabet resembles that of the Seoni grant (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. V, p. 729 seqq.) and of the Ajaṇṭâ inscriptions.[1] The little hollow square at the top of the letters[2] which is so characteristic of the Vâkâṭaka alphabet and of those used in other parts of the Central Provinces, is frequently represented in the Ilichpur grant by a regular 'nail-head.' To judge from the style of the letters the document belongs to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The language is not very grammatical Sanskrit. Half a dozen bad grammatical mistakes occur in the middle of the document, and towards the end in the list of names, the use of the case terminations is scant and irregular. The spelling is sometimes faulty, e.g. in *Sakliptopakliptaḥ* (IV*a*, l. 3) and the Sandhi rules receive little attention. The omissions and mistakes can, however, nearly all be supplied or corrected with the help of the Seoni plates which were engraved only a few months earlier, and copied from the same model form. Down to Pl. III *a*, l. 4 the text of both grants is almost literally the same.

On account of the close agreement of the two documents, especially in the historical portion, it might be expected that the publication of the Ilichpur Śâsana, would not, throw much new light on the history of the Vâkâṭaka kings. That would, also, undoubtedly be the case if the Seoni grant had been edited carefully and translated correctly. But Prinsep's Pandits have unfortunately done their task in a very slovenly manner, and press of work seems to have prevented the illustrious epigraphist from checking them. Consequently the transcript abounds in misreadings, which seriously distort the historical information furnished by the grant, and it is not even quite complete. The translation is not better than the transcript. This circumstance, as well as the fact that very unsatisfactory attempts have been made to harmonise the information regarding the Vâkâṭakas furnished by the Ajaṇṭâ Inscription in Cave XVI, with the statements of the two grants, induce me to give here a short summary of the historical facts known about the Vâkâṭakas.

Vâkâṭaka, a word which unfortunately does not admit easily of an etymological explanation, is both the name of a country and of the Râjpût tribe governing it. In the latter sense it is used in the frequently recurring phrase of the two grants, "the great king of the Vâkâṭakas (*Vâkâṭakanâm mahârâja*), in the epithet 'the ornament or chief of the Vâkâṭakas,' given to Pravarasena II, on the seal of the two grants, and in the expression 'the banner of the Vâkâṭaka race' (*vâkâṭakavaṁśaketu*, Ajaṇṭâ inscr. l. 3). It denotes a place in the compound *Pavarajja-Vâkâṭaka*, the name of a village to the north of Brahmapûra (read pura), mentioned in the Seonî grant. The position of the kingdom of the Vâkâṭakas is fixed partly by the sites where the two grants have been found and partly by geographical names mentioned in the inscriptions. The Ilichpur grant was found 'seven or eight miles south of Ilichpur,' in the northern corner of the Berars. It is quite clear that the modern village of Chammak is the representative of the ancient Charmânka, con-

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI, p. 53 seqq.; and by Dr. Burgess, *Cave Temple Inscriptions* (Bombay, 1880, p. 69). See *Archæological Reports*, vol. IV,—*The Bauddha Temples and their Inscriptions*, pp. 124ff, and plates. This paper will also be found in the same volume, pp. 116-124.

[2] The 'square' has been cut out with a small chisel, and the copper driven down from it partially overlays the upper part of the stem of the letter, rendering it very difficult to obtain a satisfactory facsimile.—ED. *I. A.*

veyed by the *Sâsana* to 'one thousand Brâhmaṇas of various schools and families.' For according to the strict laws of the ancient Prâkṛits Charmânka would become Chammanka, to which the present name comes very near. The identification of the village of Charmânka permits us to infer that the Ilichpur district corresponds with the province (*râshṭra*) of Bhojakaṭa and that the river Madhu, on which Charmânka lay, is one of the tributaries of the Pûrṇâ. In the case of the second grant, which was found at Seoni, half way between Nâgpur and Jabalpur, I am not in a position to identify on the maps at my disposal any of the villages named. But the document contains an allusion to the Beṇagaṅgâ, (Waingaṅgâ on the maps) which flowing southwards falls into the Paingaṅgâ. It is found in the word which Prinsep's Pandits have read *Erṇâkâryyaratâge*[3] and have failed to explain. The facsimile gives very plainly *Berṇâkârpparabhâge* 'in the portion called *Berṇâkârppara*.' It is possible that the reading is correct. But as *bhâga* is not often used for a territorial division, I should prefer to change it to *bhoga*, which like *bhukti* can denote an Inâmî district or a zilla, and in the *Koshas* is given as an equivalent of *râjya*. *Kârpparo* which is evidently a Taddhita formation derived from *karpara*, a 'skull,' 'Udumbara tree,' etc. can have various meanings. Perhaps the whole compound might be translated 'in the district on the Berṇâ where the Udumbara trees grow.' But however this may be, the word Berṇâ occurs and can refer only to the Beṇagangâ; (compare also *Kṛishṇaverṇâ* which is sometimes used for *Kṛishṇaveṇi*). Under these circumstances General Cunningham's proposal[4] to fix the boundaries of the kingdom of the Vâkâṭakas approximatively between the Mahâdeva hills on the north, the Godâvarî on the south, the Ajaṇṭâ hills on the west, and the sources of the Mahânadî on the east may be accepted. The Ilichpur grant gives the name of the capital as Pravarapura, evidently called so in honour of one of the two Pravarasenas. General Cunningham[5] feels certain that the modern Bhândak must have been the ancient capital of the Vâkâṭakas, and seems to be inclined to derive the former name from the latter. If Bhândak is correctly spelt with an initial *Bh*, it cannot have any etymological connexion with Vâkâṭaka. But, in case it could be shown that Bândak is the correct form, or that Bhândak had another more ancient name, the identification might perhaps stand.

According to the two land grants, the pedigree of the Vâkâṭaka kings is as follows :—

1. Pravarasena I.
|
Gautamîputra, married to daughter of the great king Bhavanâga Bhâraśiva.
|
2. Rudrasena I.
|
3. Pṛithivîsheṇa.
|
4. Rudrasena II, married to Prabhâvatîguptâ, daughter of the great king of kings, Devagupta.
|
5. Pravarasena II.

The whole dynasty belonged to the Vishṇuvṛidha-gotra. According to Baudhâyana's *Gotrapravaranirṇaya*[6] the Vishṇuvṛiddhas are a subdivision of the Bharadvâjas, and a Brahmanical family. It does, however, not necessarily follow that the Vâkâṭakas were Brâhmaṇas. For, according to the compilations on gotras, it was the practice of royal families to be affiliated to the Vedic gotra of their domestic chaplain.

As regards the history of the individual princes, we learn regarding Pravarasena I, that he offered a good many Śrauta-sacrifices. The fact that *Aśvamedhas* or horse-sacrifices were among their number, and the title *samrâj*, 'universal king' which he assumes, show conclusively that he was independent, and did not owe allegiance to a paramount power. His reign was probably a long one, as he survived his son. If I am right in assigning the two land grants on epigraphic evidence to the middle of the 5th century A. D., Pravarasena I must have ascended the throne about 300 A. D. For, as Pravarasena II is the fifth descendant of the first king, and twenty-five to twenty-six years are the duration of an Indian generation, the interval between the two Pravarasenas is 125 to 130 years.

Pravarasena's son Gautamîputra died, as already stated, before his father. For the

[3] Seoni grant, pl. III*a*, ll. 1-2.
[4] *Archæological Reports*, vol. IX, p. 123.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 124.
[6] Weber, *Cat. Berl. MSS.* p. 60.

fact that he receives no title of any kind, and that he is only incidentally mentioned in the paragraph referring to his son, shows that he did not actually rule. The name given to him is not his real proper name, but a metronymic, which designates him as the child of a wife of Pravarasena I, who belonged to the Gautama gotra. General Cunningham has published[7] my remarks on the use of metronymics by the ancient princes of India, and has given his adhesion to my explanation which is based on the observation of the practice still prevailing among the Râjpûts. Gautamîputra, it appears, made a great marriage, and obtained the daughter of the Bhâraśiva king Bhavanâga for his wife. The epithets applied to the Bhâraśiva clan give a punning explanation of the name which is derived from their having carried Śiva's emblem as a load (*bhâra*) on their shoulders, and show that their seat lay to the north of the Vâkâṭakas on the Ganges (Bhagîrathî). Possibly the Bhâraśivas are the same as the Bhâr Râjpûts.

Regarding Rudrasena I, nothing is stated except that he was an ardent devotee of the Lord Mahâbhirava, or in other words a Śaiva who worshipped Śiva in his form as Bhairava. This reticence and the circumstance that the preceding and following reigns were long ones, make it probable that he sat on the throne for a short time only. His reign probably fell between 340–350 A. D.

About Rudrasena's son, Pṛithivîsheṇa, who also was a worshipper of Śiva (*atyanta-mâheśvara*), the grants say that "his treasures, means of government and line, increased during a hundred years, and that he had sons and grandsons." The correct explanation of this phrase seems to be that he ruled for a long time and saw his sons and grandsons grow up. The expression 'a hundred years' need not, of course, be taken literally. His reign probably lasted up to the end of the fourth century, or from about 350–400.

Prithivîsheṇa's son, Rudrasena II, seems to have forsaken the creed of his forefathers and to have chosen Vishṇu as his *ishṭadevatâ*. For the grants say that "he obtained great prosperity through the favour of divine Chakrapâṇi." He was married to Prabhâvatîguptâ, the daughter of the great king of kings Devagupta. The title given to Devagupta shows that he must have been a greater man than the Vâkâṭaka king. It is unfortunately hopeless to speculate at present on the question where his dominions lay. I would only warn against the assumption that every ancient king whose name ends in *gupta* must necessarily be a member of the so called Gupta dynasty which ruled in the third and fourth centuries over a great part of Central and Western India. The real name of that family is not as yet known, and it can be shown that there have been princes unconnected with them, whose names ended in *gupta*. Rudrasena II probably reigned for a few years only, and his end may be placed about 415 A. D.

His son Pravarasena II again returned to the Śaiva creed, as he receives the epithet *paramamâheśvara*, and is said to have been a prince worthy of the Kṛitayuga 'through the favour of Śambhu.' Both the grants are dated in his eighteenth year, the Seoni inscription in the month Phâlguna (February–March) and the Ilichpur grant in the month Jyeshṭha (May–June). On the former the Senâpati Bâppadeva[8] is mentioned, and on the latter the Senâpati Khatravarman. It seems to me improbable that Pravarasena had in the course of a few months two different commanders-in-chief. I think that the term *senâpati* rather denotes here the commander of the troops in the district where the village granted lay, and should be translated by 'military governor.' As Charmânka (Chammak) was situated in the province of Bhojakaṭa and Brahmapûra in Karanjaviratata, two different persons would naturally be employed.

It now remains to discuss the contents of the mutilated inscription in the Veranda of Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭâ. Mr. Bhâû Dâjî, who first gave a tolerably accurate facsimile and transcript of this document[9] as well of the other Ajaṇṭâ inscriptions, was of opinion (p. 66) that it named Vindhyaśakti as the first prince of the Vâkâṭaka race, that it contained besides the names of the two Pravarasenas, and of Devasena the son of the Pravarasena II. He assumed that the name of Rudrasena I, Pṛithivîsheṇa, and Rudrasena II

[7] See *Barhut Stûpa*, p. 129.
[8] So the facsimile; the transcript gives erroneously *Nâpyadeva* and the translation *Bappadeva*.
[9] *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 53-74.

had been lost. He further conjectured that the Vindhyaśakti mentioned in this inscription, was identical with the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas, mentioned in the '*Purâṇas*'[10] and that Pravîra (according to him Pravara) whom the *Vayupurâṇa* makes Vindhyaśakti's son, was the same as Pravarasena I. He finally ventured to propose the derivation of the name Kailakila from that of Ghûlghûleh near Bâmian, and to assume that the Vâkâṭakas had immigrated thence into Southern India, bringing with them the art of excavating caves.

The remarks prefixed to Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî's improved transcript and translation, (*Notes*, pp. 64-65) are much more correct and free from the extravagant views which disfigure Mr. Bhâû Dâjî's speculations. It is stated there that the list of kings supplied by the inscription is as follows :—

1. Vindhyaśakti,
2. Pravarasena,
3. (Ru)drasena (?)
4. . . . .
5. Devasena,
6. Harisheṇa,

and that the connexion between Nos. 1 and 2 is not clear. It is further correctly pointed out that the inscription does not proceed from a Vâkâṭaka king, but from Varâhadeva, the minister of Harisheṇa.

According to my restoration and interpretation of the Ajaṇṭâ inscription[11] the Vâkâṭakas named therein are :—

1. Vindhyaśakti,
2. Pravarasena I,
3. Rudrasena I,
4. Pṛithivîsheṇa,
5. Pravarasena II;
6. a son, (name lost),
7. Devasena,
8. Harisheṇa.

The mutilation of the document makes it impossible to determine if Pravarasena I was Vindhyaśakti's son or a remoter descendant. But I think the former opinion, which Mr. Bhâû Dâjî first expressed, the more likely one. The only real discrepancy between the historical contents of the plates and those of my version of the Ajaṇṭâ inscription is that in the latter Rudrasena II has been left out. This omission may be owing to pure carelessness on the part of Varâhadeva who served under Rudrasena's fourth descendant, or to the idea that Rudrasena II, whose reign was a short one, was not worth mentioning. However that may be, as the Ajaṇṭâ inscription, according to my interpretation, gives one earlier and three later generations than the land grants, I arrange the *Vaṁśâvali* of the Vâkâṭakas as follows:—

	Kings.	Accession.
1.	Vindhyaśakti,	about 275 A.D.
2.	Pravarasena I, son of No. 1 (?)	about 300.
3.	Rudrasena I, grandson of No. 2,	about 335.
4.	Pṛithivîsheṇa, son of No. 3,	about 350.
5.	Rudrasena II, son of No. 4,	about 400.
6.	Pravarasena II, son of No. 5,	about 410.
7.	(Ru)drasena III, son of No. 6,	about 440.
8.	. . . . son of No. 7,	about 465.
9.	Devasena, son of No. 8,	about 490.
10.	Harisheṇa, son of No. 9,	about 515 A.D.

In conclusion I warn once more against the identification of Vindhyaśakti Vâkâṭaka with the Kailakila Yavana Vindhyaśakti. For firstly the Ajaṇṭâ inscription, vs. 2, states distinctly that the former was a 'distinguished Arya,' (*dvijaḥ prakâśo*) while the latter, according to the *Purâṇas*, was a foreigner (not necessarily a Greek). Secondly, not a single other name of the Kailakila dynasty agrees with those of the Vâkâṭakas. Mr. Bhâû Dâjî never furnished the proof that any copy of the *Vâyu* or of any other *Purâṇa* has the name Pravara. All those MSS. which Professor H. H. Wilson, Dr. Hall, and myself have consulted give Pravîra.

Transcript.

Plate I.

(1) ओं ओं स्वस्ति प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोकथ्यषोडश्यातिरात्र-

(2) वाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः-

[10] *Vishṇupurâṇa*, (ed. Hall). vol. IV, pp. 209-211.

[11] See Dr. Burgess' *Archæological Reports*, vol. IV, p. 128.

(3) [12] वि[ष्णुवृ]द्धसगोत्रस्य साम्रा[जो] वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य
(4) सूनोः सूनोः अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अन्सभारसंन्निवेशि-
(5) तशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशा-

Plate IIa.

(1) [13] नाम्पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यामलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशा-
(2) श्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानां महाराजभवनागदौ-
(3) हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीरुद्रसे-
(4) नस्य सूनोरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमन-
(5) यविनयमहात्म्याधिंमत्वहात्रागतभक्तित्वधर्म्मविजयित्व-

Plate IIb.

(1) [14] मनोनैर्म्माल्यादिगुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोश-
(2) दण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटका-
(3) नां महाराजश्रीपृथिविषेणस्य सूनोर्भ्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेः प्रसा-
(4) दोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
(5) सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायां प्रभाव-

Plate IIIa.

(1) तीगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोः प्रसादधृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य
(2) [15] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्री प्रवरसेनस्य वचना
(3) भोजकटराज्ये मधुनदीतटे चर्म्माङ्कनामग्रामः राजमानिकभूमि-
(4) सहस्रैरष्टाभिः ८००० शत्रुघ्नराजपुत्रकोण्डराजविज्ञाप्त्या नानागो-
(5) त्रचरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्राय दत्तः

Plate IIIb.

(1) [16] यतोस्मत्सन्तका[:]सर्व्वाद्धयक्षाधियोगानियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चरिकुलपुत्राधिकृता
(2) भटाच्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-
(3) हास्माकम्मनोधर्म्मायुर्व्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्र हिता-
(4) र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजैके धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्या उदकपूर्व्व-
(5) मतिसृष्टः अथास्योचितां पूर्व्वराजानुमतां चातुर्वैद्यग्रामम-
(6) र्य्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य[:]

[12] I, l. 3. Only वि and ष of विष्णु are distinct; the third letter is entirely effaced, and the fourth looks more like र्द्ध than द्ध. Still I read with the facsimile of the Seoni plates विष्णुवृद्ध instead of विष्णुवर्द्ध. Prinsep's transcript gives erroneously विष्णुरुद्र. L. 4, The second letter of अन्सभार° is not distinct. But the reading is confirmed by the varia lectio of the facsimile of the Seoni plates अन्ससम्निवेशित°. L. 5, read °राजवंशा°.

[13] IIa, l. 1, read °मूर्द्धाभि°. L. 5, read °त्म्यधीमत्त्वपात्रा°.

[14] IIb, l. 1, read मनोनैर्म्मल्य. L. 3, read पृथिवी°. L. 4, read रुद्रसेनस्य with the Seoni plates.

[15] IIIa, l. 2, read वचनात्. L. 4, read °विज्ञप्त्या.

[16] IIIb, l. 1, read °सञ्चारि°. L. 2, read भटाश्छा°; the first syllable of पूर्व्वया has been first made मू° and afterwards corrected. [17] Line 4, read वैजयिके; °दत्त्या. L. 6, read °दाम्वितराम°; °च्छात्र° °प्रावेश्यः.

Plate IV a.

(1) [17] अपारम्परगोबलिवर्द्द[:] अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[:] अवरा-
(2) सनवर्म्माङ्गार[:] अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिबनकः सर्व्ववेष्टिपरि-
(3) हारपरिहृतः सनिधिस्सोपनिधिः सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्तः
(4) आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रनुगमकः भुजतां न के-
(5) नचिद्व्याघातं कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्वक्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्यः परवर्द्धयि-
(6) तवश्च यश्चायं शासनमगणयमानो स्वल्पमपि रिबाधा-

Plate IV b.

(1) कुर्य्यात्कारयिता वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रहं कुर्य्या-
(2) मः अस्मिंश्च धर्म्मावरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तसञ्चिन्तन-
(3) परिपालनं कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयामः
(4) [18] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमानीकर्त्तव्यौ स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां
(5) व्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवां शतसहस्र हन्तु-

Plate V a.

(1) [19] हेराति दुष्कृतं षष्टिवर्षसहस्रानि स्वर्गे मोदति भू-
(2) मिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति श्शासन-
(3) स्थितिश्चेयं ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया तद्यथा राज्ञा स-
(4) प्ताङ्गे राज्ये अद्रोहप्रवृत्तानां ब्रह्मघ्नचोरपारदारिकराजा-
(5) पथ्यकारिप्रभृतीनां सङ्ग्रामकुर्व्वतां अन्यग्रामेष्वन-

Plate V b.

(1) [20] परद्धानां आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः अतोन्यथा कुर्व्वतामनुमोदताव्यो-
(2) राज्ञः भूमिच्छेदं कुर्व्वतः अस्तेयमिति प्रातिग्राहिणश्चात्र-
(3) वारनियुत्ताः शाव्यायनः गणार्य्यः वात्स्यदेवार्य्यः भारद्वाज-
(4) कुमारशर्म्मार्य्य पारशर्य्यगुहशर्म्मा काश्यपदेवार्य्यः महेश्वर-
(5) मात्रार्य्य कौण्डिण्यरुद्रार्य्य सोमार्य्य हारिशर्म्मार्य्यर्य्य

Plate VI a.

(1) [21] भारद्वाजकुमारशर्म्मार्य्य कौण्डिण्यमातृशर्म्मा वरशर्म्मा
(2) गोण्डशर्म्मा नागशर्म्मा भारद्वाशान्तिशर्म्मा रुद्रशर्म्मा वात्स्यः
(3) भोजकदेवार्य्य मघशर्म्मा देवशर्म्मा भारद्वाजमोक्षशर्म्मा
(4) [ना]गशर्म्मा रेवतीशर्म्मा धर्म्मार्य्य भारद्वाजशर्म्मार्य्य
(5) नन्दनार्य्य मूलशर्म्मा ईश्वरशर्म्मा वरशर्म्मा

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[17] IV*a*, l. 1, read °बर्द्दः; °सन्दोहः; L. 2, read ङ्गारः; the Seoni plates (facsimile) अलिवनत्लिन्वेक्रोणिधनतः which is as corrupt as अलवण°. L. 3, read °परिहृतः; सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः. L. 4, read °पौत्रानु°; भुञ्जतां. L. 5, read °व्याघातः; संरक्षित°; °परिव°. L. 6, read तव्यश्च यश्चेदं; °मानः स्वल्पामपि परि°.

[18] IV*b*, l. 4, read प्रमाणीक°.

[19] V*a*, l. 1, read °सहस्राणि. L. 2, read शासन°. L. 4, for corrections required in this and the following lines, see notes to the translation.

[20] V*b*, l. 1, read °पराद्धानां°; मोदितव्यो. L. 2, read प्रतिग्राहि°. L. 3, read वारानियुक्ताः. L. 5, dele last °र्य्य°.

[21] VI*a*, l. 2, read भारद्वाज. Line 4, first letter gone.

IIa

IIb

IIIa

VAKATAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

IIIb

IVa

VAKATAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

IVb

Va

Plate VI b.

(1) वात्स्यस्कन्दार्य्य भारद्वाजबप्पार्य्य धर्म्मार्य्य आत्रेयस्कन्दार्य्य-
(2) [22] गौतमसोमशर्म्मार्य्य भर्तृशर्म्मार्य्य रुद्रशर्य्य मघार्य्य मातृ-
(3) शर्म्मार्य्य ईश्वरशर्म्मार्य्य गौतमसगोत्रमातृशर्म्मा-
(4) र्य्य कौण्डिण्यदेवशर्म्मार्य्य वरशर्म्मार्य्य रोहार्य्य-

Plate VII.

(1) [23] गौतमसबोत्रस्वामिदेर्य्य रेवतीशर्म्मार्य्य
(2) ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्य्य शाण्डिल्यकुमारशर्म्मार्य्य स्वातिशर्म्मा-
(3) र्य्य शाल्यायण कोण्डार्य्यप्रभृतयः सेनापतौ
(4) खत्रवर्म्मणि संव्वत्सरेष्टादशे १८ ज्येष्ठमासशुक्ल-
(5) पक्षे त्रयोदश्यां शासनं लिखितमिति

Seal.

वाकाटकललामस्य
क्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रियः
राज्ञः प्रवरसेनस्य
शासनं रिपुशासनं

Translation.

Oṁ, Oṁ,[24] hail; from Pravarapura![25] By command of the illustrious Pravarasena, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas, the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, who, through the possession of Śambhu's favour, is (*a ruler*) worthy of the Kṛitayuga, who was born by Prabhâvatîguptâ, the daughter of the great king of kings Devagupta (*and who is*)[26] the son of the illustrious Rudrasena, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas, who gained great prosperity through the favour of divine Chakrapâṇi (*and who was*) the[27] son of the illustrious Pṛithivîsheṇa, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas, who behaved like Yudhishṭhira,[28] whose treasure, means of government and line increased during a hundred years, and who had sons and grandsons, who was gifted with such excellent qualities as truthfulness, uprightness, mercy, heroism, bravery, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness,[29] intelligence, devotedness to worthy men and

[22] VI*b*, l. 2, read रुद्रशर्म्मार्य्य.

[23] VII, l. 1, read स्वामिदेवार्य्य. L. 3, read शाठ्यायन.

[24] Though the two first signs look somewhat like *dṛishṭaṁ* or *dṛiptaṁ*, I think they cannot be read otherwise than I have done. For an anusvâra is plainly visible above either of the two syllables. There are, further, among the numerous varieties of the letter *o*, some which are similar to those here employed. Finally it is a not uncommon practice on Sanskṛit inscriptions to place two Oṁkâras at the head, and to use a different form for each, see *e.g.*, the facsimile of the Ignodâ śâsana *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 56. The beginning of the Seoni plates (*J. R. A. S. Beng.* vol. V, p. 729) is according to Prinsep's facsimile, *O, Om, siddham.* The two small *makâras* are so called *arddhamakâras* and mark, as is usual in the Gupta and other old inscriptions, the vowelless final *m*.

[25] The peculiar construction of the text makes it necessary to give the description of the last king first. The corresponding Sanskṛit passage occurs, Plate III*a*, l. 2, and those who wish to control the translation have to go backwards from that point.

[26] Prinsep's transliteration and translation of the Seoni plates give *sthâne* 'in the place of' for *sûnoḥ* 'the son of.' But the facsimile has the latter reading (plate II*b*, l. 2).

[27] Prinsep again reads and translates sthâne. His facsimile (Pl. II*b*, l. 1) reads *sûno bhagavata*, omitting the *r* above *bha*.

[28] The compound *abhivardhamânakoshadaṇḍasâdhanasantânaputrapautriṇaḥ* consists of two adjectives, which both refer to the king, *abhivardhamânakoshadaṇḍasâdhanasantâna* and *putrapautrin*. It is possible to take *daṇḍasâdhana*, which I have assumed to be a tatpurusha compound as a dvandva. Prinsep's transcript gives wrongly *santata* for *santâna*, while his facsimile has *santana*.

[29] It is worthy of note that the Seoni plates have exactly the same mistakes as ours. The facsimile reads *mâhâtmyadhimatvahâtrâgatabhaktitva*, which the transcript erroneously renders by *mâhâtmyâdhimakhahotragatabhaktitvâ*. I have given my corrections above. *Pâtra*, which I substitute for *hâtra*, means 'a worthy person,' and 'especially a Brâhmaṇa worthy to receive gifts.' The

guests, ability of making righteous conquests, and purity of mind, who was an ardent devotee of Maheśvara (*and*) the son of the illustrious Rudrasena, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas (*who was*)[30] the son of Gautamîputra (*and*) the daughter's son of Bhavanâga the great king of the Bhâraśivas—who bathed after the celebration of ten horse-sacrifices, whose heads were sprinkled with the pure water of the Bhâgîrathî, obtained by their valour,[31] and whose royal line was produced by Śiva exceedingly pleased with their carrying in a procession his liṅga that had been placed as a burden on their shoulders—who (viz. Rudrasena) was exceedingly devoted to the Lord Mahâbhairava (*and who was*)[32] the son's son[33] of the illustrious Pravarasena, the great king of the Vâkâṭakas, a universal ruler, who belonged to the *gotra* of Vishṇuvṛiddha, and offered an Agnishṭoma sacrifice, an Âptoryâma, an Ukthya, a Shoḍaśin, an Âtirâtra, a Vâjapeya, a Bṛihaspatisava, a Sâdyaskra and four horse-sacrifices,[34] at the request of prince Koṇḍarâja, the destroyer of his foes, the village called Charmmânka (*situated*) in the kingdom of Bhojakaṭa on the bank of the river Madhu (*and containing*) eight thousand (8,000) *bhûmis*[35] measured by the royal measuring-rod, has been given to one thousand Brâhmaṇas belonging to various families and schools.

Wherefore[36] our obedient noblemen and our officers who are appointed to the office of general overseers, (*our*) soldiers and umbrella-bearers, should be given the (*following*) order preceded by (*the word*) *visruta*[37] (*famous*):

Be it known to you that, in order to increase our spiritual merit, life, strength, conquests and rule, for the sake of our welfare in this and the next worlds (*in fact*) in order to benefit ourselves (*the above mentioned village*) has been given, at our victorious office of justice,[38] as a new donation, (*the act of giving*) being preceded by a libation of water.

Now we grant, (*as*) appropriate for this (*village*) the charter of a village inhabited by Brâhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, such as has been approved of by former kings. That is as follows: "(*The village*) shall be free from taxes, it shall not be entered by soldiers or parasol-bearers . . . it shall not furnish flowers and milk . . . ., it shall be free from all obligation of furnishing forced labour, it is granted the rights[39] of treasure-trove and of (*keeping unclaimed*) deposits . . . . . it (*has been granted*) for as long a time as the moon and sun endure, and shall descend to the sons and grandsons (*of the donees*). Nobody shall cause hindrance to them while they enjoy it. It shall be protected by all means and be made to prosper. And him, who disregarding this edict, even slightly annoys (*the donees*) or causes them to be annoyed, we will fine and (*otherwise*) punish, if he is denounced by the Brâhmaṇa (*proprietors*)."

"And in this document[40] which procures at least spiritual merit we do not mention the care and protection bestowed (*by us*) on grants made by various former kings, in order to avoid boasting of meritorious actions performed (*by us*)."

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compound *pâtrâ gatabhaktitva* may either be translated 'devotedness to worthy guests,' or, as has been done above. To offer hospitality to distinguished Brâhmanas is a duty of kings, which the Smṛitis inculcate repeatedly, see e. g., *Âpastamba Dharmasûtra*, II. 10, 25, 4, 8-9.

[30] Prinsep's transcript of the Seoni plates omits by mistake the end of Pl. II *a*, l. 1, and the whole of l. 2. His translation is one series of mistakes.

[31] The correctness of the translation of the beginning of the compound *aṁsabhârasanniveśitaśivalingodvahanaśivasuparitushṭasamutpâditarâjavaṁśânâm* is attested by the various readings of the facsimile of the Seoni plates *ansa* (*aṁsa*) *sanniveśita*. Prinsep's transcript gives wrongly *indusannibhaśita* and *sivasya paritushṭa*.

[32] Prinsep's transcript gives wrongly *sthânesthâne*.

[33] Prinsep's transcript gives wrongly *ukta* for *ukthya*, *vishnurudra* for *vishṇuvṛiddha* and *Kâṭarkânâm* for *Vâkâṭakânâm*.

[34] For analogous cases of grants being made at the request of a third person, a feudal baron, see Inscr. from Nepal No. 9 (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 172).

[35] *Bhûmi* must here be a technical term, and denotes a particular measure of land.

[36] It is just possible that the construction in this passage is ungrammatical, and that the king means to say "All our overseers, officials, obedient noblemen, persons in authority," etc.—*Chhâttra* 'umbrella-bearer' includes probably the whole host of menial servants attached to the court.

[37] I am unable to refer to any passage where the title *viśruta* is given to Râjpûts. For Brâhmaṇas the title *vichakshaṇa*, 'learned' is prescribed.

[38] *Dharmasthâna* is, more accurately speaking, not only the ministry of justice, but the office where all business relating to justice, spiritual matters and charities is transacted.

[39] The right of treasure-trove is guaranteed to learned Brâhmaṇas by the *Smṛiti*, see e. g. *Vasishṭha*, III, 14. Deposits, the owner of which cannot be found, go according to the *Smṛiti* like all unclaimed property to the king. From the above passage it would appear that kings usually relinquished this right in Agraharâs.

[40] I take *karaṇa* in the sense of 'document' and think that the king means to say that, if the grant does not produce the many rewards enumerated above, it will, at least, procure spiritual merit. The Seoni plates have a

Vb

VIa

VIb

VII

J. Burgess ed.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith. Peckham, London.

"And with respect to this matter two verses, sung by Vyâsa, must be acknowledged as authoritative (*by our successors*):

(1). 'He who resumes land given by himself etc.'

(2). 'The giver of land rejoices etc.'

"And the conditions (*of*) this (*charter*) must be observed both by the Brâhmaṇas and by the (*future*) rulers (*of the country*). That is as follows:[41] 'The king shall allow (*the village to be held*) by the (*Brâhmaṇas*) as long as moon and sun endure, if they do not commit treason against (*his*) government which consists of seven essential parts, and if they are not guilty of offences of slaying Brâhmaṇas, committing theft, adultery, or acts prejudicial to the king, (*or*) engage in frays with other villages. (*But* if the king takes the land from those who act otherwise, (*he will*) not (*be guilty of*) theft.'"

And the donees appointed here for the occasion (are): Gaṇârya, a Śâṭyâyana; Devârya, a Vâtsya; Kumâraśarmârya, a Bhâradvâja; Guhaśarman, a Pâraśarya; Devârya, Maheśvara (*and*) Mâtrâya (*three*) Kâśyapas; Rudrârya, Somârya (*and*) Hariśarmârya, (*three*) Kauṇḍinyas; Kumâraśarmârya, a Bhâradvâja; Mâtṛiśarman, Varaśarman, Goṇḍaśarman, Nâgaśarman, (*four*) Kauṇḍiyas; Śântiśarman (*and*) Rudraśarman, (*two*) Bhâradvâjas; Bhojakadevârya, Maghaśarman, and Devaśarman, (*three*) Vâtsyas; Mokshaśarman, Nâgaśarman, Revatîśarman, (*and*) Dharmârya, (*four*) Bhâradvâjas; Śarmârya, Nandanârya, Mûlaśarman, Îśvaraśarman (*and*) Varaśarman, (*five*) Bhâradvâjas; Skandârya, a Vâtsya; Bappârya (*and*) Dharmârya, (*two*) Bhâradvâjas; Skandârya, an Âtreya; Somaśarmârya, Bhartṛiśarmârya, Rudraśarmârya, Maghârya, Mâtṛiśarmârya (*and*) Îśvaraśarmârya, (*six*) Gautamas; Mâtṛiśarmârya of the Gautama family; Devaśarmârya, Varaśarmârya and Rohârya, (*three*) Kauṇḍinyas; Svâmidevârya, Revatîśarmârya, and Jyeshṭhaśarmârya, of the Gautama family; Kumâraśarmârya (*and*) Svâtiśarmârya, (*two*) Śâṇḍilyas; Koṇḍârya, a Śâṭyâyana; and so forth.

This edict has been written while Khatravarman was commander-in-chief (*senâpati*) in the eighteenth (18th) year on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month Jyeshṭha.

Seal..

An order of king Pravarasena, who is the ornament of the Vâkâṭaka (*race*), and has obtained his royal dignity by inheritance, is an order (*even*) for his enemies.

varia lectio dharmâdhikarane, which possibly may mean in this court of justice (where we give this edict). The rest of the phrase is mutilated, the words *Kîrtanaparihârârthaṁ na* having been left out by mistake.

[41] The text, as it stands, gives no sense, and it seems that the words have been transposed through a mistake of the copyist. I correct and arrange them as follows: *râjñâ saptânge râjye adrohapravṛittânâm [a]brahmaghnachorapâradârikarâjâpathyakâriprabhṛitînâṁ saṁgrâma[ma]kurvatâm anyagrâmeshvanaparâddhânâm âchandrâdityakâliyo s'numoditavyah ato anyathâ kurvatâṁ râjnaḥ bhûmichchhedaṁ kurvataḥ asteyam iti* ||. Regarding the seven essential parts (*anga*) of the kingdom see Vishṇu III. 33. *Anyagrâmeshu* which I have construed with *saṁgrâmamakurvatâm* may also be taken with *anaparâddhânâm*.

SANSKṚIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 225*).

No. CXXXIII.

Indra IV. appears to have had two sons. Such, at least, seems to be the inference to be drawn from the verse commencing in line 23 of the present inscription, in which Gôvinda V.[1] is described as displaying no forbidden cruelty towards his elder brother. The name of that elder brother, however, is not given in this inscription, or in any other that has yet come to notice; and, from the expression used, the probability is that he was either weak in intellect or feeble in body, and was quietly set aside in favour of his younger brother Gôvinda V.

The present inscription is re-edited by me from the original plates, which belong to Rao

[1] Or perhaps Jagattuṅga II. may prove to be named Gôvinda; in which case this will be Gôvinda VI.

Bahâdûr Wâmanrao Pitâmbar Chiṭṇîs, of Sâwantwâḍi. It was originally published by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc*, Vol. IV., pp. 100 ff; and the plates belonged then to a Brâhmaṇ family residing near Sâṅglî.[2] That, therefore, must be the part of the country in which the grant was originally discovered; and it is usually known as "the Sâṅglî plates." The plates are three in number, each about 13″ long by 9″ broad; and the inscription is arranged on them in such a way that they turn over like the pages of an English book. The plates are quite smooth, with the exception of here and there a slight unintentional depression near the edge,—the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; the inscription, however, is in perfect preservation throughout. The ring on which they are strung is a plain ring, about ⅓″ thick and 4⅓″ in diameter; it had been cut and soldered again before the grant came into my hands. It may not be the original ring; or it may have had some image or seal attached to it, which has been removed: General Jacob, however, does not mention any such. The weight of the three plates and the ring is 13 lbs. 3 oz. The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit throughout.

This inscription is the first that allots the Râshṭrakûṭa family to the lineage of the Yadus or Yâdavas; Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî considers this to be a late invention, of about the time of this grant, and to have been made to account for the change of the emblem on the Râshṭrakûṭa seals, from originally a lion, to Garuḍa, the emblem of Vishṇu, from whom the family of the Yadus or Yâdavas started.[3] It has been already noted that Jagattuṅga II. married Lakshmî, the daughter of Raṇavigraha, who was the son of Kokkala or Kokkalla I., of the family of the Kalachuris or Kulachuris of Tripura or Tewar.[4] And we also learn from the present inscription that his son Indra IV. married Dvijâmbâ, whose father was Ammaṇa, the son of Arjuna, another son of the same Kokkala or Kokkalla I. The sons of Indra IV. and Dvijâmbâ were Gôvinda V. and his unnamed elder brother.

In the description of Gôvinda V., it is said that the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ did service to his palace. This, of course, is only a figurative expression, as Gôvinda's capital and palace must have been far away from those rivers. But the allusion appears to me to be of the same kind as the statement in No. CXXVII. above, that Gôvinda III. took away the rivers Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ from his enemies, and acquired *insignia* of royalty in the form of those two rivers. As I pointed out then, there is evidently, in the case of Gôvinda III., a distinct allusion to some victory over the Chalukyas, whether Western or Eastern, among whose *insignia* were the banners or signs of the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ. And the Chalukyas would seem to have acquired these two *insignia* by some early conquest of the Guptas; for, one of the most striking characteristics of the Gupta style of architecture is the statues of the river-goddesses Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, guarding the entrance-doors of their temples.[5] It is pretty clear, therefore, that the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ must have been among the *insignia* of the Guptas, and that the Chalukyas derived them—whether directly, or indirectly, remains to be discovered—from the Guptas.

The present inscription gives Gôvinda V. the titles of Suvarṇavarsha II. and Vallabhanarêndra II. And in the same passage it speaks of Indra IV. under the title of Nityavarsha I.

The inscription is dated Śaka 855 (A.D. 933-4), the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, on Thursday the full-moon day of the month Śrâvaṇa. And it records a grant of the village of Lôhagrâma, in the Râmapurî Seven-hundred circle of villages, to a Brâhmaṇ named Kêśavadîkshita, of the Kauśika *gôtra*, who, or whose father, had come from the city of Puṇḍavardhana.[6] This city must be the *Pun-na-fa-t'an-na* of Hiwen Thsang, which M. Stanislas Julien rendered by Pauṇḍravardhana, and which General Cunningham identified originally with Pubna or Pobna, on the Ganges, in

[2] About twenty-four miles in a north-easterly direction from Kôlhâpur.

[3] He is of opinion that the principal emblem on the seals of No. CXXI. (Vol. XI. pp. 108 ff.), No. CXXIII. (*id.* pp. 125 ff.), No. CXXV. (*id.* pp. 156 ff.), and No. CXXVII. (pp. 156 ff. above), is Garuḍa, and not Śiva.

[4] For General Cunningham's genealogy of this dynasty, see *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 85.

[5] General Cunningham; *Archæol. Surv. of Ind.*, Vol. X. p. 60. So also we have them in the Râshṭrakûṭa temple of Kailâsa at Elura.

[6] See note 22 below.

Bengal,[7] but has since then been identified with Mahâsthân, on the Kâratoyâ, seven miles to the north of Bôgra in Northern Bengal.[8]

I have another inscription of Gôvinda V., dated Śaka 851 for 852 (A.D. 930-1), the Vikṛita *saṁvatsara*, at the time of an eclipse of the moon on Sunday the full-moon day of the month Mâgha,—from Kaḷas, in the Baṅkâpur Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. In this inscription, he is called Gojjigadêva,[9] and has also the titles of Nṛipatuṅga II., Vîra-Nârâyaṇa, and Raṭṭa-Kandarpa.[10]

And an Eastern Chalukya grant, the original plates of which belong to Sir Walter Elliot, mentions the defeat by Bhîma II., who reigned from about Śaka 845 to about Śaka 857, of a Râshṭrakûṭa force sent against him by Gôvinda V. It is therein said of Bhîma II. (ll. 34-8) :—

Śrîmantaṁ Râjamayyan=Dha(?va)ḷagam=uru-
taran=Tâtabikkiṁ prachaṇḍa[ṁ*]
Bijjaṁ sajja(?)ṁ cha yuddhê balinam=atita-
râm=Ayyapaṁ bhîmam=ugraṁ
daṇḍaṁ Gôvindarâja-praṇihitam=adhikaṁ Chô-
ḷa-paṁ Lôvabikkiṁ
vikrânta[ṁ*] Yuddhamallaṁ ghaṭita-gaja-gha-
ṭân(s)=sannihaty=aika êva ||

"Having, unaided, slain the glorious Râjamayya, (*and*) the mighty Dhaḷaga, (*and*) the fierce Bijja, and Ayyapa who was (*always*) ready and was exceedingly powerful in war, (*and*) the terrible and fierce army that was despatched by Gôvindarâja, (*and*) the great Lôvabikki, the ruler of the Chôḷas, (*and*) the valorous Yuddhamalla[11] (*and his*) drawn-up arrays of elephants, * * * * * * [this king Śrî-Bhîma protected the whole earth for twelve years.]"

Transcription.[12]

First plate.

[1] Ôm [||*] Jayaṁti Vra(bra)hmaṇaḥ sargga-nishpatti-mudit-âtmanaḥ Sarasvatî-kṛi(?)t ânaṁdâ madhurâs=sâma-gîtayaḥ || Târâ-chakr-âvja(bja)-

[2] shaṁḍ-âvṛita-gaganasarash-padminî-râjahaṁsâ- | -t=[t*]ailôky-aikâdhipatya-sthita-Madana-mahârâja-śuvbhr(bhr)-âtapattrâ(trâ)t |

[3] lâvaṇya-kshîra-sindhôr=dyuti-rajata-girêr=ddigvadhû-daṁtapattrâ- | -d=vaṁśaḥ Sômâd=ayaṁ yas=tribhuvana-kamal-âvâsa-

[4] saudhâd=upêtaḥ || Tasmâch=chhriyaḥ kula-gṛihaṁ bhavanaṁ mahimnaḥ krîḍ-âspadaṁ sthiti-maharddhi-gabhîratânâṁ |

[5] âpanna-satva-paripâlana-lavdha(bdha)-kîrttir=vvaṁśô va(ba)bhûva bhuvi siṁdhu-nibhô Yadûnâṁ || Pariṇata-para-maṁdalaḥ kalâ-

[6] vân=pravitata-va(ba)hala-yaśô-ṁśu-pûrit-âśaḥ | śaśadhara iva Dantidurgga-râjô Yadu-kula-vimala-viyaty=ath=ôdiyâ-

[7] ya || Tasy=âdyaṁ nṛipatêḥ pitṛivya udayî śrî-vîra-siṁhâsanaṁ Mêrôḥ śṛiṁgam=iv=âdhiruhya ravi-vach=Chhrî-

[8] Kṛishṇa-râjas=tataḥ | dhvast-ôdṛi(dri)kta-Chalukya-vaṁśa-timiraḥ pṛithvîbhṛitâṁ mastakê nyast-âṭṭaḥ sakalaṁ

[9] jagat=pravitatais=têjôbhir=âkrâṁtavân || Tasmâd=Gôvinda-râjô=bhûd=indu-vimva-śilâtalê yasy=âri-

[10] plôsha-dhûmrô=ṁkaḥ praśastir=iva laksh[y*]atê || Tasy=âbhavad=bhuvana-pâlana-vîra-vu(bu)ddhir=uddhûta-śattru(tru)-kula-saṁtatir=Iddhatêjâḥ |

[11] râj=ânujô Nirupam-âpara-nâmadhêyô yan-mudray=âṁvu(bu)dhir=api prathitaḥ sa-mudraḥ || Tad=anu Jagattuṁgô=jani pari-

[12] hṛita-nija-sakala-maṁḍal-âbhôgâḥ gata-yauvana-vanitâjana-kucha-sadṛiśâ yasya vairi-nṛipâḥ || Tasmâch=ch=Â-

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[7] *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 480 f. But see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III, p. 62; and conf. Wilson, *Vishnu-pur.* (Hall's ed.) Vol. II, pp. 134, 170; *J. R. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. VI, pp. 238f.; *Râja Taraṅgiṇi*, Tom. IV, p. 421; *Mahâbhâr.* II, 1872.—*Ed.*

[8] *Archæol. Surv. of Ind.* Vol. XV. pp. v., 104, and 110 ff.

[9] He would seem, therefore, to be the (Gujjiga or) Gojjiga who is mentioned by the poet Pampa or Hampa in the *Praśasti* of his *Vikramârjunavijaya* or *Pampa-Bhârata*, see Mr. Rice, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XIV. pp. 19 ff.;—also *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 37, note 1.

[10] Conf. l. 36 of the present inscription.

[11] The predecessor of Bhîma II.

[12] From the original plates.

[13] môghavarshô=bhavad=atula-va(ba)lô yêna kôpâd=apûrv vaiś=Châluky-Âbhyûshakh-âdyair=jjanita-rati-yamaḥ prîṇitô Viṁga-

[14] vallyâṁ | Vairiṁch-âṁḍ-ôdar-âṁtar-vvahir-uparitalê yan=na lavdh(bdh)-âvakâśaṁ tôya-vyâjâd=viśuddhaṁ yaśa iva nihitaṁ taj-ja-

[15] gat-tuṁga-sindhau || Tasmâd=Akâlavarshô nṛipatir=abhûd=yat-parâkrama-ttra(tra)staiḥ sadyaḥ sa-maṁḍalâgraṁ khêṭakam=ahi-

[16] taiḥ parityaktaṁ || Sahasrârjjuna-vaṁśasya bhûshaṇaṁ Kokkal-âtmajâ | tasy=âbhavan=mahâdêvî Jagattuṁga-

Second plate; first side.

[17] s=tatô jani || Gaṁbhîrâd=ratna-nidhêr=bhûbhṛit-pratipaksha-rakshaṇa-kshamataḥ | Kokkala-suta-Raṇavigraha-jaladhêr=Llakshmîḥ sa-

[18] mutpannâ || Sâ jây=âjâyat=âjâtaśattrô(trô)s=tasya mahîbhujaḥ Bhîmasên-Ârjjun-ôpâtta-yaśô-bhûshaṇa-śâlinaḥ ||

[19] Tattra(tra) Jagattuṁg-ôdaya-dharaṇîdharataḥ pratâpa-kalit-âtmâ Lakshmyâ naṁdana uditô=jani vijayî râja-mârttaṇḍaḥ || Sthiti-cha-

[20] lita-sakala-bhûbhṛit-paksha-chchhêd-âbhimukta-bhuja-vajraḥ animisha-darśana-yôgyô yaḥ satyam=ih=Êṁdra-râja iti || Yas=tasmin=Daśakaṁṭha-

[21] darppa-dalanê Śrî-Haihayânâṁ kulê Kokkallaḥ pratipâditô=sya cha guṇa-jjyê(jyê)shṭhô=Rjjunô=bhût=sutaḥ | tat-puttrô(trô)=Mmaṇadêva[13] ity=ativa(ba)-

[22] las=tasmâd=[D*]vijâmv(mb)=âbhavat=Padm=êv=âṁvu(bu)nidhêr=Um=êva Himavan-nâmnaḥ kshamâbhṛit-prabhôḥ || Śr-Îndra-narêndrât=tasyâṁ sûnur=abhûd=bhûpatir=Dvi-

[23] jaṁvâ(bâ)yâṁ Gôvinda-râja-nâmâ Kâm-âdi(dhi)ka-rûpa-saundaryaḥ || Sâmarthyê sati ninditâṁ[14] pravihitâ n=aiv=âgrajê krûratâ va(ba)ndhuḥ[15]-strî-

[24] gaman-âdibhiḥ kucharitair=âvarjjitaṁ n=âyaśaḥ | śauch-âśaucha-parâṅmukhaṁ na cha bhiyâ paiśâchyam=aṁgîkṛitaṁ tyâ-

[25] gên=âsama-sâhasaiś=cha bhuvanê yas=sâhas-âṁkô=bhavat || Varshan=suvarṇṇa-varshaḥ prabhûta-varshô=pi kanaka-dhâ-

[26] râbhiḥ jagad=akhilam=êka-kâṁchana-mayam=akarôd=iti janair=uktaḥ || Yad-adhi-dig-vijay-âvasarê sati prasa-

[27] bha-saṁbhrama-bhâvana êva bhûḥ | sapadi nṛityati pâlimahâdhvaj-ôchchhrita-kar=ânya-kunâtha-vivarjjitâ || Sahatê [na*] hi maṁḍal-âdhipaṁ pa-

[28] ram=êshô=bhyudayî samuddhataṁ | iti jâta-bhiyâ dhiy=âgratô ravi-chandrâv=api yasya dhâvatê(taḥ) || Avanata-para-maṁḍalê-

[29] śvaraṁ saha-vijaya-śubhi[16] vêśma śôbhitaṁ sama-himakara-tôraṇaṁ chiraṁ nija-têjas-tati yasya râjatê || Saha-

[30] tê sama-vâhinîm=ayaṁ na parêshâṁ sa-viśêsha-śâlinîṁ | yad-aniṁdita-râjamaṁ-diraṁ nanu Gaṁgâ Yamunâ cha sêvatê ||

[31] Yasmiṁ[17]n=râjani saurâjyaṁ nirjjit-âri vitanvati vimâna-sthitir=ity=âsîn=na bhôgêshu kadâchana || Yasy=ôddâma-pratâ-

[32] p-ânala-va(ba)hala-śikhâ-kajjalaṁ nîla-mêghâ visphûrjjan-khaḍga-dhârâ-sphuraṇa-visaraṇâny=êva vidyud-vilâsâḥ |

[33] durvvâr-âr-îbha-kuṁbhasthala-dalana-galan-mauktikâny=êva târâś=chandra-kshîrâvdhi-(bdhi)-Śêshâ bhṛita-bhuvana-yaśô-râśi-nishyaṁditâni[18] ||

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[13] General Jacob's Paṇḍit read *putrômgaṇa* and gave 'Angandêva' in his translation. But the letter mistaken by him can only be *mma*, though a cross stroke is wanting in the lower *m*, and it is thus made to look a little like *g*.

[14] This *anusvâra* is a mistake.

[15] This *visarga* is a mistake.

[16] The metre is faulty here; but the text is quite clear and gives a suitable meaning.

[17] This *anusvâra* is superfluous.

[18] The last three syllables and the mark of punctuation are inserted below the end of l. 33; but it is unnecessary to treat them as a separate line by themselves.

RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF GOVINDA-SUVARNAVARSHA — SAKA 855.

I.

J. F. FLEET, DEL.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

J. F. FLEET, BO C. S

IIb.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

आना म्ली खोल ह्ल स्राय कायेनार्थं साकं म मस्योर तः यस्या साम्याः पूर्वतः ल्यो द
ग्राम ः दक्षिणतः बंजुलीना मा ग्रामः पश्चिमतः सिं बदि रुकौ मा ग्रामः उत्तरतः
सा कलीना माग्रामः एवं चतु साघाट ... दृष्ट्या ग्रामं ... तस्य ... तः
... तौ ... याचा ... स्या न्यो नः कार्यं मह ... सिनगत तं यान
... सूर्य ... साक्षी ... सामा ... भूमि ... पत मेव ... भिः नावा
भिकृपतिरिदिस्म ... यम ... यः स मन्तु ... प्रतिपाल नीय ... उक्तं
व सामदइ एता सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी
यो भवद्भिः सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते
रामभद्रः षष्टि वर्ष सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुम
न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां
स्वविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ... यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि
... यो ... कृत्वा ... क
ल्प कोटि सहस्राणि ... कल्प कोटि ... सन्ति ... वस ... लो
के भूमिदा ... शुभमस्तु सर्वदा ... ॐ नमः शिवाय

Second plate; second side.

[34] Yasmiṁ[19]n=kaṁṭhaka-śôdhan-ôtsuka-manasy=aṁbhôja-nâlair=bhṛi(bhi)y=êv=ônmagnaṁ na payassu kôśa-vasati[r*]=Llakshmîḥ kṛit=ôpâyanaṁ kê-

[35] takyâ pavan-ôllasan-nija-rajaḥ-puṁj-âṁdhakâr-ôdarê bhû-garvbhê(rbbhê) panasêna vêttra(tra)-latayâ dvâry=âtma-śuddhyai sthitaṁ || Yaś=cha samu-

[36] pahasita-Hara-nayana-dahanê(nô) vihit-Ânitya-Kandarppa-rûpa-sauṁdarya-darppaḥ Śrî-Nitya-Kandarppaḥ | prabhu-maṁtra-śakty-upavṛi(bṛi)ṁhi-

[37] t-ôtsâha-śakti-samâkshipta-Śatamu(ma)kha-sukhaś=Châṇakya-Chaturmmukhaḥ | prathit-aika-vikram-âkrâṁta-vasuṁdharâ-hita-karaṇa-pa-

[38] râyaṇaḥ Śrî-vikrâṁta-Nârâyaṇaḥ | sva-kara-kalita-hêti-hala-dalita-vipaksha-vaksha[ḥ*]-sthala-kshêttra(tra)ḥ Śrî-nṛipati-Tṛi(tri)ṇêttra(tra)ḥ ||[20]

[39] samabhavat=Sa cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîman-Nityavarsha-dêva-pâd-anudhyâta[ḥ*] paramabhaṭṭâra-

[40] ka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîmat-Suvarṇṇavarshadêva-pṛithvîvallabha - śrîmad - Vallabhanarêṁdradêvaḥ kuśalî sarvvân=êva

[41] yatâ(thâ)-saṁva(ba)tya(dhya)mânakân=râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭa-mahattar-a(â)yuktak-ôpayuktak-âdhikâ-

[42] rikân=samâdiśaty=Astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ Mânyakhêṭa-râjadhânî-sthiratar-âvasthânêna mâtâ-

[43] pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê pûrvva-luptân=api dêva-bhôga-âgrahârân=pratipâlaya-

[44] tâ pratidinaṁ cha niravadhi-namasyagrâma-śâsanâni śatasaḥ prayachchhatâ [mayâ*] Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-

[45] śatêshv=ashṭasu paṁcha-paṁchâśad-adhikêshv=aṁkatô=pi saṁvatsarâṇâṁ 855 pravarttamâna-Vijaya-saṁvatsar-âṁtargga-

[46] ta-Śrâvaṇa-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ vârê Gurôḥ Pûrvvâ-Bhadrapadâ-nakshattrê(trê) prathama-kar-ôdak-âtisarggêṇa ||[21] Puṁḍa[22]va-

[47] rddhananagaravinirggata-Kauśikasagôttra(tra) - Vâji - Kâṇvasavra(bra)hmachâri - Dâmôdara-bhaṭṭa-sutâya

[48] Kêśava-dîkshitâya Râmapurî-saptaśat-âṁtarggata-Lôha-grâmaḥ sa-vṛiksha-mâlâ-kulaḥ sa-

[49] dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaḥ sa-daṇḍa-dôsha-daśâparâdha[ḥ*] sa-bhût-ôpâtta-pratyayaḥ a-[23]châṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśa[ḥ*]

Third plate.

[50] śa(?)tôttarîyo vra(bra)hmadâya-nyâyên=â-chaṁdr-ârkkaṁ namasyô dattaḥ [||*] Yasya ch=âghâṭâḥ pûrvvataḥ Ghode-

[51] grâmaḥ dakshiṇataḥ Vaṁjulî-nâmâ grâmaḥ paśchimataḥ Viṁchaviharajha(?bha)-nâmâ grâmaḥ uttarataḥ

[52] Sonnahî-nâmâ grâmaḥ [||*] Êvaṁ chatur-âghâṭa-viśuddhaṁ Lôha-grâmaṁ Kêśava-dîkshitasya kṛishataḥ ka-

[53] rshayatô bhuṁjatô bhôjayatô vâ na kênachid=vyâghâtaḥ kâryaḥ [||*] Matd(nd)-ânil-ândôlita-jala-taraṁga-ta-

[54] ralam=aiśvarya[ṁ*] śarad-avbhra(bhra)-vivbhra(bhra)maṁ jîvitaṁ sâmânyaṁ cha bhûmi-dâna-phalam=avagachchhadbhiḥ[24]r=âgâ-

[55] mi-nṛipatibhir=asmad-vaṁśyai[r=anyai*]r=vv=âyam=asmad-dharmmadâyaḥ samanumaṁtavyaḥ pratipâlanîyaś=cha || Uktaṁ

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19 This *anusvâra* is superfluous.

20 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, or, if used at all, should have been placed after *samabhavat* in the next line.

21 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

22 Monier Williams gives two forms, *puṇḍa* and *puṇḍra*;—Puṇḍavardhana, Puṇḍravardhana, and also Pauṇḍravardhana. The lower part of the *ḍa* here is more markedly turned to the left than is the case is *shaṁḍâ*, l. 2, and other places in this inscription. But the letter is formed in just the same way as here in *maṁḍalâ*, l. 12, and in one or two other places; and the reading intended seems to be *ḍa*, not *ḍra*.

23 First *â* was engraved, and then it was corrected by partial erasure into *a*.

24 This *visarga* is superfluous.

[56] cha Râmabhadrêṇa || Sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanî-
[57] yô bhavadbhiḥ sarvvân=êvaṁ bhâvinaḥ pârtthivêṁdrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê
[58] Râmabhadraḥ || Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ | âchchhêttâ ch=ânuma[ṁ*]-
[59] tâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêt=tu vasuṁdharâṁ |
[60] sva(śva)-vishṭâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha pachchya(chya)tê || Prasṛityâ saṁpradânêna da-
[61] ttasy=âharaṇêna cha | janma-prabhṛiti yad=dattaṁ tat=sarvvaṁ nishphalaṁ bhavet || Ka-
[62] lpa-kôṭi-sahasrâṇi kalpa-kôṭi-śatâni cha | nivasêd=Vra(bra)hmaṇô lô-
[63] kê bhûmi-dânaṁ dadâti yaḥ || Śivam=astu sarvva-jagataḥ || Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya |(||)

Translation.

Ôm! Victorious are the melodious *Sâma*-songs of Brahmâ, whose soul is pleased with the completion of creation, which cause the happiness of Sarasvatî!

(L. 1.)—From the moon,—that *râjahaṁsa*-bird in the pool of waterlilies of the lake which is the sky, overspread by a crowd of waterlilies which are the multitudinous stars; that radiantly white umbrella of Madana,[25] who stands in the position of being the supreme lord of the three worlds; that ocean of milk in loveliness; that mountain of silver in resplendence; that earring of the women who are the regions,—(*there came*) that lineage[26] which is possessed of (*the glory of being*) the mansion of the abode of the waterlily which is the three worlds.

(*L.* 4.)—From that lineage there sprang the race of the Yadus, which is like an ocean on the earth,—the family-house of splendour; the abode of greatness; the play-ground of endurance and great prosperity and sagacity; possessed of fame acquired by protecting (*all*) creatures who came to it (*for refuge*).[27]

(L. 5.)—Then in the spotless sky which is the family of the Yadus there arose king Dantidurga, as if he were the moon,—who bowed down the hosts of his enemies, (*as the moon bows down other orbs*); who was possessed of accomplishments, (*as the moon is possessed of digits*); and who gratified (*all*) desires by his extensive and great fame, (*as the moon fills all the regions with its extensive and great splendour*).

(L. 7.)—Then the king, Śrî-Kṛishṇa, the paternal uncle of that king,—having risen and having ascended the excellent throne of splendour and bravery, as the sun ascends the summit of Mêru; having dispelled the darkness of the mighty race of the Chalukyas, (*as the sun dispels the darkness*); (*and*) having placed (*his*) commands[28] on the heads of kings, (*as the sun places his rays on the summits of the mountains*),—pervaded the whole world with his extensive radiance.

(L. 9.)—From him there was (*born*) the king Gôvinda; whose mark, consisting of the smoke (*caused*) by the burning of (*his*) enemies, is beheld, as if it were a laudatory inscription, on the surface of the stone which is the disc of the moon.[29]

(L. 10.)—His younger brother was the king Iddhatêjas, whose other name was Nirupama,—whose intellect was powerful in protecting the world; who shook off the multitude of (*his*) enemies; (*and*) by whose signet even the ocean was made known to be (*properly named*) *samudra*.[30]

(L. 11.)—After that there was born Jagattuṅga, whose hostile kings, having all the circuits of their territories taken away from them, became (*flaccid and weak*) like the breasts of women whose youth has departed.

(L. 12.)—And from him was (*born*) Amôghavarsha, of unequalled strength,—by

25 Kâmadêva.

26 The Sômavaṁśa.

27 There are secondary meanings in this verse, referring to the ocean.

28 General Jacob's Paṇḍit translated *aṭṭa* by 'command.' And though these meanings are not given in dictionaries, it must have the sense of 'command' here, as applied to Kṛishṇa, and of 'ray of light' as applied to the sun.

29 Dr. Bühler translated "on the crystal disc of the moon." (Vol. VI. p. 62, note ¶). But, from the use of the word *praśasti*, *śilâtala* is evidently intended to mean a polished slab of stone on which a *praśasti* would be engraved, and which is compared in respect of its brightness with the disc of the moon.

30 There is a play on the double analysis and meaning of *samudra*, *viz.*:—1, *sam+udra*, 'that which has water; the ocean,' and 2, *sa+mudrâ*, 'having a stamp or seal.'

whom the restraint of pleasure that had been caused by the incomparable Châlukyas and Âbhyûshakhas and others was angrily allayed at Viṅgavalli; (*and*) whose pure fame, finding no place (*sufficient to contain it*) inside or outside or on the upper surface of the egg of Viriñchi,[31] was deposited in the deep ocean of the world.

(L. 15.)—From him was (*born*) the king, Akâlavarsha; their shields, together with their swords, were straightway abandoned by (*his*) enemies, terrified by his prowess.

(L. 16.)—The daughter of Kokkala,—the ornament of the lineage of Sahasrârjuna,—became his queen; (*and*) from him was born Jagattuṅga. From the ocean which was Raṇavigraha, the son of Kokkala,—who was sagacious, (*as the ocean is profound*); who was the receptacle of jewels (*of virtuous qualities*), (*as the ocean is of jewels*); (*and*) who was capable of protecting kings from their opponents, (*as the ocean is capable of protecting the mountains from their opponent*[32]), there was produced (*a daughter*) Lakshmî, (*as the goddess Lakshmî was produced from the ocean*). She became the wife of that king, who had no adversary of equal standing with himself, and who was possessed of the ornament of having acquired the fame of Bhîmasêna and Arjuna.

(L. 19.)—Rising from the mountain of dawn which was Jagattuṅga, there was born the son of Lakshmî,—the victorious one; a very sun of a king; whose soul was endowed with splendour; (*and*) who,—having the thunderbolt that was his arm discharged to sever the ranks of all the kings who had fallen away from stedfastness of conduct, (*as Indra discharges his thunderbolt to cut off the wings of the mountains*), (*and*) being worthy to be gazed upon without winking the eyes, (*as Indra is worthy to be gazed upon by the gods*),—was truly called Indrarâja in this world.

(L. 20.)—In the family of the Śrî-Haihayas, which destroyed the pride of Daśakaṇṭha, there was born Kokkalla; and his son, pre-eminent in virtue, was Arjuna; his son was Ammaṇadêva, of exceedingly great might; (*and*) from him was born Dvijâmbâ, as Padmâ (*was born*) from the ocean, (*and*) as Umâ was born from the king of mountains, named Himavân.

(L. 22.)—From the king, Śrî-Indra, there was (*born*) in her, Dvijâmbâ, a king named Gôvindarâja, whose form and beauty surpassed (*those of*) Kâma. Though he had the power (*of displaying it*), no forbidden cruelty towards (*his*) elder brother was displayed (*by him*); no disgrace was incurred (*by him*) by cohabiting with the wives of (*his*) relatives, and other evil actions; demoniacal possession, which is regardless of purity or impurity, was never through fear assumed (*by him*) (*as an excuse for evil deeds*); by (*his*) liberality and by (*his*) unequalled deeds of bravery, he became characterised by daring in the world.[33] Raining down gifts, discharging showers of gold,[34] and raining abundantly,—he is said by people to have caused the whole world to be made solely of gold by (*his*) showers of gold. At the time of his conquering the regions, which causes violent alarm, verily the earth dances (*from joy*), having (*his*) mighty *pâlidhvaja*-banner for (*her*) uplifted hands, and being set free from the other evil kings. With (*their*) minds filled with fear from the thought that he, the rising one, does not bear with any other proud king, (*as they themselves do not bear with any other proud orb*,)—even the moon and the sun run away before him. His beautiful palace,—in which the hostile *Maṇḍalêśvaras* bow down before him; which is resplendent with victory; which has the moon for the regular decoration of its gate-posts; (*and*) which is always possessed of the mass of his lustre,—is resplendent. Verily it is because he bears not with any equal army, possessed of distinguishing qualities, of (*his*) enemies, (*as they themselves do not bear with any equal river*),—that the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ do service to his palace. While he, the king, is continuing (*his*) good government, never in (*any sorts of*) enjoyments is it (*said*) that there is any continuance of dishonour.[35] The soot of the numerous flames of the fire that is his unrestrained prowess (*is*) the dark-blue clouds; the darting gleams of the edge of his rattling sword (*are*) verily the flashes of light-

[31] Brahmâ.—*Brahmâṇḍa*, or 'the egg of Brahmâ,' is the universe.
[32] Indra.
[33] Or *Sâhasâṅka* may be taken as a *biruda* or title of Gôvinda.
[34] *Suvarṇavarsha*; this became one of his *birudas*.
[35] There seems to be some play upon the second meaning of *vimâna* in the sense of 'a self-moving chariot of the gods.'

ning; the pearls that fall down when he cleaves open the temples of the elephants of his enemies who are difficult to be restrained (*are*) the stars; (*and*) the drippings of his fame, which pervades the universe (*are*) the moon and the ocean of milk and (*the serpent*) Śêsha. Since he has his mind intent upon clearing away thorns,[36] the tubular stalks of the waterlilies, as if through fear (*of him*), do not lift themselves up in the waters (*so as to be plucked out*), (*but* Lakshmî, who dwells in the buds (*of them*), is made a (*voluntary*) offering (*by them*); the *kêtakî*-plant takes refuge in a hollow chamber of the earth, the interior of which is darkened by the mass of its own pollen floating about in the wind; (*and*) the jack-tree (*and*) the reed stand (*like servants*) in his door[37] in order to save themselves. And he, wearing the form and beauty of the transient Kandarpa[38] (*and*) laughing to scorn the consuming power of the eye of Hara, became a very eternal Kandarpa; casting ridicule upon the happiness of Śatamakha by means of his attribute of energy which was magnified by the attributes of lordship and counsel, he became a Chaturmukha among Châṇakyas; being intent upon working the welfare of the earth that was pervaded by his renowned and pre-eminent prowess, he became a very Śrî-Nârâyaṇa among valorous men; (*and*), tearing open the fields which were the chests of his enemies with the plough that was the weapon with which his hands were familiar, he became a very Śrî-Triṇêtra among kings.

(L. 39.)—And he, the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the glorious Suvarṇavarshadêva the favourite of the earth, the glorious Vallabhanarêndradêva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the glorious Nityavarshadêva,—being in good health, announces to the *râshṭrapatis*, *vishayapatis*, *grâmakûṭas*, *mahattaras*, *âyuktakas*, *upayuktakas*, and *âdhikârikas*, according as they are concerned:—

(L. 42.)—"Be it known to you that,—[by me*], who am settled permanently at the capital of Mânyakhêṭa, (*and*) who preserve the *agrahâra*-grants of the enjoyment of gods, even though they have been interfered with by previous (*kings*), (*and*) day by day give in hundreds innumerable charters of *namasya*-villages,—in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of my parents and myself, —eight hundred and fifty-five years, or in figures 855 years, having elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, on Thursday the full-moon day of (*the month*) Śrâvaṇa in the Vijaya *saṁvatsara* which is current, under the Pûrvâ-Bhadrapadâ *nakshatra*,—the village of Lôhagrâma, which is included in the Râmapurî Seven-hundred,—together with its rows and clumps of trees, and that which is receivable (*in kind*) in grain and gold, and (*the right to*) fines and (*the proceeds of punishments inflicted for*) faults and the ten (*classes of*) offences, and the *bhûtôpâttapratyaya*; not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops; . . . .[39]; (*and to be held* as) a *namasya*-grant, according to the rule of a grant to a Brâhmaṇ, as long as the moon and the sun may last,—has been given, with copious libations of water, to Kêśavadîkshita, the son of Dâmôdarabhaṭṭa, who started from the city of Puṇḍavardhananagara,[40] who was of the Kauśika *gôtra*, and who was a student of the Vâji-Kâṇva (*śâkhâ*). And the boundaries of it (*are*)—on the east, the village of Ghoḍegrâma; on the south, the village named Vañjulî; on the east, the village named Viñchaviharajha (?); (*and*) on the north, the village named Sonnahî.

(L. 52.)—"No obstruction is to be made by any one to Kêśavadîkshita cultivating, causing to be cultivated, enjoying, or causing to be enjoyed, the village of Lôhagrâma, thus defined as to (*its*) four boundaries. This, my religious gift, is to be assented to and preserved by future kings, whether of my lineage [or others*], recognising that wealth is as unstable as waves of water slowly agitated to and fro by the wind, (*and*) that life is as transient as an autumn cloud, and that the reward of a

[36] There is a play on the second meaning of *kaṇṭaka* in the sense of 'a troublesome seditious enemy,' and on *lakshmî* in the sense of 'wealth.'

[37] The secondary allusion is to the posts of his doors being made of jack-wood, and his door-keepers standing with reeds or canes in their hands.

[38] Kâmadêva, who was reduced to ashes by the flame from the third eye in the forehead of Hara or Śiva, because he attempted to inspire him, while engaged in religious austerities, with love for Pârvatî.

[39] The meaning of *sa*(?) *tôttarîya* is not apparent.

[40] See note 22 above, and the introductory remarks.

grant of land belongs in common (*to him who makes it and to all who continue it.*)"

(L. 55.)—And it has been said by Râmabhadra,—"This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you; thus does Râmabhadra again and again make his request to all future princes!" The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), and he who assents to (*such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He is born as a worm in the ordure of a dog and is cooked (*in torment*) together with his ancestors, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! By giving with stint, and by confiscating that which has been given, the whole of that which has been given from birth upwards becomes fruitless: He dwells in the world of Brahmâ for a thousand crores and a hundred crores of ages, who gives a grant of land! May there be the prosperity of the whole world! Ôm; reverence to Śiva!

No. CXXXIV.

After Gôvinda V. the succession went to the descendants of Jagattuṅga II. by his second wife Gôvindâmbâ,—probably through Gôvinda V. leaving no issue. There is at any rate nothing in the inscriptions to indicate that any act of forcible usurpation took place.

The sons of Jagattuṅga II. by Gôvindâmbâ were Kṛishṇa III. and Amôghavarsha II., whose wife was Kundakadêvî, the daughter of Yuvarâja,—who was probably Yuvarâja I. of the family of the Kalachuris or Kulachuris of Tripura. It is not certain whether Krishṇa III. and Amôghavarsha II. actually reigned; but the shortness of the interval between Śaka 855, the latest date obtained for Gôvinda V., and Śaka 867, the earliest date obtained for Kṛishṇa IV., is against their having done so,—especially as they were anterior by one generation to Gôvinda V., and as the inscription now published shows that Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga did reign.

Kṛishṇa III. left no issue. Amôghavarsha II. left two sons,—Koṭṭiga[41] or Khoṭṭiga, also called Nityavarsha II.; and Kṛishṇa IV. or Kannara, also called Nirupama II. and Akâlavarsha III. Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Kṛishṇa IV.; *viz.*, there being no probability of Koṭṭiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛishṇa IV. was joined with him in the government, and then the latter's son Kakka III. Koṭṭiga seems to have died between the date of the present inscription and the date of the Kardâ grant in the following year.

The present inscription is from a stone-tablet leaning against, or built into, the wall of the temple of Kalamêśvara at Adaraguñchi, in the Hubbaḷḷi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The sculptures at the top of the stone are—three canopies or pinnacles of temples; then a compartment containing the sun and moon, three seated figures, facing full-front, and a *liṅga*; and then a third compartment containing a cow and calf, some small sacrificial implement, Nandî, and two more seated figures, facing full-front. The writing covers a space of about 2′ 3½″ high by 1′ 9″ broad; it commences with three short lines to the right of the lower part of the sculptured surface. The language is Old-Canarese.

The inscription is dated at the time of an eclipse of the sun, on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Âśvayuja of Śaka 893 (A.D. 971-2), the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*, while Koṭṭiga, also called Nityavarsha II., was reigning, and while his feudatory Permânaḍi-Mârasiṁha, a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of the Gaṅga family who is mentioned in other inscriptions of the period, was governing the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, the Purigere Three-hundred, and the Beḷvala or Beḷvola Three-hundred. And it records grants that were made by a certain Pañchala, who was governing the Sebbi Thirty, and by Malliga-Gâdayya, to the god Malligêśvara or Śiva. Sebbi is evidently the modern Chabbi or Chebbi, in the Hubbaḷḷi Tâlukâ, four miles to the south of Adaraguñchi.

Transcription.[42]

[1] Ôm Svasti Nityavarsha-
[2] dêva śrîpṛithviva-

[41] His name is written thus in the present inscription; but in the Kardâ grant it is written Khoṭṭiga.

[42] From an ink-impression.

[3] llabha mah[â]râjâ-
[4] dhirâja paramêśvara paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ râja-mârttaṇḍaṁ Raṭṭa-Kanda-
[5] rppaṁ chitra-veḍe(ḍa)ṁga[ṁ*] śrîmat Koṭṭigadêva[ṁ*] chatu[ḥ]-samu-
[6] dra-payyâ(ryya)ntam=â-chandr-ârkka-târaṁ baraṁ râjy-âbhivṛiddhige salu[tta]-
[7] y(m)-ire [| *] Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ=eṇṭu nû-
[8] ṟa toṁbhatta-mûraneya Prajâpati-sa[ṁ*]vachchha(tsa)raṁ
[9] saluttam-ire tad(d-) va(-va)rsh-âbhyâ(bhya)ntarad=Âshva(śva)yuja-
[10] d=amavâse Âdityavâra sûryya-grahaṇa [| *] Śrîma-
[11] t Pa(pe)rmmânaḍi-Mârasi[ṁ*]ggha(gha)dêva[ṁ*] Gaṅgavâḍi-toṁbhatta-
[12] ṟusâsiramumaṁ Purigere-mûnûṟa[43](ṟu)mam Beḷvala-
[13] mûnûṟumaṁ sukhadariṇ=âḷuttam-ire [| *] Śrîmat
[14] Pañchaladêva[ṁ*] Sebbi-mûvattan=âḷutta[ṁ*] eṇbhatta-nâlva-
[15] rggaṁ kâla[ṁ*] kalchi koṭṭa sthiti Rôṇa[da*] hannir-vvaṟugadyâṇaṁ
[16] siddh-âya uppu tuppa kâṇaṁ rasaṁ vajjaniyuṁ [| *]
[17] Eṇbhatta-na(nâ)lvara kayyal Malliga-Gâdayya[ṁ*] Ma-
[18] lligêśvarakke koṇḍu biṭṭa mattar=âṟu aruvaṇaṁ Rôṇa-
[19] da poṁ-dharaṇaṁ | (||) Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhukti(ktâ) râjâ(ja)nô(bhiḥ) Saga-
[20] ga[44]r-âji(di)bhiḥ yasya yasya yarâ(dâ) bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya tasya
[21] tadâ phalaṁ | (||) Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*]ṁ vâ yô hârêharê-[45]
[22] ti(ta) vasundhari(râṁ) shashṭhi(shṭi)-rvva(va)[r*]sha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâ[ṁ]
[23] jâyatê krimiḥ [||*]

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! While Nityavarshadêva, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, a very sun among kings, a very Kandarpa among the Raṭṭas, a very marvel of wonderful deeds,[46] the glorious Koṭṭigadêva, was continuing, with increase of sovereignty, up to (*the shores of*) the four oceans, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last:—

(L. 7.)—While the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara,* which was the eight hundred and ninety-third (*in*) the centuries of years that had elapsed from the time of the Śaka king was current; (*at the time of*) an eclipse of the sun (*on*) Sunday, the new-moon day of (*the month*) Âśvayuja in that year:—

(L. 10.)—While the glorious Permânaḍi-Mârasiṅghadêva was with happiness governing the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, the Purigeṟe Three-hundred, and the Beḷvala[47] Three-hundred:—

(L. 13.)—The property that was given by the glorious Pañchaladêva, having washed the feet of the Eighty-four (*Mahâjanas*), while he was governing the Sebbi Thirty, (*was*) twelve *aṟu-gadyâṇas* of Rôṇa,[48] (*and*) a fixed contribution of a *kâṇa* of salt and ghee (*and*) a *vajjani* of (*sugar-cane*) juice.

(L. 17.)—Malliga-Gâdayya gave into the hands[49] of the Eighty-four (*Mahâjanas*), for the temple of the god Malligêśvara, six *mattars* (*of land*), one *aruvaṇa,* and a *dharaṇa* of gold of Rôṇa.

(L. 19.)—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the fruits (*of this grant that has been made*)! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

No. CXXXV.

In the Canarese country there are several inscriptions of Kṛishṇa IV. or Kannara, also called Nirupama II. and Akâlavarsha III. The earliest date that they give for him is Śaka 867 (A.D. 945-6), the Viśvâvasu *saṁvatsara*; and the latest is Śaka 878 (A.D. 956-7), the Nala *saṁvatsara.*

[43] This *ṟa* was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line.

[44] This repetition of *ga* is a mistake.

[45] These letters, *harê,* repeated unnecessarily, are half effaced in the original.

[46] *Chitra-veḍaṅga*; compare *guṇada beḍaṅgi,* 'a very marvel of virtue,' which is applied to Akkâdêvî of the Western Châlukya family in l. 5 of an inscription at Arasibîḍi; and *ânê-veḍaṅga* 'a very marvel of refuge,' which is applied to Kṛishṇa IV. in l. 1 of the following inscription.—*Beḍaṅga* and *beḍaṅgi* are evidently connected with *beḍagu, beḍaṅgu,* 'wonder, surprise; novelty, curiosity, marvellousness.'

[47] In Canarese inscriptions, the usual form of this name is Belvola.

[48] The chief town of the Rôṇ Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District.

[49] *i.e.* 'into the trustee-ship.'

The present inscription is from a stone-tablet on the left or west side of the god, at the temple of Vîrabhadra at Soraṭûr, in the Gadag Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. I have no information as to what sculptures there may be at the top of the stone. The writing covers a space of about 3′11″ high by 2′ 3″ broad. The language is Old-Canarese.

The inscription records several grants that were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, on Sunday the full-moon day of the month Mârgaśira of Śaka 873 (A.D. 951-2), the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*. The original gives the name of the *saṁvatsara* as Virôdhi, which was Śaka 851; but the numerals, 873, are very distinct, and undoubtedly the *saṁvatsara* intended was Virôdhikṛit, which was Śaka 873.

This inscription gives Saraṭavura, 'the city or village of lizards,' as the ancient name of Soraṭûr. The name Soraṭûr itself occurs in a Hoysaḷa inscription of Narasiṁha II., dated Śaka 1145, at Harihar,[50] in which a graphic account is given of a battle between Ballâḷa II. and a certain Sêvuṇa, who appears to have been the commander-in-chief of the army of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Jaitugi I., and whom Ballâḷa II. besieged and defeated near Soraṭûr and pursued from there up to the Kṛishṇaverṇâ, where he slew him. And further on, the same inscription again mentions Soraṭûr along with the hill-forts of Erambarage or Yelburga, Virâṭakôṭe or Hângal, Gutti, Beḷḷiṭṭage, Raṭṭapaḷḷi or Raṭṭêhaḷḷi in the Dhârwâḍ District, and Kurugôḍ near Baḷḷâri, which were besieged by Ballâḷa II. in the same campaign.

Transcription.[51]

[1] Ôm Svasty=Akâḷavarishadêva śrîpṛithu(thi)vîvallabha mahârâjâdhirâjan=ânê-veḍe(ḍa)ṅgaṁ
[2] mada-gaja-mallaṁ dhâlake nallâtaṁ Śrî-Kannaradêvana râjyam=uttarô-
[3] rô[52]ttaraṁ salutt-ire [|*] Saraṭavuraman=aṁgarakaṁ Śrî-Ruddapayyan=âḷutt-ire [|*]
[4] Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âkrânta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁga[ḷ*] 873 Virôdhi[kṛit*][53]-saṁvatsarada Mârgga-
[5] śira-mâsada puṇṇameyum=Âdityavâramuṁ Rôhiṇi(ṇî)-nakshatramuṁ sô(sô)-
[6] ma-grahaṇad-andu [|*] Ruddapayyana perggaḍe Âchapayyanuṁ gâmuṇḍa Sâmi-
[7] Kaḷteyammanuṁ Bhîmarâśi-bhaṭṭârara kâlaṁ karchchi sâyira baḷḷiya
[8] tôṁṭamaṁ dêvargge koṭṭar=Ayvadiṁbaruṁ ekkad=ire grahaṇaḍa tat-kâla-
[9] doḷ âyaṁ taḷar-ele-sose [|*] Siddh-âyam=ellaṁ dêvargge barisakke
[10] arasargge nibaddhaṁ mûvattu kariya drarmma(mma)maṁ goravar=ttîruva-
[11] r=Î sthitiyaṁ tappad-antu ûroḍeya Piṭṭayyaṁ kâlg=ereye gâ-
[12] muṇḍa Sâmi-Kaḷteyammanuṁ Âchapayyanuṁ kâlaṁ kalche mattaṁ
[13] maṭa(ṭha)kke vidyâ-dâna[kka*]ṁ pannir-mmattar=keyyaṁ koṭṭar=Kkeyi siddh-â-
[14] yaṁ barisakke âru kariya drarmma(mma)maṁ tîruvar=I variṁ mê-
[15] g=aḷidu ko(?kô)ḷal=aḷi(?)d=ayvadiṁbaruṁ kâpû(pâ)ḍuvar [|*] Bhavâni-seṭṭi pêrin[o*]ḷ=o-
[16] ndu paṇamaṁ dêvargge mâḍidan=Idan=tappade naḍeyisidâtaṁ
[17] sâsiraṁ[54] kavileya kôḍuṁ koḷaga(gumaṁ) ponnuṁ beḷḷiyumaṁ kaṭṭi
[18] sâyi(si)rbbar=ppârvvargge dânaṁ-goṭṭa phalaṁ êḷ-kôṭi tapôjanakkaṁ
[19] Vâraṇâsiyoḷaṁ Prayâgeyoḷaṁ Gu(ku)rukshêtradoḷaṁ
[20] sahaśra(sra)-bhôjanaṁ-mâḍida phaḷam=akkuṁ [|*] Idan=aḷidâtaṁ Vâra-
[21] ṇâsiyoḷaṁ Prayâgeyoḷaṁ sâsiraṁ[55] kavileyuṁ sâsi-
[22] rbbar=brâhmaṇaran=êḷ-kôṭi tapôjana[mu*]man=aḷida paṁchamahâ-
[23] pâtakana pôda lôkakke pôkuṁ ||* Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*]ṁ v[â]
[24] yô harêti(ta) vasundharân(m) shashṭiṁ var(r-) sha(-sha)-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi vi[sh]ṭ[â]-
[25] yâ[ṁ*] jâyatê krimiḥ |(||) Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*)ṁ vâ |[56] pâla-
[26] yanti naraḥ=pranyâ[57] | kôṭiṁ varsha-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi |[58] Rudra-lô-

[50] *P. S. and O.-C. Inscriptions*, No. 123.

[51] From an ink-impression supplied by the Mâmlatdâr of Lakshmêśwar.

[52] This repetition of *rô* is a mistake.

[53] The Virôdhi *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 851. The numerals here, 873, are quite distinct; and, Śaka 873 being the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara*, it is obvious that the omission of the letters *kṛit* is only due to carelessness on the part of the engraver.

[54] This *Anusvâra* is unnecessary.

[55] This *Anusvâra* is unnecessary.

[56] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[57] Some correction is required here; but it is not apparent what was intended.

[58] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[27] kê pratishṭhita(tâḥ) || Âroḷu vêdaṁ bâjisal=app-ant=akkarama-
[28] n=ayvadiṁbara besadiṁ Gûḷigaveṟe-Nâgaṁ dharey=u-
[29] ḻḻ[59]-inegan=negaḷe baredan=î sâ(śâ)sanama[ṁ*] ||*

Translation.

Ôm! Hail! While the sovereignty of Akâḷavarshadêva, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the supreme king of great kings, a very marvel of refuge,[60] a very hero against infuriated elephants, he who is excellent . . . . ,[61] Śrî-Kannaradêva, was continuing with perpetual increase:—

(L. 3.)—While the body-guard[62] Srî-Ruddapayya was governing (*the city of*) Saraṭavura:—

(L. 5.)—On Sunday, the full-moon day of the month Mârgaśira of the Virôdhikṛit *saṁvatsara* which was the eight hundred and seventy-third (*in*) the centuries of years that had elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, under the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra*, (*and*) at the time of an eclipse of the moon:—

(L. 6.)—Âchapayya, the *Pergaḍe* of Ruddapayya, and Sâmi-Kaḷteyamma, the village-headman,—having washed the feet of the venerable Bhîmarâśi,—gave to the god a piece of garden-land of (*the measure of*) one thousand (*betel-nut*) creepers.

(L. 8.)—(*There was given by*) the Fifty (*Mahâjanas*), uniting together, at the time of the eclipse,[63] a contribution of a young betel-leaf plant in the leaf.

(L. 9.)—All the fixed contribution (*was that*) the *Goravas* should supply to the god, year by year, thirty *drammas* of (?) charcoal, (*being the amount*) appointed (*to be given*) to the king.

(L. 10.)—When the *Ûroḍeya* Piṭṭayya made supplication at their feet that this ordinance should not be broken, Sâmi-Kaḷteyamma, the village-headman, and Âchapayya,—having washed the feet (*of the Fifty Mahâjanas*,)—gave also twelve *mattars* of culturable land for the *maṭha* and for education.

(L. 13.)—The fixed contribution on the culturable land (*was that*) they should supply, year by year, six *drammas* of charcoal. . . . .[64] The Fifty (*Mahâjanas*) shall protect (*these grants*).

(L. 15.)—Bhavânisetti gave to the god one *paṇa* on each *pêṟu*.

(L. 16.)—He who continues this (*grant*) without fail, shall have the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows and presenting them to a thousand Brâhmaṇs, (*and*) the reward of giving a thousand meals to seven crores of ascetics at Vâraṇâsi or Prayâge or Kurukshêtra! He who destroys this shall go to the world to which a man goes, guilty of the five great sins, who destroys a thousand tawny-coloured cows or a thousand Brâhmaṇs or seven crores of ascetics at Vâraṇâsi or Prayâge!

(L. 23.)—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! Those men who protect land that has been given, whether by themselves or by another, are established for sixty thousand crores of years in the world of Rudra!

(L. 27.)—At the command of the Fifty (*Mahâjanas*), when they made the proclamation of the sentence[65] "Who has (*the requisite*) knowledge?"—Gûḷigaveṟe-Nâga wrote this edict, to be famous as long as the earth might last.

[59] The *prâsa* is violated here.

[60] *Âne* seems to be connected with *ânu*, 'to stay, prop, support.'

[61] *Dhâlake*; meaning not known.

[62] *Aṅgaraka*,=*aṅgaraksha*.

[63] Or perhaps "on the occasion of (*every*) eclipse."

[64] The meaning of *ivaṟiṁ mêg=aḻidu ko*(? *kô*)*ḷal=aḻi* (?) *ḍu* is not apparent.

[65] *lit.* "letters."—The meaning of the first part of this verse, however, is doubtful.

MISCELLANEA.

A BUDDHIST TOPE IN THE PIṬṬÂPURAM ZAMINDÂRI.

In the *Indian Antiquary* for February last (vol. XII, p. 34), Sir Walter Elliot published a notice of some finds of Buddhist caskets and other relics in the Piṭṭâpuram Zamindâri of the Gôdâvarî District, Madras Presidency, with a plate of drawings. On reading there that all the relics had been sent to the Central Museum at Madras, I visited the Museum, and learned that while, as I had supposed, the stone caskets were there, none of the other smaller relics mentioned could be traced. These losses are very much to be regretted. Of course Dr. Bidie is not respon-

sible, and my remarks must not be taken as in any way implying that he is to blame. All this occurred before he assumed charge of the Museum. There are two portions of crystal caskets in the Museum alleged to have come from Amarâvatî, and placed under a glass case with portions of a marble outer-casket from the same place. Is it possible that the crystal caskets really came from Piṭṭâpuram? They look much like those marked 1*d* and 4*c*, in Sir Walter Elliot's plate.

R. SEWELL.

PROPER NAMES IN ṬHÂṆÂ DISTRICT.

SIR,—The following I am sure will interest some of your readers.

The Âgrîs, Koḷîs, Mâḷis, and other castes at Wasâi (Bassein) and adjoining places, who, it is said, are natives converted to Christianity, and some of whom have even the same surnames as Koṅkaṇastha Brâhmans, are named and married by the Pâdre. There is nothing peculiar in this. But many of them have names given them from the days on which they are born. The name *Somá*, for instance, is given to one born on a Monday. He who is born on Tuesday is frequently named *Mangaḷyá*. One born on Wednesday is called *Budhu* or *Budhyá*(?). *Bestara*, *Bistara*, or *Bistura* is given to one born on Thursday, and *Sukara* or *Śukaryá* to one born on Friday. One was named *Sinwar*, which word I first thought was a corruption of the word *Signor*, but afterwards conjectured must be a corruption of *Śánavára* or *Śánivára*, Saturday. One man strengthened this conjecture by his testimony. I did not hear of a name corresponding to Sunday. But I heard there were persons bearing the name of *Âditvára*.

Some derive their names from those of animals, such as *Undíra*, a mouse, *Kolhá* or *Kola*, a jackal, *Kávaḷya*, a crow, and so on.

Another peculiarity with these people is, that when asked their names they give the father's name first and then their own, and will not allow others even to call them, as people do in other parts of the Ṭhâṇâ Collectorate—viz., the personal name first, and then the father's. They thus interrogate the person who insists on the latter being the proper mode, "Who comes first, or rather who is born first, the father or the son?" If they at all allow the latter mode, they still persist in saying Sinvar Zâvarchâ or Valaji Krishṇâchâ, thus adding the suffix *chá* to denote that Sinvar or Valaji, as the case may be, is the son of Zâvar or Krishṇa.

Another thing that I marked was, that people of this part have no objection to receive from the hands of *máḷis*, gardeners, and even *gavaḷis*, milkmen and women, things that they deal in, such as fruit, vegetables, plantain-leaves, flowers, and milk. This circumstance is to be noted because in other parts people are seen to refuse to receive the same things from the hands of Christians. It thus appears that these people are more or less naturalised, and are looked upon more as natives than Christians. There is another class seen in this part, who are known by the name of *Nave Maráṭhê*. When an explanation of this word was sought, it was said that such and such a man is so called because his grandfather was a *Kiristánva* (a convert Christian), but he and his father have become Hindus, and have been looked upon as such.

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Sanskrit Teacher, Elphinstone High School.

Bombay, 16*th June* 1883.

NOTES.

DURRÂNÎ—*a derivation*. In the *J. A. S. B.* vol. XLIX, p. 95, in an article on the *Route of the Tal-Chotiálí Field Force*, I wrote as follows:—"The old name of the Durânîs was A b d â l î, till Aḥmad Shâh, an Abdâlî of the Sadozai family or sub-section of the Popalzai section of the Abdâlîs, the hero of Pânîpaṭ in 1747, took the title of *Durr-i-Durrân*, the Pearl of Pearls, and named his tribe after himself Durânîs." However, lately a dweller in those parts has assured me that this was wrong, although my statement merely followed the usually accepted derivation. He says that the original name of the Abdâlîs or Durrânîs was Muḥammadzai, and that they had about 500 years ago a great saint, now known as Shâh Makhsûd Abdâl, who is buried at Shakr Darrâ (the Sugar Pass), about 50 miles N.W. of Kandahâr. The tribe, as a body, became followers of this saint, whence their name Abdâlî. This Shâh Makhsûd had a habit of wearing a pearl in each ear as earrings, and so obtained the *soubriquet* of Durrânî, the pearl-wearer. His followers so far adopted his custom as to wear small portions of gold wire clipped on to the lobe of the ear and this many do still, whence the tribe became called Durrânîs. My informant says that Aḥmad Shâh's title was not Durr-i-Durrân but Durr-i-Durrânî, the Pearl of the Durrânîs. As is well-known the modern Durrânîs are divided into Zîraks and Panjpâos, and the Zîraks further divided into Popalzais, Alakôzais, Bârakzais and Achakzais. The Sadozai family of Popalzais ruled in Afghânistân from about 1716 to 1818 A.D., when the present ruling family came into power. They are the Muḥammadzai family of

the Bârakzais, and the point with regard to them in the present connection is, that they are so called after the original name of the whole Durrânî tribe, having retained that designation as being that portion of the tribe which never followed their great saint Shâh Makhsûd. This derivation and information is all new to me, and I give it for what it is worth.

About this Shâh Makhsûd I would remark that the same power of turning stones into sugar is ascribed to him as is so universally ascribed to the better known Shekh Farîdu'd-dîn of Pâk Paṭṭan in the Panjâb. Shekh Farîd's title of Shakr Ganj, or Treasury of Sugar, is derived from this legend, and Shâh Makhsûd's tomb in the Shakr Darrâ, Sugar Pass, is said to be on the site of his miracles.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ON THE DATES ON THE COINS OF THE HINDU KINGS OF KÂBUL, BY SIR E. C. BAYLEY.

To the *Numismatic Chronicle* (3rd Ser. vol. II, pp. 128-165), Sir E. Clive Bayley has contributed a paper 'On the coins of the Hindu kings of Kâbul.' These coins had already been described by Mr. E. Thomas in 1848,[1] who thought that among the signs which occur before the head of the horseman found on one type of them he could detect dates, and on some of the *later* coins he believed he had made out a degraded and contracted form of the word *Gupta*.[2] Sir E. C. Bayley having examined all the coins of this type within his reach, has come to the conclusion—that on certain silver coins of the bull-and-horseman type, and which all bear the name of Syâlapati, the earliest of the Brahmanical kings of Kâbul, there are dates in numerals of a form between those of the mediæval Indian and the modern Arabic forms. In some cases the dates are followed by the word "Gupta," and these dates he reads as '98 (for 698), and perhaps '99 Guptà, and as 707 and 727 (Gupta). On certain other coins of the same general type, but of conventional execution, which bear the names of Syâlapati and Sâmanta, indiscriminately, and in rare cases of Bhîmadêva, and Khvadavayaka, other dates occur, which he reads as 802 'Gu,' 812 'Gu,' 813, 814, 815 and 817, and on a still later copper coin of degraded type—'866.' These he regards as posthumous, and as belonging to the latest and subordinate kings of the dynasty. Then, in the British Museum is a coin bearing the conventional lion or leopard of the type found on Varka-(Vakka- or Vanka-) dêva's coins, but on the other side a peacock of the form found on the small silver Gupta coins. Above the lion is a Hindi legend which is either Śrî Kamara or Kamra (dêva), possibly it may stand for Kumâra; and is identifiable with Kamlûâ—the name given in the *Jami-ul-Hikayât* to the 'king of India', there described as the opponent of Amrû Lais (878-900 A.D.). This makes it necessary to place part of his reign, the reign of Padma, and the first reign of Varkadêva, between 878 A.D. and Syâlapati's accession; and the first reign of Varka must have been of some duration, for Muhammadan writers describe him as going through various phases of conduct before he was dethroned. A copper coin bearing the name of Padama or Padma is precisely similar to that of Varkadêva, and hence Sir Edward assigns his place before Varka and after Kamara. Further, on a copper coin of Sâmantadêva—imitated from those of Varka, as certain of his coins are already known to be—and which bears above the lion an Arabic legend which it is proposed to read as Al Mutaki (or Al Muttaki) b'illah,—being the name of the Khâlif who reigned from 940 to 944 A.D. On the other side is the name of Sâmanta. From this it is inferred that Syâlapati was contemporary for a time with Khâlif Al Muktadir b'illah (907-8 to 932 A.D.), and that he was probably the king who struck the medal in his honour (published by Mr. Thomas) of the bull-and-horseman type.

Founding on Dr. Bühler's identification of Śîlâditya VI. of Valabhi with the Dhruvabhaṭa in Hiuen Thsang's time and other similar data,[3] he concludes that the Guptâ era began in 190 A.D., and derives the following results—

1. Kamara or Kamlûâ,[4] contemp. with 'Amrû Lais	A.D. 878 to 887
2. Padama or Pakma	
3. Varkadêva's first reign	
4. Syâlapati	887-916
5. Varkadêva's 2nd reign, say 10 years	916-926
6. Sâmantadêva	cir. 926[5]-940

Mr. Thomas would object to Sir E. C. Bayley's readings that the latter reads all the dates with the heads of the figures towards the area of the

[1] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX, pp. 177-198.

[2] Sir H. Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* vol. II, p. 422.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 80; vol. IX, p. 254; vol. X, p. 110; and *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. XIII, p. 571.

[4] Mr. Thomas would identify him with Khvadavayaka or Khêdavayaka: *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX, (1848), p. 180.

[5] Mr. Thomas had conjecturally fixed the date of Sâmanta's accession as 935, A.D. For Al Birûni's list of this dynasty see Reinaud, *Fragm. Arabes et Persans*, pp. 152-154, 221-227, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 178f. 196-7, 212, 246, 257; Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. I, p. 330; Sir H. Elliot, *Hist. Ind.* vol, II, pp. 420-427.—ED.

coins, whereas Mr. Thomas would read all those, at least on the later groups, as running from the horse's head towards its feet, and as representing in more or less corrupt forms one uniform date, *viz.*, 617, which he considers the initial date of Sâmanta's accession in the Gupta era (318+617) or 935 A.D. Sir Edward thus reads the dates in a direction different from the legend on the other side and from the monograms on the same side of the coins. But on the earlier series there are dates written in both directions, and on Gupta coins the legends sometimes read round the edge with the heads pointing outwards, and in the area perpendicularly—one letter above another; and on the coins of Toramâna the king's name is written round the edge with the heads of the letters pointing inwards. One date, *viz.*, 814, he admits has been mechanically copied on later coins; but other similar cases are found in later Indian coinages.

In a postscript, Sir Edward shows that the dates of the Gupta inscriptions given by General Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. IX, pp. 9-16, which the author tries to reconcile with an initial epoch in 167 A.D., agree much better with the epoch of 190 A.D. for the commencement of the Gupta era.[6] He further suggests that 319 A.D. —the initial year of the Valabhi era, would thus be 129 Gupta and the date of Kumâragupta's death.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1882 is largely occupied by the continuation of Prof. Sayce's decipherment and translation of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van. (See *ante*, vol. XI, p. 300.) This is followed by the Sanskrit text of the *Śikshâ-patrî* of the Svâmi-Nârâyaṇa sect, edited with a translation, by Prof. Monier Williams. The author observes that his version is the first made by any European scholar; and though he notices the English version by Bhogilâl Prânjîvandâs in Briggs's *Cities of Gujarâshtra*, he seems not to be aware of another English version that appeared many years ago in the *Dñyânôdaya.* It may be noted that in the *Śikshâ-patrî*, the works approved of as authoritative for the sect are:—The *Vêdas*, the *Vêdânta-sûtras* of Vyâsa, the *Bhâgavata-purâṇa*, the thousand names of Vishṇu in the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, and the precepts of Vidura, the *Vâsudêva-Mâhâtmya* from the Vaishṇavà-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purâṇa*, and the *Smṛiti* of Yâjñavalkya. The *Śikshâ-patrî* was written in 1826.

The next paper is a short one by Stanley Lane Poole, on "The successors of the Seljûks in Asia Minor," in which he gives tables of the ten dynasties that rose from the ruins of the Seljûky kingdom, and were afterwards absorbed in the 'Othmânly empire (A.D. 1300-1472).

The last 35 pages are occupied with the first part of a discussion on the *Yh-King*—"the oldest book of the Chinese and its authors,"—by Terrien de la Couperie.

This part is accompanied by the *Annual Report* read in May 1882, occupying 151 pages, and giving a very complete outline of all that was done in Asiatic research during the preceding year.

The part for January 1883 opens with Part 2nd of Sir E. C. Bayley's "Genealogy of Modern Numerals," being on the "Simplification of the Ancient Indian Numerals." (*Ante*, vol. XI, pp. 299 and 268). Here the author has to deal with the questions treated of in detail by Moritz Cantor in his *Mathematische Beiträge* (Halle, 1869), and Woepcke in his *Traité sur l'Introduction de l'Arithmétique Indienne et Occident* (Rome 1859), and *Sur la propagation des Chiffres Indienne*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. VI, tome I. He notices the *abacus* and its use in computations, with the principle it involves of the values of 'position;' and he contends that the value of position among the numerals and the invention of the '*zero*' were both of Indian origin, and that the invention of the former preceded the latter by a century or two. It was about 773 A.D. that the Arabs became acquainted with the Indian numerals and notation. Âryabhaṭa (born at Kusâmbhipura, 475 A.D.) describes a mode of numeration based on the value of position; he implies the same in his mode of extracting roots,[1] and he uses the word *sthâna* = 'place,' to signify the position of the numeral signs, which may indicate a knowledge of fixed places in a decimal series. Again, Varâha Mihira (died 587 A.D.) uses the word *śûnya* (a void), in a way that seems to imply that he knew the modern system. On this Dr. Bühler says:—"If a man expresses (*Bṛihat Saṁhita*, viii, 20) the number 3750 by the words—the nought (emptiness), the arrows, the mountains, and the Râmas—it seems to me that he must have thought of 3750, and cannot have

[6] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, pp. 321-324.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 48; and vol. X, p. 183; and *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. VII, tome XIII, pp. 397, 405-8.

had in his mind [numeral symbols] (or 3000 + 700 + 50) if he had the latter before his eyes, he would have said or used words equivalent to the three thousand, the seven hundred, and the fifty. There are of course hundreds of similar instances in the *Brihat Saṁhita*." But the use of the terms *śûnya, kha, vyôma, viyat, ambara,* (empty), does not necessarily imply the use of a sign for zero,[2] but only a vacant space in the abacus table. The Valabhî grants and some others are dated in the early system of figures, and the earliest example of the modern decimal system is the date of the Dhiniki plate of 738 A.D.[3] When once the zero was introduced this system seems at once to have superseded the older, except in the extreme south of India, among the Tamiḷs and Malayâḷams. The only inscription yet known containing old figures, after 738 A.D. is that of Govinda III. of Ś. 730, in which a modified form of the symbol for 20 occurs.[4] The author then argues from what we know of Muḥammad bin Muṣa al Khwârizmi's work, that the Hindus used the abacus in the form of the *tableau à colonnes*, before the invention of the zero figure. On the extent and character of the Greek system of Arithmetic he cites the treatise of Delambre and the excellent article by Sir John Leslie in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XVIII (1811); showing that they came very near to the decimal system, but probably did not feel the want of it. The rest of the article is devoted to rebutting the claims of the Neo-Pythagoreans to the discovery of our present system.

The second paper is a short one on "Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins," by the accomplished Oriental numismatist, Mr. E. Thomas. The third is on the "Early Historical relations between Phrygia and Kappadokia," by W. M. Ramsay, to which he adds an account of the rock-sculptures of Boghazkeui and Euyuk, and of some archaic Phrygian inscriptions.

In Part II, for April, the first article is a copy of the *Tattva-muktâvalî*, of Gauḍa-Pûrṇânanda-Chakravarṭin, a native of Bengal, by Prof. E. B. Cowell. It is an attack on the Vedânta system by a follower of the Pûrṇâ-prajña school of Madhva, described in the 5th chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*. The text of the poem in 122 ślôkas is accompanied by a translation. This is followed by two Sanskṛit ślôkas—one addressed to Prof. H. H. Wilson, and one referred to by Sir Wm. Jones—also by Prof. Cowell. The next paper is by the Rev. James Sibree, on "Malagasy Place-Names." H. L. St. Barbe, B.C.S., contributes the text of the Burman *Namakkâra,* with translation. The poem is entirely in praise of Buddha. C. Gardner contributes an account of "Chinese Laws and Customs;" and Terrien de la Couperie gives the conclusion of his paper on the *Yh-King*—the oldest book of the Chinese.

The first Number of vol. LII of the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has appeared late, and contains five papers. The first is a collection of folklore, songs, and snatches from Eastern Gorakhpur, collected by Hugh Fraser, C.S., and edited with notes by F.H. Fisher, C.S., and G.A. Grierson, C.S. The second paper, by Surgeon-Major Bidie, is on the Pagoda or Varâha Coins of Southern India, illustrated by 30 drawings of coins, some of them copies from Elliot's illustrations. Dr. Bidie repeats the mistake so often made that Kalyâṇa was the capital of the Chalukyas, and on other points he relies solely on statements in Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer and Inscriptions*, which are not supported by satisfactory proofs. It is desirable we should have fuller accounts of the coins of Southern India, and we welcome this contribution to our knowledge. The next paper is a further supplement to Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli*, by C. I. Rodgers, in which he describes and figures 35 new coins. General Cunningham gives a very short continuation on the "Relics from Ancient Persia," found on the banks of the Oxus,[5] illustrated by two plates. And lastly, Dr Râjendralâla Mitra has a long "Note on a Sanskṛit inscription from Lalitpur district," of A.D. 1424. It is a Jaina document.

An Extra number for 1882, and separately paged has also been published, containing a *Chrestomathy and Vocabulary of the Maithilî language of North Bihâr*, by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. This is a scholarly compilation, and with the *Grammar*, also published as an Extra number for 1880, gives an excellent and very complete and accurate presentation of this interesting dialect, reflecting much credit on the painstaking industry and accurate scholarship of the author. Such separate publications, however, would be much better dissociated from the Society's *Journal*, which they are not paged to bind up with, nor are the two parts in this case paged consecutively to bind together.

[2] See *Jour. Asiat.* ser. VII, tome XVI, pp. 443, 463; also ser. VI, tome I, p. 284; *Nouv. Jour. Asiat.* tome XVII, p. 16; *Kosmos*, vol. II, pp. lxxxi, 164.

[3] *Ante*, p. 152; and conf. vol. XI, pp. 110-112.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 59.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* vol. XI, p. 327.

SANSKṚIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 258.)

No. CXXXVI.

KṚISHṆA IV. was succeeded by his son Kakka or Karka III., also called Kakkala, Kărkara, Amôghavarsha III., Vallabhanarêndra III., and Nṛipatuṅga III.

The present inscription was published originally by Mr. W. H. Wathen in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. II. pp. 379 f. and Vol. III. pp. 94 ff. I re-edit it—as far as line 50, from two of the original plates, which, with the ring and seal, belong to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,—and, the third plate being now not forthcoming, from line 51 to the end, from Mr. Wathen's ink-impression of the original plate. The plates were originally found at 'Kurda' or 'Kardla'[1] in the Dekkan, which seems to be Kardâ in the 'Taloda' Taluka of the Khândêś District.

The two plates that are still extant are each about 1′ 1″ long by 9¼″ broad. The edges of them were fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The writing is arranged on the plates in such a way that they open and turn over like the leaves of an English book. The ring, which had been cut before the plates came into my hands, is about ¾″ thick and 4¼″ in diameter. The seal on the ring is square, about 3″ each way. It has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—as the principal figure, the god Śiva, sitting crosslegged and holding a snake in each hand; above him are the sun and moon; over his right shoulder is a *chauri*; in the upper proper left corner there is a standing figure, brandishing a sword, and in the opposite corner there is a small seated figure, rather indistinct in the lithograph; lower down, on the proper right side, there is a *Svastika*, with either a sword or a lamp-stand below it, and on the opposite side there is apparently a floral device, with either a sword or a lamp-stand below it; and, at the bottom, there is the legend, much clearer in the original than in the lithograph, *Śrîmad-Amôghavarshadêvasya.* The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

The inscription is dated on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, on Wednesday, the full-moon day of the month Âśvayuja of Śaka 894 (A.D. 972-3), the Aṅgiras, or more properly Âṅgirasa, *saṁvatsara,*—during the reign of Kakka III., who was then settled permanently at the city of Mânyakhêṭa. And it records a grant of the village of Paṅgarikâ, in the Vavvulatalla Twelve, which was a subdivision of the Uppalikâ Three hundred. I have no maps to refer to at present, and cannot suggest any identification of these and the other places mentioned in the inscription. The name of Paṅgarikâ reminds us somewhat of the Pethapaṅgaraka of an early Râshṭrakûṭa grant of Abhimanyu, recently laid by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

This inscription follows No. CXXXIII. in making the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty a branch of the Yâdava family in the Sômavaṁśa or lineage of the moon. The first king mentioned is Dantidurga, who is described as a sun which effected the destruction of the dense darkness which was the Châlukyas. Also Amôghavarsha I. is mentioned as overthrowing the Châlukyas; and lines 14-15 of this inscription contain the passage which states that he built the city of Mânyakhêṭa; but, as we have seen at p. 215 above, the city seems to have existed long before his time. Kṛishṇa II. is mentioned as marrying the younger sister of Śaṅkuka and the daughter of Kokkalla I., king of Chêdi, of the family of the Kalachuris or Kulachuris of Tripura. And the present inscription clears up the question of the double marriage of Jagattuṅga II., and of the succession after him. The Sâṅglî plates, No. CXXXIII, above, tell us that he married Lakshmî, the daughter of Raṇavigraha, who was the son of Kokkalla I., and had by her Indra IV., his immediate successor. The present inscription gives the same name, Lakshmî, but states that she was the daughter of Śaṁka-

[1] In the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. II. p. 379, the name is written 'Kardla,' while in Vol. III. p. 100 it is written 'Kurda.'—Kardâ seems to be the correct form.

r a g a ṇ a, king of Chêdi; and it gives also the same name, Indra, as that of his eldest son. But it adds that, not contented with the territories acquired by his father, he set out on an expedition with the object of making the whole world subordinate to one sovereign in himself; and then, in Chêdi, he married G ô v i n d â m b â, the daughter of his maternal uncle Ś a ṁ k a r a g a ṇ a, and had by her two other sons, Kṛishṇa III. and Amôghavarsha II.,—through whom the succession was continued down to Kakka or Karka III. These accounts as to the pedigree of the wives of Jagattuṅga II. are to be reconciled by taking Ś a ṁ k a r a g a ṇ a and R a ṇ a v i g r a h a to be one and the same person, and to be a brother of the daughter of Kokkalla I. whom Kṛishṇa II. married. In this way, Śaṁkaragaṇa would be the maternal uncle of Jagattuṅga II., as well as his father-in-law through his marriage with Lakshmî. Gôvindâmbâ was evidently a sister of Lakshmî. A m ô g h a v a r s h a II., again, appears to have married a Kalachuri princess, his wife being Kundakadêvî, the daughter of Yuvarâja, who was probably, as suggested by General Cunningham,[2] Yuvarâja I. of the Kalachuris of Tripura. The present inscription supplies no details respecting K h o ṭ ṭ i g a or Koṭṭiga and K ṛ i s h ṇ a IV. It states of K a k k a or Karka III. that he conquered the Gurjara, Hûṇa, Chôḷa, and Pâṇḍya kings; but no details are given.

Transcription.[3]

First plate.

[1] Ôm [||*] Śrî-Sarasvaty-Umâ-bhâsvad-vallî-saṁślêsha-bhûshitaṁ | bhûtayê bhavatâṁ bhûyâd=ajạ-kalpataru-ttra(tra)[4]yaṁ || Vra(bra)hm-âdy-âmara-

[2] vandya-Dhûrjjaṭi-jaṭâ-jûṭ-âṭavî-saṁsthitêḥ siktâd=dêva-nadî-viśuddha-salilair=yaś=chandra-kandâd=abhût | âśchary-ô-

[3] rjjita-vṛitta-jâta-mahimâ pâlîdhvaj-ôtpallavô vaṁśaḥ kunda-sit-âtapattra(tra)-va(ba)hala-chchhâyâ-suvṛiddhi[ṁ*] gataḥ || Tasmâ-

[4] d=indur=iv=âmvu(mbu)dhêḥ śaśa-bhṛitaḥ kânti-pravâhas=tatô | nishshya(shya)ndaś=cha yath=âmṛitasya samabhûd=van[d*]yô Yadôr=anvayaḥ

[5] rêmê=tyadbhuta-sâhasas=sa bhagavân=gôpî-kaṭâksh-âlibhiḥ Śârṅgî yattra(tra) nipîya-mâna-vilasal-lâvaṇya-pushp-ô-

[6] dgamaḥ || Prativô(bô)dhita-va(ba)ndhu-padma-shaṇḍaḥ kṛita-Châlukya-ghan-ândhakâra-nâśaḥ | udagâd=atha Daṁtidurgga-bhânur=Ya-

[7] du-vaṁś-ôdaya-parvvatât=pratâpî || Tasmin[n*]=aputtrê(trê) nu cha tat-pitṛivyaḥ patir=bhuvô=bhûd=iha Kṛishṇa-râjaḥ | ashtâ-

[8] daś-ês-âlaya-dṛiśya-rûpaṁ puñjîkṛitaṁ yêna yaśô viśuddhaṁ || Gôvinda-râjaḥ kshiti-paś=cha

[9] tasmâd=abhûd=anêk-âhava-lavdha(bdha)-kîrttiḥ | dharmm-â[r*]thayôr=yêna phalaṁ manôbhûr=â triptitaḥ kô-

[10] śavat=ôpabhuktaḥ || Atiśaya-guṇa-yuktatvâd=yathâ[r*]th-âbhivâ(dhâ)nô Nirupama iti tasy=ai-

[11] v=ânujô=bhût=kshitîsa(śa)ḥ sakala-jaladhi-vêlâ-prâṁta-viśrânta-sainyaḥ pariṇata-bhuvana-tvâd=uddhṛit-aik-âta-

[12] pattra(tra)ḥ || Tasmâj=Jagattuṅga[5]-nṛipaḥ sutô=bhût=tuṅgatvam=âgâj=jagatâṁ guṇair=yaḥ | yasy=âniśaṁ gandha-madêbha-bhî-

[13] tâ madaṁ prayânê(ṇê) dig-ibhâs=tyajanti || Tasya śrîmad-Amôghavarsha-nṛipatiś=Châlukya-kâlânalaḥ | sûnur=bhû-pati-

[14] r=ûrjjit-âhita-vadhû-vaidhavya-dîkshâ-guruḥ | âsîd=Indra-pur-âdhikaṁ puram=idaṁ Śrî-Mânyakhêṭ-âbhidhaṁ | yên=êdaṁ

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[2] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. IX. p. 104.

[3] Lines 1 to 50 from the original plates; and, the third plate being now not forthcoming, lines 51 to the end from Mr. Wathen's ink-impression.

[4] T occurs in this inscription in conjunction with *r*, but without being doubled, in *mâtâpitṛôr*, l. 49.

[5] Wathen read and translated, here and throughout, *Jagadrudra*; hence the introduction of this name into the genealogy. Similarly, in this line, instead of *abhût=tuṅgatvam*, he read *abhûd=rudratvam;* though in l. 40 he twice read *tuṁgaḥ*, where his only error was in giving the *anusvâra* instead of *ṅ*.

[15] cha saraḥ kṛitaṁ guru-karu-prâsâdam=antaḥpuraṁ || Tasmâd=Akâlavarshô=bhût=sârvvabhaumaḥ kshit-îśvaraḥ | yat-pratâ-

[16] pa-parittra(tra)stô vyômni chandrâyatê raviḥ || Chêd-îśô Daśakaṇṭha-darppa-dalanaḥ Śrî-Haihayânâṁ kulê | Ko-

[17] kkallas=samabhûch=cha tasya tanayâ yâ Śaṅkukasy=ânujâ | tasyâṁ Krishṇa-nṛipât=tataḥ sṛita-mahâdêvî-padâ-

Second plate; first side.

[18] yâm=abhût tai[6]s=tair=yaḥ prathitô guṇair=bhuvi Jagattuṅg-âbhidhânaḥ sutaḥ || Chêd-îśvara-Śaṁkaragaṇa-duhita-

[19] ri Lakshmyâṁ tatô Jagattuṅgât | sûnu[7]r=abhûd=Indra-nṛipô bhâvî râjya-śriyô bharttâ || Janaka-gṛihîtaiḥ para-maṇḍalai-

[20] r=asaṁttu(tu)shṭa-mânasaḥ sva-pituḥ | êka-chchhattrâ(trâ)ṁ pṛithvî[ṁ*] ka[r*]-ttu[ṁ*] niragâj=Jagattuṅgaḥ || Chêdyâṁ mâtula-Śaṁkaragaṇ-âtmajâyâ-

[21] m=abhûj=Jagattuṅgât | śrîmân=Amôghavarshô Gôvindâmv(mb)-âbhidhânâyâṁ |(||) Âruhy=Êndra-pad-ôpamaṁ sa nṛipatiḥ śrî-vîra-

[22] siṁhâsanaṁ | datvâ tâmra-namasya-śâsana-gatân=grâmân=anantâ[ṁ*]s=tathâ | a[r*]thair=a[r*]thi-manôrath-âdhikataraiḥ kṛitvâ

[23] kṛit-â[r*]thaṁ jagat | vyâptâ yêna Śiv-âlayair=nnija-yaśaḥ-puñj-ôpamair=mmêdinî || Aindra-pada-jigîsta(sha)y=êva sva-

[24] rggam=adhirûḍhê cha jyêshṭhê bhrâtari śrîmat-Kṛishṇarâjadêvê | Yuvarâjadêva-duhê(hi)tari Ku[8]ndakadêvyâm=Amôgha-

[25] varsha-nṛipâj=jâtaḥ Khoṭṭiga-[9]dêvô nṛipatir=abhûd=bhuvana-vikhyâtaḥ || Tasy=anujân=Nirupamâd=upa-

[26] lavdha(bdha)-janmâ vîra-śriyaḥ padam=abhûd=bhuvi Kakka-râjaḥ | yô vâ(bâ)la êva sakalâm=api râja-nî-

[27] tim=âtma-pravô(bô)dha-vibhav-âtiśayâd=vivêda || Saṅmâl=îti vi(di)śâṁ guṇ=iti vidushâṁ tyâ-

[28] g=iti dîn-â[r*]thinâṁ | krôdh=îti dvishatâṁ śam=îti cha satâṁ rûp=îti sad-yôshitâṁ | sri(mi)ttrâ(trâ)ṇâṁ suhṛid=i-

[29] ty=avandya-vibhavô viśvambharâyâḥ patiḥ | sarvvêshâm=api sardva(rvva)d=êti-nivasaty=êkô=pi yaś=chêtasi ||

[30] Yasy=âstê karavâla-vâriṇi chiraṁ prakshâlayantî yathâ | Lakshmîr=âtma-kalaṁkam=âhita-malaṁ nindyaiḥ

[31] kubhûp-âśrayaiḥ [|*] satyaṁ Śrî-gṛiham=êtad=amvu(mbu)jam=itô m[ê*] dvêshiṇi s=âpy=atas=tishṭhâmy=attra(tra) rush=êti

[32] yasya cha mukhê dêvî Sarasvaty=api || Satyaṁ Gûrjjara-nirjjit-âri-nikaraś=Chôl-âdi-lîlâ-ratô | Hû-

[33] ṇ-âdhîśa-raṇêshv=akampita-matiḥ Pâṇḍi(ṇḍya)-prachaṇḍô nṛipaḥ | vandyô=yam=bhavatâm=anindya-charita[ḥ*] spa-

[34] rddhanta mâ sm=âmunâ | kîrttir=yasya niyâmik=aivam=aniśaṁ pṛithvîṁ paribhrâmyati || Tyâsê(gê)n=aiva pa-

Second plate; second side.

[35] râṁ prasiddhim=agamat=Karṇṇaḥ kil=âna[10]śvarîṁ | satyên=âttra(tra) Yudhishṭhirô=pi nṛipatiḥ prakhyâta-kî[r*]ttiḥ

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[6] First *stai* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *tai* by partly cancelling the *s*.

[7] First *mu* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *nu*.

[8] This syllable might perhaps be confused with *kra*. But in *kra*,—e.g. *vikrama*, l. 39,—the side stroke is much more marked than in the present case, where *ku* seems to be intended, and in other cases where we undoubtedly have *ku*,—e.g. *kunda*, l. 3; *kubhûpa*, l. 31; and *kuśalî*, l. 45. Wathen read *Kandaka*; but the first letter is not the simple *ka*.

[9] Wathen read *Khodviga*. The *ṭṭ* is not exactly the same as in No. CXXXIII. l. 8. But that it is *ṭṭ* is shown by the *ṭṭâ* of *bhaṭṭâraka*, ll. 42 and 44 below, as contrasted with the *dvi* of *atiśayâd=vivêda*, l. 27, and *dvishatâm*, l. 28, as well as by the unmistakable reading of *Koṭṭiga* in Canarese letters in No. CXXXIV. l. 5.

[10] The mark to the left of this *na* is a slip of the engraver's tool.

[36] kritaḥ | saundaryêṇa Manôbhavaś=cha viditaḥ Pâ[r*]thô dhanuḥ-kauśalaiḥ | yaḥ sarvvân=atiśêta êva bhu-

[37] vanê dêvaḥ samastair=guṇaiḥ || Yaś=ch=ânuparata-kanaka-dhârâ-nipât-ôpajanita-lôka-harshaḥ

[38] śrîmad-Amôghavarshaḥ | sva-kauśala-kshê(kshi)pta-niśita-śara-vidârit-ârâti-sâ[r*]thaḥ Śri-nûtana-Pâ[r*]thaḥ |

[39] sakala-va(ba)lavad-ari-timira-bhêdana-prachaṇḍaḥ śrîmad-ahita-mârttaṇḍaḥ | sva-vikrama-chchhalita-va(ba)li-

[40] va(ba)ndha-parâyaṇaḥ Śri-vîra-Nârâyaṇaḥ | sakal-âdirâja-charit-âtiśaya-tuṅgaḥ śrîman-Nṛipatuṅgaḥ |

[41] nikhila-bhuvan-âdhipatya-prakâśit-aik-âtapattra(tra)ḥ Śrî-râja-Triṇêttra(tra)ḥ ||(|) samabhava-

[42] t=sad-a[r*]th-âbhidhânatayâ [||*] Sa cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paranê(mê)śvara-

[43] śrîmad-Akâlavarshadêva-pâd-ânudhyâta[ḥ*][11] paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramê-

[44] śvara-paramamâhêśvara-śrîmad-Amôghavarshadêvaḥ prithvî-vallabhaḥ śrîmad-Vallabhanarê-

[45] ndradêvaḥ kuśalî ||[12] sarvvân=êva yathâ-saṁva(mba)ddhya(dhya)mânakân=râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭa-ma-

[46] hattar-[â*]mu(yu)ktak-[13]ôpayuktak-âdhikârikân=samâdiśaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ || Śrî-Mânyakhêṭa-

[47] sthir-âvâsitê śrîmat(t-) Ka(-ka)kkaladêva-rajñê(jñê) | Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu chatu-

[48] r-ṇṇa(nna)vaty-adhikêshv=aṅkataḥ saṁvat 894 Aṅgirâ(raḥ)-saṁvatsar-ântarggata(t-) Â(-â)śvayuja-paurṇṇamâsyâyâṁ

[49] Vu(bu)dha-dinê sôma-grahaṇa-mahâparvvaṇi | mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê |

[50] śrîmat(d-) Ge(-ge)ja(?ju)ra(?cha)vâvî-vâstavyâya ih=aiva kâry-âbhyâgatâya Bhâradvâja-gôttra(tra)-Va(ba)hvṛicha-sâkhâ-

Third plate.

[51] savra(bra)hmachâriṇêḥ[14] tri(tri)-pravarâya śrîmat(mach-) Śa(-chha)ṅkaraiya-pautrâya śrîmat(mat-) Sa(-sa)ṅgamaiya-sutâya śrîmat(mach-) Chchha(-chchha)nna-

[52] paiya-bhaṭṭâya | Uppalikâ-śatatray-ântarggata-Vavvulatalla-dvâdaśa-madhyê | Paṁgarikâ-nâma-grâmaḥ sa-

[53] vṛiksha-mâlâ-kulaḥ sa-dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaḥ sa-daṇḍa-dôsha-daśâparâdhaḥ pûrvva-prasiddha-chatus-sîmâ-parya-

[54] ntaḥ śulk-âdi-samast-ôtpatti-sahitaḥ â-chandr-ârkkam=mayâ namasyô dattaḥ || Tasya pûrvvataḥ Rôhîtalla-

[55] grâmaḥ | dakshiṇataḥ Śilaharê(?chê)-grâmaḥ | paśchimataḥ Kiṇihi(?bhi)-grâmaḥ | uttarataḥ Antaravallî-grâmaḥ [||*]

[56] Êvaṁ chatur-âghâṭa-viśuddham=amuṁ Paṁgarikâ-grâmaṁ śrîmat(mach-) Chchha-(-chchha)nnapaiya-bhaṭṭâ(ṭṭa)ya(sya) kriśa(sha)taḥ karshayatô bhuṁjatô

[57] bhôjayatô vâ na kênachid=vyâghâtaḥ kâryaḥ | yaś=cha karôti sa paṁcha-bhir=api mahâpâtakair=upapâtakai-

[58] ś=cha saṁyuktas=syâd=Uktaṁ cha || Sâmânyô=yan=dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ | kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô=bhavadbhiḥ |

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[11] The whole may of course be correctly treated as a compound; but the insertion of a *visarga* here is permissible, and serves to conveniently divide a very long word.

[12] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[13] From the constant occurrence of these terms in other inscriptions, there can be little doubt, if any, that *mahattaramuktaka* is to be corrected into *mahattar-âyuktaka*.

[14] This *visarga* is a mistake.

RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF AMOGHAVARSHA.—SAKA 894.

1.

J. F. FLEET. BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM.

RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF AMOGVARSHA. — SAKA 894.

Ib.



[59] sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pâ[r*]thivêndrâṁ(n) bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ || Yân=îha dattâni
[60] purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-â[r*]tha-yaśas-karâṇi | nirmmâlya-vânta-pratimâni tâni kô na-
[61] ma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadîta || Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ pâ[r*]thivaiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya
[62] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ | kṛishṇ-âhayô
[63] hi jâyantê bhûmi-dân-âpahâriṇaḥ || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-daḥ | âchchhêttâ ch=ânuma-
[64] ntâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Suvarṇṇam=êkaṁ gâm=êkâṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṁgulaṁ | haran=narakam=âpnôti ya-
[65] vad=â-bhûta-sa[ṁ*]plavaṁ || Mad-vaṅga(ṅśa)-jâḥ para-mahîpati-vaṅga(ṅśa)-jâ vâ pâpâd=apêta-manasô bhuvi bhâvi-bhûpâḥ |
[66] yê pâlayanti mama dharmmam=idaṁ samastaṁ têsham=mayâ virachitô=ñjalir=êsha mûrdhni || Śrîmad-Amvâ(mbâ)-
[67] rya-pautrêṇa Yôgamârya-sutêna cha | Kâyastha-kumuda-bhâ(?saṁ)ginâ likhitaṁ Punnârya-nâmnâ ||

Translation.

Ôm ! May the three immortal *kalpa*-trees,[15] decorated with the clinging embraces of the shining creepers which are Śrî and Sarasvatî and Umâ, be for your prosperity !

(L. 1.)—That lineage,[16] the greatness of which was produced by wonderful and mighty deeds, (*and*) which has the *pâlidhvaja* for its topmost cluster of sprays,[17]—which sprang from the bulbous root which was the moon, stationed in the forest of the masses of braided hair of Dhurjaṭi[18] who is worthy to be praised by Brahmâ and the other immortals, (*and*) besprinkled with the pure streams of the river of the gods,[19]—attained luxurious growth from the plentiful shade of (*its*) umbrellas (*of sovereignty*) which were as white as jasmine-flowers.

(L. 3.)—As the moon (*sprang*) from the ocean, (*and*) as a stream of lustre and a trickling of nectar (*springs*) from the moon,—(*so*) from that (*lineage*) there sprang the race of Yadu, which is worthy to be praised, in which the holy Śârṅgî,[20] of wonderful daring, disported himself,—having the budding flowers which were his captivating beauty sucked by the bees which were the side-glances of the shepherdesses.

(L. 6.)—Then from the mountain of dawn which was the race of Yadu there arose a brilliant sun, the mighty Dantidurga,—who caused to blossom the waterlilies which were (*his*) friends, and who effected the destruction of the dense darkness of the Châlukyas.

(L. 7.)—And, since he had no son, his paternal uncle, Kṛishṇarâja,—by whom there was amassed a pure fame, the beauty of which was worthy to be gazed upon in the halls of eighteen lords,[21]—became the ruler of the earth.

(L. 8.)—And from him there was (*born*) the king Gôvindarâja, who acquired fame in many battles, (*and*) by whom, possessed of (*great*) treasures, love, which is the reward of religion and wealth, was enjoyed to full satisfaction.

(L. 10.)—His younger brother was the king Nirupama, whose appellation was one that was of suitable meaning because of the pre-eminence of his merits; whose army rested itself on the edges of the shores of all the oceans; (*and*) who, through having the whole world bowed down (*before him*), elevated one sole umbrella (*of universal sovereignty*).

(L. 12.)—From him there was (*born*) a son,

[15] Vishṇu, Brahmâ, and Śiva.

[16] *i.e.* the Sômavaṁśa.—The second meaning of the verse is a play on the other meaning of *vaṁśa* as 'a bamboo-plant.'

[17] As applied to the lineage, *utpallava* has probably to be taken in the sense of 'a high banner.'—The meaning of *pâlidhvaja* or *pâlidhvaja* has not yet been cleared up; see Vol. IX. p. 129, note 33.—The present passage, and No. CXXVIII. l. 9, and No. CXXXIII. l. 27, are the only instances known to me in which the *pâlidhvaja* is allotted to the Râshṭrakûṭas.

[18] Śiva.

[19] The heavenly Ganges.

[20] Vishṇu, as Kṛishṇa.

[21] This seems to refer to the number of Kṛishṇa's feudatory chieftains.

king Jagattuṅga,[22] who by (*his*) virtues became prominent in the world; when he journeyed forth, the elephants of the quarters of the world always ceased (*their*) flow of rut, being terrified by (*his*) odoriferous rutting elephants.

(L. 13.)—His son was the lord of the earth, the glorious king Amôghavarsha,—the fire of destruction to the Châlukyas, (*and*) the accomplisher of the widowhood of the wives of mighty enemies,—by whom was made this city named Śrî-Mânyakhêta, which surpasses the city of Indra, (*and*) this lake, (*and*) a palace of great workmanship,[23] (*and*) a harem.

(L. 15.)—From him there was (*born*) the lord of the earth, the universal sovereign, Akâlavarsha; being distressed by his splendour, the sun shone in the sky with only the lustre of the moon.[24]

(L. 16.)—In the family of the Śrî-Haihayas there was born Kokkalla, the lord of Chêdi, the destroyer of the pride of Daśakaṇṭha,[25] and she, who was the younger sister of Śaṅkuka, was his daughter; in her, who attained the rank of chief queen, there was born from king Kṛishṇa[26] a son named Jagattuṅga, who was renowned in the world for all kinds of virtues.

(L. 18.)—From that same Jagattuṅga there was (*born*) in Lakshmî, who was the daughter of Saṁkaragaṇa lord of Chêdi, a son named Indrarâja, the predestined supporter of regal splendour.

(L. 19.)—His mind being not contented with the territories of (*his*) enemies that had been taken by (*his*) father, Jagattuṅga went forth to make the realm of his father subject to one sole umbrella (*of universal sovereignty*).

(L. 20.)—In Chêdi there was (*born*) from Jagattuṅga, in Gôvindâmbâ who was the daughter of (*his*) maternal uncle Śaṁkaragaṇa, the glorious Amôghavarsha. He, the king, having mounted a glorious and heroic throne which was like the seat of Indra, and having presented innumerable villages conveyed by copper-plate charters of *namasya*-grants, (*and*) having made the (*whole*) world prosperous by (*his*) riches which exceeded the (*utmost*) desires of applicants,—the (*whole*) earth was filled by him with temples of Śiva, which (*in purity and brilliance*) were like the masses of his own fame.

(L. 23.)—And,—his elder brother, the glorious Kṛishṇarâjadêva, having ascended the skies, as if from a desire to conquer the realm of Indra,—there was (*born*) from king Amôghavarsha, in Kundakadêvî who was the daughter of Yuvarâja, king Khoṭṭigadêva,[27] renowned in the world.

(L. 25.)—Acquiring birth from his younger brother Nirupama, there was (*born*) Kakkarâja, the abode of the goddess of bravery on the earth,—who, through the excess of (*his*) intellect and superhuman power, learnt, even while yet a child, the whole of the science of sovereignty. Single though he is, he, the lord of the earth, possessed of irreproachable power, always dwells in the minds of all people,—under the name of the moon, (*in the minds*) of the quarters of the world; under the name of the virtuous one, (*in the minds*) of learned people; under the name of the liberal one, (*in the minds*) of poor people and supplicants; under the name of the angry one, (*in the minds*) of enemies; under the name of the patient one, (*in the minds*) of good people; under the name of the beautiful one, (*in the minds*) of lovely women; (*and*) under the name of the friend, (*in the minds*) of friends. Lakshmî abides in the water of his sword, as if engaged for a long time in washing away her impurity, the stain of which has been acquired by (*her*) blameworthy abodes of evil kings; and the goddess Sarasvatî also (*abides*) in his mouth, saying, in jealousy, "Verily this waterlily[28] is the home of Śrî, and she is my rival; therefore I will take my stand here." Verily his coercive reputation always roams over the earth, saying, "This king, of irreproachable deeds,—who has conquered the multitude of (*his*) enemies in (*the country of*) Gûrjara;[29] who has disported himself with the Chôlas and others; whose mind has not been disquieted in battles with the lord of the Hûṇas; (*and*) who has been fierce to the Pâṇḍyas,—is worthy to be praised by you; do not enter into

[22] See note 5 above.

[23] *Karu* is probably connected with *kâruka*, 'an artisan, artificer.'

[24] *Lit.*, "plays the part of the moon; behaves like the moon."

[25] Râvaṇa.

[26] *i.e.* the Akâlavarsha of the preceding verse.

[27] In No. CXXXIV., l. 5, p. 247 above, his name is written Koṭṭiga.

[28] *i.e.* "his face."

[29] See note 7, p. 157 above.

rivalry with him." Karṇa, indeed, attained supreme (*and*) imperishable fame by liberality, and king Yudhishṭhira, the good one, of renowned fame, by truth, and Manôbhava by beauty, (*and*) the famous Pârtha by skill in (*the use of*) the bow; (*but*) he, the king, verily surpasses all of them in the world by all (*kinds of*) meritorious qualities. And, by being invested with names which are of excellent signification, —since he causes the happiness of mankind by the ceaseless dripping of (*his*) showers of gold, he has become the glorious Amôghavarsha; since he cleaves asunder the troops of (*his*) enemies with the sharp arrows discharged by his skilfulness, (*he has become*) a modern Śrî-Pârtha; since he is impetuous in destroying the darkness which is all (*his*) mighty foes, (*he has become*) a glorious sun towards (*his*) enemies; since he is intent upon slaughtering the mighty ones,[30] who are overcome by his prowess, (*he has become*) a very Śrî-Nârâyaṇa among heroes; since he surpasses the achievements of all early kings, (*he has become*) the glorious Nṛipatuṅga; (*and*) since (*his*) sole umbrella (*of sovereignty*) is irradiated by supreme lordship over the whole world, (*he has become*) a very Śrî-Triṇêtra among kings.

(L. 42.)—And he, the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most devoted worshipper of Mahêśvara, the glorious Amôghavarshadêva, the favourite of the earth, the glorious Vallabhanarêndradêva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful one, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the glorious Akâlavarshadêva,—being in good health, issues his commands to all the *râshṭrapatis*, *vishayapatis*, *grâmakûṭas*, *mahattaras*, *âyuktakas*,[31] *upayuktakas*, and *âdhikârikas*, according as they are concerned :—

(L. 46.)—"Be it known to you that,—the glorious king Kakkaladêva being permanently settled at (*the city of*) Śrî-Mânyakhêṭa,—eight hundred and ninety-four, (*or*) in figures 894 years, (*having expired*) in the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, on Wednesday the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Âśvayuja in the Aṅgiras *saṁvatsara*, on the great occasion of an eclipse of the moon,—in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of (*my*) parents and of myself,—the village named Paṅgarikâ, in the Vavvulatalla Twelve which is included in the Uppalikâ Three-hundred, has been given by me,[32] as a *namasya*-grant, to continue as long as the moon and stars may endure,—together with the rows and clumps of trees; together with that which is receivable (*in kind*) in grain and gold; together with (*the right to*) fines and (*the proceeds of punishments inflicted for*) faults and the ten (*classes of*) offences; extending up to its anciently determined four boundaries; (*and*) together with all the income of duties, &c.,—to the holy *Bhaṭṭa* Chhannapaiya,—the son's son of the holy Śaṁkaraiya, and the son of the holy Saṁgamaiya,—an inhabitant of the glorious (*city of*) Gejaravâvî (?), who has come here on business, who is a religious student of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Bahvṛicha (*śâkhâ*), (*and*) who has three invocations (*at the consecration of his sacred fire*).

(L. 54.)—"The boundaries of that (*village*) are—on the east, the village of Rohîtalla; on the south, the village of Śilaharê; on the west, the village of Kiṇihi;[33] (*and*) on the north, the village of Antaravallî.

(L. 56.)—"No obstruction is to be made by any one to the holy *Bhaṭṭa* Chhannapaiya cultivating this village of Paṅgarikâ, thus defined as to its four boundaries, (*or*) causing (*it*) to be cultivated, (*or*) enjoying (*it*), or causing (*it*) to be enjoyed. And he who does (*cause obstruction*), shall be invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 58.)—And it has been said :—"This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you;" thus does Râmabhadra again and again make his request to all future kings! Those gifts (*of land*), productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made here by kings in former times, are like that which is vomited forth from the

[30] The second meaning of this passage refers to the destruction of the power of the Daitya Bali by Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu, through the three strides (*vikrama*) taken by the latter, which covered heaven and earth and, but for the submission of Bali, would have covered the infernal regions also.

[31] See note 13 above.

[32] The construction here is uncouth, as his name is given in the locative case in l. 47 above. It would have been better if *mayâ* had been omitted altogether.

[33] Or perhaps Kiṇibhi.

remains of an offering to an idol; what good man would take them back again? The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the reward (*of the grant of land that has been made*)! Verily, those who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees in the forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*), destitute of water! The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant of land*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! He who confiscates a single (*coin of*) gold, (*or*) a single cow, or a single finger of land, receives hell (*as his punishment*) until the destruction of (*all*) things! Those future kings in the earth, whether born in my lineage or in the families of other kings, who, with minds free from sin, preserve in its integrity this my act of religion, —to them I make (*my*) salutation, joining (*my*) hands together on (*my*) forehead!

(L. 66.)—Written by him who is named Punnârya, who belongs to the division of the waterlilies which are the Kâyasthas,—the son's son of the holy Ambârya, (*and*) the son of Yôgamârya.

No. CXXXVII.

This is another inscription of Kakka III., or, as he is here called, Kakkala. The original is on a stone-tablet at the temple of Bana-Śaṁkarî at Guṇḍûr, five miles to the east of Śiggâṁve in the Baṅkâpur Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District. The sculptures at the top of the tablet are a *liṅga* and Nandî, with the sun and moon above them; and there are a cow and calf below the first two lines and above the rest of the inscription. The writing covers a space of about 2′ 2″ high by 1′ 6½″ broad. The language is Old-Canarese.

The inscription is dated in Śaka 896 for 895 (A.D. 973-4), the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, on a Sunday in the month of Âshâḍha, at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the south. And it records a grant of land to the god Mahâdêva or Śiva of the village of Kadekêri or Kaḍekêri.

This is the last Râshṭrakuṭa inscription that I propose editing for the present. Kakka III. was the last king of his dynasty; and in the year in which the present inscription is dated, he succumbed to Taila II. of the Western Châlukya family. The only offspring of Kakka III. of whom we have any certain mention is his daughter, Jâkabbe or Jâkaladêvî, who became the wife of Taila II.

The overthrow of Kakka III. by Taila II. is recorded in the Khârêpâṭaṇ plates,[34] and also in the Miraj plates.[35] And the verse that fixes Śaka 895, the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* for this event, is given in an inscription at Gadag in the Dhârwâḍ District,[36] and in another, based on the same model, at Kâḷige in the Nizâm's Dominions.[37] It runs, as far as it can be restored from the *MS. Collection*:—

Modaloḷ=kitt=ikki Raṭṭar=ppalaruman=adhaṭaṁ Muṁjanaṁ koṁdu dôr-gga-
bbi-daraṁ yuddhadoḷ=Pâṁchâlana[38] taleyumaṁ koṁḍu Châḷukya-râjy-â- |
spadamaṁ kai-koṁḍu nishkaṁṭakam=enisidan= êk-âṁgadiṁ Śrîmukh-âbdaṁ
modal-âg=irppattu-nâlkuṁ barisam=akhila-bhûchakramaṁ Taila-bhûpaṁ ||

"Having first uprooted (*and*) slain some of the Raṭṭas, (*and*) having killed Muñja,[39] (*and*) having decapitated Pâñchâla in battle,—king Taila, the mighty one, (*who inspired*) fear by the pride of (*his*) arm, assumed the asylum of the sovereignty of the Châḷukyas and became free from all troubles, (*ruling*), alone, over the whole circuit of the earth for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrîmukha."

Whether, however, all power was then at once taken away by the Western Châlukyas from the Râshṭrakûṭas,—or whether, for a time, the Râshṭrakûṭas continued to govern as feudatories of the Western Châlukyas,—is not quite certain. For I have recently obtained, from Hebbâḷ near Lakshmêśwar in the limits of the Dhârwâḍ District, an inscription[40] of Permânaḍi-Bûtayya, of the Gaṅga family, —also called Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ-Dharmamahârâjâdhirâja, and Baddegadêva, and Kannaradêva,—and of Mârasiṅgha,—evidently the Permânaḍi-Mârasiṅgha of the inscription now

[34] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. I. pp. 209 ff.
[35] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. pp. 10 ff.
[36] Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I. pp. 370 ff.
[37] *id.* Vol. I. pp. 415 ff.
[38] The metre is faulty from *yu* to *chá*.
[39] King of Mâlava; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 317.
[40] The original stone is so much injured throughout, that the inscription cannot be edited from the impression supplied to me.

published,—which is dated in Śaka 896, or 895 for 896 (A.D. 974-5), the Bhâva *saṁvatsara,* while Permânaḍi-Bûtayya and Mârasiṅgha were governing the Puligere Three-hundred, the Beḷvola Three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ Seventy, and the Bâge Seventy, and the preamble of which refers itself to the reign of Akâlavarsha-Kannaradêva, who is mentioned by all the customary titles of supreme sovereignty,—thus seeming to indicate that Kṛishṇa IV. survived the overthrow of Kakka III. by Taila II., and continued to hold some power, though it cannot have been supreme. The only other hypothesis that seems possible is that Kakka III. had a son named Kannara or Kṛishṇa V. and Akâlavarsha IV., who had the government of the southern provinces of the kingdom, and who maintained himself against the Western Châlukyas longer than his father did.

Transcription.[41]

[1] Svadatt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*]ṁ va yê(yô) hara(rê)nti(ta) vasundharâ[ṁ]
[2] shashṭhi(shṭi)-rvva(va)rsha-sahaśrâ(srâ)ṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimi[ḥ ||]
[3] Ôṁ Svasti Pri(pṛi)thu(thi)vivallabha mahârâjâdhirâ-
[4] ja paramêsva(śva)raṁ paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ śrîmat
[5] Kakkaladêva[ṁ*] pri(pṛi)thu(thi)virâjyaṁ-[ge*]yye [|*] Śrîma-
[6] t Gaṁga-kula-tilakaṁ Noḷaṁba-kul-Ântakaṁ
[7] Permmânaḍi(?ḍi)-Mârasiṁghadêvan=eraḍ-aṟu-nûṟu-
[8] man=âḷe [|*] Śrîmat Ṡo(?ko)ma(?)raṁka-bhîmaṁ Paṁja(?)-
[9] ladêvaṁ tombhatt-âṟuman=âḷe [|*] Durad-eḍe-gaṇḍa(?ṇṭa ; ? ṇu)-
[10] maṁ nuḍid-ante-gaṇḍaṁ gaṇḍa-voreka(ga)lluṁ(?) Mu(?me)ṁgûḷa-Vôjaṁ
[11] Kade(?ḍe)kêriyan=âḷe | Śrîmat Bo(?)ḷagaditale-
[12] yuṁ Râjayyanuṁ nâḷgâmuṇḍu-geyye | Mana-
[13] yyan=ûrggâmuṇḍu-geyye [|*] Sa(śa)kha(ka)-varsham=e-
[14] ṇṭu nûṟa tombhatt-âṟaneya Śrîmukha-saṁ-
[15] vatsa[42]r-Âshâḍa(ḍha)-dakshiṇâyaṇa(na)-saṁkrântiyum=Âdi-
[16] tyavârad-anduṁ Bo(?)ḷayyanuṁ Râjayyanuṁ Vô-
[17] jayyanum=iḷdu Kade(?ḍe)kêriya Mahâdêvargge bi-
[18] ṭṭa kariya key=mattal 7 gaḷde mattal 1 [||*]
[19] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhu[k]t[â] râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya
[20] yasya yadâ bhûmi- | [43] –s=ta[44]sya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*]

Translation.

He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

(L. 3.)—Ôm! Hail! While the glorious Kakkaladêva,—the favourite of the earth; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most worshipful one,—was ruling the earth:—

(L. 5.)—(*And*) while the glorious Permânaḍi-Mârasiṅghadêva,—the glory of the family of the Gaṅgas; a very Antaka[45] to the family of the Noḷambas,[46]—was governing the (*Purigere Three-hundred and the Beḷvola Three-hundred, which*) two (*combined make the*) Six-hundred:—

(L. 8.)—(*And*) while the glorious Pañjaladêva (?),—who was terrible to Śomaraṅka (?),—was governing the Ninety-six:—

(L. 9.)—(*And*) while Muṅgûḷa-Voja,—who was a very hero in the field of battle; who was true to his word;[47] who was a very touchstone of heroes,—was governing (*the village of*) Kadekêri:—

[41] From an ink-impression.
[42] This *tsa* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.
[43] This mark of punctuation is superfluous; especially standing, as it does, in the middle of a word.
[44] First *ta* was engraved, and then the top of it was altered into *s*, so as to give *sta*.
[45] Yama, the god of death.
[46] The Pallavas.
[47] *Nuḍid-ante-gaṇḍaṁ; lit.*, 'he who sees (*the fulfilment*) as he speaks.' Mr. K. B. Pâṭhak translates this (p. 98 above) by 'a hero in the right sense of the word.' But I cannot agree with him, having regard to the very similar expression *nuḍidu matt-ennaṁ*, 'he who does not speak (*again*) when he has (*once*) spoken,' *i.e.* 'he who does not break his word,' in Vol. VI. p. 139.

(L. 11.)—(*And*) while the glorious Boḷagaditale (?) and Râjayya were managing the office of head-men of the district :—

(L. 12.)—While Manayya was managing the office of head-man of the village :—

(L. 13.)—On Sunday, (*at*) the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the south, in (*the month*) Âshâḍha of the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, which was the Ś a k a year eight hundred and ninety-six,[48]—Boḷayya (?) and Râjayya and Vojayya, being (*in assembly*), there were allotted (*by him*[49]) seven *mattals* of black-soil land, (*and*) one *mattal* of rice-land, to (*the god*) Mahâdêva of Kadekêri.

(L. 19.)—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses the earth, enjoys the reward (*of this grant*)!

[48] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, however, Śaka 896 was the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*, and the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 895.

[49] *i.e.*, Manayya.

ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ANDHRAS AND THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

One of the most important discoveries published in Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's paper, *On the Antiquarian Remains at Sopâra and Padaṇa*, is that of the name of the father of the Andhra king Siriyaña Gotamiputa II. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl reads on the reverse of the Sopârâ coin—Chaturapanasa Gotamiputakumâru Yañasâtakani, *i.e.*, "Y a ñ a-S â t a k a n i, the princely scion of C h a t u r a p a n a, born of the G a u t a m î queen." He further adduces a new Nânâghâṭ inscription which is dated in the thirteenth year of the king C h a t a r a p a n a S â t a k a n i V â s a ṭ h i p u t a, *i.e.*, the son of the Vâsishṭhî queen, and identifies this ruler with the C h a t u r a p a ṇ a of the coin. Though the reading of the name on the coin is somewhat doubtful, I agree with my learned friend on this point, as well as with respect to his identifications. I even believe that his discovery explains the true meaning of another ancient inscription, Kaṇheri No. 11 (West), (which unfortunately is badly mutilated,) and allows us to determine what the near relationship (*adûratayâ saṁbandha*) between R u d r a d â m a n and the lord of the Dekhan S â t a k a r ṇ i was, of which the Junâgaḍh inscription speaks. Kaṇheri No. 11 runs, according to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's facsimile (Burgess, *Report*, vol. V., Pl. li), as follows :—

1. . . . . [Vâ] sishṭhîputrasya srî-Sâta[karṇ]î[s]ya devyâ[h]Kârddamakavaṁśapra[bha]vây[â] mahâkshatrapa-Ru . putryâ[h] . . . . . .

2. . . . . .v[i]śvasyasya amâtyasya Śaterakasya pâṇîyabhâjanaṁ deyadharma[ḥ||]

"Of the queen of. . . . V â s i s h ṭ h î p u t r a S â t a k a r ṇ i (*who is*) descended from the race of K â r d a m a k a kings (*and*) the daughter of the great Kshatrapa R u . . . . . . of the confidential minister Ś a t e r a k a, a water cistern, the meritorious gift."

The letters, placed between brackets, have been restored conjecturally, with the exception of the *r* of Sâtakarṇîsya which is distinctly visible. It ought to be noted that the *ya* of the same word is very faint, and that the *ta* might also be read *sa*. Nevertheless, I think, the restorations are perfectly certain, and it is almost equally certain that the name of the Mahâkshatrapa was R u d r a, as the size of the lacuna shows that one syllable only has been lost. The connexion of the two fragments seems to be, as I have already stated (Burgess, *Arch. Report*, vol. V, p. 78), that the confidential minister executed the charitable work on behalf of the queen (compare Banavâsî Pâlî inscr. *Archæolog. Survey*, No. X, p. 100). If the restorations are correct, it is perfectly clear that V â s i s h ṭ h î p u t r a S â t a k a r ṇ i was an Andhra king, and that his queen was the daughter of a Kshatrapa. Combining this information with Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's discovery, that C h a t u r a p a n a[1] V â s i s h ṭ h î p u t r a S â t a k a r ṇ i was S i r i y a ñ a's father, and the statement of the Junâgaḍh inscription that S â t a k a r ṇ i, the lord of the Dekhan, was a relative of M a h â k s h a t r a p a R u d r a d â m a n, as well as the fact that S i r i y a ñ a on the Sopârâ coin imitated the coinage of the Kshatrapas, I believe that the following inferences may be drawn from these premises :—

[1] I leave this name in its Prakrit form, because the Sanskrit equivalent is not clear to me. Bhagvânlâl's transliteration *Chatushparṇa* does not seem to me acceptable. It is very probable that the word *Chaürachindho* or *Chauravindho*, which Hemachandra in his *Deśîkosha* mentions as a synonym of *Sâlâhaṇa*, denotes the same person.

Vâsishṭhîputra Sâtakarṇi of Kaṇheri No. 11 is the same person as Chaturapana Vâsishṭhîputra Sâtakarṇi, and his queen, the daughter of the Mahâkshatrapa Rudra, is the mother of Siriyaña, usually called Gotamî, *i.e.*, Gautamî according to the Vaidika *gotra* of her father's Purohita. We have, therefore, in this inscription an explanation of the *adûratayâ saṁbandha*,—the near connexion by marriage between the Kshatrapas and the Andhras, which is mentioned in the Junâgaḍh inscription and an argument for identifying the Sâtakarṇi of the Junâgaḍh inscription either with Chaturapana Vâsishṭhîputra Sâtakarṇi, or with Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi. A further confirmation of these inferences is furnished by the fact that the letters of Kaṇheri No. 11 are the exact counterpart of those of Rudradâman's Junâgaḍh inscription, and both documents belong to the same time.

As regards the explanation of the remaining problems, the questions who Mahâkshatrapa Rudra was, and what may be meant by the term *Kârddamakarâjavaṁśa*, I am not as yet prepared to offer any definite opinion. I think it not improbable that Rudra may be a short form for Rudradâman, just like Vikrama for Vikramâditya, and that *Kârddamakarâja* may have been a title of the Western Kshatrapas. If that were the case, Chaturapana would have been Rudradâman's son-in-law, and Siriyaña would have been grandson, and the near relationship would certainly be a sufficient ground for either being spared after defeat. But, as more than one line of Kshatrapas certainly existed, it is also possible that Siriyaña's mother was the daughter of some other near relative of Rudradâman, who ruled at a place called Karddama.[8]

Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's further remarks on the chronology of the Andhras require very considerable modifications. According to the inscriptions and coins the group of kings beginning with Sâtakaṇi Gotamiputa I. stands now, as follows :—

1. Gotamiputa Sâtakaṇi I. reigned at least.................................. 24 years.
2. Puḷumâyi, Vâsiṭhiputa................ 24 „
3. Mâḍhariputa Sakasena or Sirisena. 8 years.
4. Vâsiṭhiputa Chaturapàna Sâtạkaṇi 13 „
5. Siriyaña Gotamiputa Sâtakaṇi II. 16 „

The position of Mâḍhariputa Sakasena or Sirisena, whom the Paṇḍit forgets in his latest discussion, is perfectly certain, as it has been shown by the Paṇḍit himself, that this king has re-struck coins of Puḷumâyi, while coins of his were re-struck by Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi II. But it is by no means certain that another, as yet unknown, king did not intervene between Nos. 2 and 3, or between Nos. 3 and 4. The dates, given above, are those which actually occur on the inscriptions, and in most cases the reigns probably were somewhat longer.

As regards the synchronisms between the Andhras and the Western Kshatrapas, there are now, one which is certain, and two which are very probable. First, Gotamiputa Sâtakaṇi certainly conquered Nahapâna and his son-in-law Ushavadâta after the 46th year of the era of their inscriptions, and before the fourteenth year of his own reign. This is evident from the date Saṁ. 46, contained in the minister Ayama's Junnar Inscription No. 32 (*Arch. Reports*, vol. IV, p. 103), and from the fact that Sâtakaṇi Gotamiputa addresses his orders to his *amâtya*, in charge of Govardhana-Nâsik, in the rainy season of the 14th year of his reign (Nâsik 11B, *Reports*, vol. IV, p. 105). As Ushavadâta's Nâsik and Kârle inscriptions show that Nahapâna held Nâsik and the country south of Nâsik, it is clear that if Sâtakaṇi, in the 14th year of his reign, had a governor of his own at Nâsik, the overthrow of the Khaharâtas must have happened before that year. The second synchronism, which is probable, is that Puḷumâyi and Chashṭaṇa were contemporaries. This is probable because Puḷumâyi is the immediate successor of Sâtakaṇi and Chashṭaṇa the next Kshatrapa of Ujjain after Nahâpana. It *may* also be indicated by Ptolemy's mentioning just these two kings as rulers of Paiṭhân and of Ujjain. Ptolemy's statement possesses, however, not that paramount importance which Mr. Bhâû Dâjî, Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, and others attribute to it. For there is nothing to show that Ptolemy meant to say more than that Tiastanes

[8] A locality, called Kardamila, is known from the *Mahâbhârata*. *Kardamarâja* occurs in the *Râjataraṅginî*, either as the name or the title of a son of *Kshemagupta*.

and Siripolemaios were the two best known rulers of Ujjain and Paiṭhân, or that, if he meant to say that they were the reigning kings of those towns according to the most recent information received from India, his statement was based on reports collected not by others, but by himself. The notes, "Ozene, the royal residence of 'Tiastanes'" and "'Baithana,' the royal residence of 'Siripolemaios'" are perfectly correct, even if these individuals lived several hundred years before Ptolemy's time.[3] They *may*, however, merely convey the meaning that these two princes were the most remarkable and famous of whom the author knew. On the other hand, even if we suppose that Ptolemy meant to say that Tiastanes and Siripolemaios ruled over the two towns according to the latest information received, what is there to prove that his latest intelligence was not very antiquated? The writer of an extensive work like his must have copied a good deal from others, and we know from his own statements that his book is not based altogether on original research. His sources may have been a hundred years old, and even older, and there is not the slightest evidence that these two particular notes belong to Ptolemy himself. Under these circumstances the synchronism, "Puḷumâyi and Chashṭana were contemporary rulers,"—which I am prepared to admit,—cannot be made the basis of a chronological theory. The basis for settling the chronology of the Andhras is given by the third synchronism, which shows that Rudradâman and Chaturapana Sâtakani or Siriyaña Sâtakani were contemporaries. It is in great part due to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's discoveries that we can recognise Rudradâman as the contemporary of one of the two Andhras mentioned, and thus connect the Andhras with the era of Chashṭana's descendants. The latter must have been destroyed shortly after their 310th year by Chandragupta, some time before the 82nd year of the Gupta era. As I have stated in my remarks on the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions (Burgess, *Reports*, vol. V, pp. 73-74), the equation A. K. $310+x=$ A. G. $82-x$ follows from the latest date on the Kshatrapa coins and the earliest date of the Guptas in Mâlavâ. If the Gupta saṁvat begins, as seems now certain, about 190 A. D. the beginning of the era of the Western Kshatrapas falls in the middle of the first century before Christ.[4] Whether it is identical with the Vikrama era, is a question which I will not discuss here, though the assumption appears to me a reasonable one. But the era of the Western Kshatrapas has certainly no connection with the Śaka Saṁvat.

AN INSCRIBED ROYAL SEAL FROM WALÂ.

BY PROF. G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., C.I.E., VIENNA.

Some time ago a clay seal, measuring 2·9 inches by 2·6 inches, on the face, and about 2¼ inches high, bearing on the face a rude impression of the sun and the moon, and below it an inscription in four lines, was found at or in the neighbourhood of the ruins of Valabhî. Colonel J. Watson, into whose possession it came, sent to me several paper-rubbings and a sealing-wax impression, together with the reading of the inscription by his Paṇḍit, Âchârya Valabhjî. As I think that the document may eventually become important for the history of Western India, I publish my own and Valabhjî's interpretations of it.

The letters closely resemble those of the land-grants of Dhruvasena I. of Valabhî, the only notable difference being that the *mâtrâ* or *â*-stroke is represented by a curve turning towards the right, and standing above the letter after which it has to be read. The same practice is followed in the highly ornamental Jhâlrâpâha inscriptions, and on the seal of Śarvavarman Maukhari, published in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. III, p. 378. The preservation is, in spite of the brittle nature of the material, tolerably good. In the first line the fourth and fifth *aksharas* have been damaged, in the second the last two have almost been effaced, in the third

[3] See also my discussion of this point in Burgess, *Reports*, vol. V, p. 73. In order to illustrate these remarks I will give another *drishṭânta*. Would it not be natural and correct, if a geographer of the present day appended to the name *Ghazni*, the remark, "the capital of Mahmûd," and would it not be a fatal mistake to infer from this remark more than that the author lived later than Mahmûd Ghaznevî? I must further add, that this objection to Mr. Bhâû Dâjî's reasoning was suggested to me by Sir E. C. Bayley.

[4] See now Sir E. C. Bayley's article on "Certain Dates occurring on the coins of the kings of Cabul," *Num. Chron.* 3rd series. vol. II. pp. 128-165. Sir E. C. Bayley too, expresses the same opinion regarding the method to be used in settling the beginning of the Kshatrapa era.

Seventh Edict.

Prinsep, p. 597 ff.

([11]) Devânampiye piyadasi lâjâ hevam âhâ [.] ye atikamtam

([12]) amtalam lâjâne husa hevam ichhisu katham jane

([13]) dhammavadhiyâ vadheyâ no chu jane anulupâyâ dhammavadhiyâ

([14]) vadhithâ [.] etam devânampiye piyadasi lâjâ hevam âhâ [.] esa me

([15]) huthâ atâkamtam cha amtalam hevam ichhisu lâjâne katha jane

([16]) anulupâyâ dhammavadhiyâ vadheyâti no cha jane anulupâyâ

([17]) dhammavadhiyâ vadhithâ [.] se kina us jane anupatipajeyâ

([18]) kina su jane anulupâyâ dhammavadhiyâ vadheyâti kina sû kâni

([19]) abhyumnâmayeham dhammavadhiyâti [.] etam devânampiye piyadasi lâjâ hevam

([20]) âhâ [.] esa me huthâ dhammasâvanâni sâvâpâyâmi dhammânusathini

([21]) anusisâmi etam jane sutu anupatipajîsati abhyumnamisati [.]

Translation.

Thus says the king Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods :—The kings that have governed in the past have (*indeed*) formed this vow : how to bring it about that men may make progress in religion ? But men have not made such progress in religion as was conformable (*to their desire*). Then thus says king Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods :—I have made this reflexion : since the kings who have governed in the past have formed this vow,—how to bring it about that men may make such progress in religion as was conformable (*to their desire*) and since men have not made in religion such progress as was conformable (*to their desire*) ; by what means to lead men to follow the good path ? By what means to attain that men may make progress in religion such as is conformable (*to my desire*) ? By what means should I be able to cause them to advance in religion ? Then thus saith king Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods :—I have taken the resolution to publish religious exhortations, to promulgate religious instructions : men hearing this (*word*) will enter on the good path, they will advance (*in good*).

Eighth Edict.

The 'circular edict,'—Prinsep, pp. 602 ff. ; Lassen (p. 270, n. 1 ; p. 275, n. 3 ;) and Burnouf (pp. 749f)—have not discussed or translated it entire, but only short fragments of it.

(1) Dhammavadhiyâ cha bâdham vadhisatâ etâye me athâye dhammasâvanâni sâvâpitâni dhammanusathini vividhâni ânâpitâni [.] yathatiyipâ pi bahune janapim âyatâ ete palâyovadisamti pi pavithalisamti pi [.] lajûkâ pi bahukesu pânasatasahasesu âyatâ te pi me ânapitâ hevam cha hevam cha paliyovadâtha

(2) janam dhammayutam [.] devânampiye Piyadasi hevam âhâ [.] etameva me anuvekhamâne dhammathambhâni katâni dhammamahâmâtâ katâ dhamma...kate [.] devânampiye piyadasi lâjâ hevam âhâ [.] magesa pi me nigohâni lopâpitâni chhâyopagâni hosamti pasumunisânam ambâvadikâ lopâpitâ adhakosikâni pi me udapânâni

(3) khanâpâpitâni nimsi—dhayâ cha kâlâpitâ âpânâni me bahukâni tata tata kâlâpitâni patibhogâye pâsumunisânam [.] sa—esa patîbhoge nâma [.] vividhâyâ hâ sukhâyanâyâ pulimehi pi lâjîhi mamayâ cha sukhayite loke imam chu dhammânupatîpatî anupatipajamtu tâ etadathâ me

(4) esa kate [.] devânampiye Piyadasi hevam âhâ [.] dhammamahâmâtâ pi me ta bahuvidhesu athesu ânugahikesu viyâpatâ se pavajîtânam cheva gihithânam cha sava . . . desu pi cha viyâpatâ se [.] samghathasi pi me[1] kate ime viyâpatâ hohamti ti [.] hemeva bâbhanesu âjîvikesu pi me kate

(5) ime viyâpatâ hohamti [.] nighamthesu pi me kate ime viyâpatâ hohamti [.] nânâpâsam desu pi me kate ime viyâpatâ hohamti ti [.] pativisitham pativisitham tesu tesu te . mahâmâtâ dhammamahâmâtâ cha me etesu cheva viyâpatâ savesu cha amnesu pâsamdesu [.] devânampiye Piyadasi lâjâ hevam âhâ [.]

(6) ete cha amne cha bahukâ mukhâ dânavâsagasi viyâpatâ se mama cheva devînam cha [.] savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena â . lena tâni tâni tuthâyatanâni pati . . . [.] hida cheva disâsu cha dâlakânam

[1] The *m* has here the signs both of the vowel *e* and of the vowel *u*.

pi cha me kaṭe aṁnânaṁ cha devikumâ-lânaṁ ime dânavisagesa viyâpaṭâ hohaṁti ti
(7) dhaṁmâpadânaṭhâye dhaṁmânupaṭipati-ye [.] esa hi dhaṁmâpadâne dhaṁmapa-ṭipati cha yâ iyaṁ dayâ dâne sache sochave madave sâdhama cha lokasa evaṁ vaḍhisati ti [.] devânaṁpiye . . . . lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ [.] yâni hi kâni chi mamiyâ sâdhavâni kaṭâni taṁ loke anûpaṭipaṁne taṁ cha anuvidhiy-aṁti tena vaḍhitâ cha
(8) vaḍhisaṁti cha mâtâpitisu sususâyâ gulusu sususâyâ vayomahalakânaṁ anupaṭîpatiyâ bâbhanasamanesu kapanavalâkesu âvadâ-sabhaṭakesu saṁpaṭîpatiyâ [.] devânaṁpiy . . . dasi lâjâ hevaṁ âhâ [.] munisânaṁ chu yâ iyaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ duvehi yeva âkâlehi dhaṁmaniyamena cha nijha-tiyâ cha [.]
(9) tata chu lahu sadhaṁmaniyame nijhatiyâ va bhuye [.] dhaṁmaniyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṁ kaṭe imâni cha imâni jâtâni ava-dhiyâni aṁnâni pi chu bahu . . dhaṁma-niyamâni yâni me kaṭâni [.] nijhatiyâ va chu bhuye munisânaṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi vaḍhitâ avihiṁsâye bhutânaṁ
(10) anâlaṁbhâye pânânaṁ [.] se etâye athâye iyaṁ kaṭe putâpapotike chaṁdamasuliyike hotu ti tathâ chu anupaṭîpajaṁtu ti [.] hevaṁ hi anupaṭîpajaṁtaṁ hidatapalate âladha hoti [.] satavisativasâbhipâtena me iyaṁ dhaṁmalibi likhapâpitâ ti [.] etaṁ devânaṁpiye âhâ [.] iyaṁ
(11) dhaṁmalibi ata athi silâthaṁbhâni vâ silâ-phalakâni vâ tata kaṭaviyâ ena esa chilaṭhi-tike siyâ [.]

Translation.

In order that religion may make rapid progress, for that reason I have published religious exhortations, I have given various instructions upon religion, I have appointed numerous (*officers*) over the people, each having his circle to himself, that they may spread the teaching, that they may develop (*my thought*). I have also appointed *râjukas* over many myriads of creatures, and they have received from me the command to direct the faithful people. Thus saith Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods:—It is with this only pre-occupation that I have raised pillars (*covered with inscriptions*) of religion, that I have created supervisors of religion, that I have published religious exhortations (?). Thus saith the king Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods:—Upon the roads I have planted *nyagrôdhas* that they may give shade to men and beasts, I have planted gardens of mangos; from half *krôśa* to half *krôśa* I have caused wells to be dug, I have caused bathing-ponds (?) to be made, and have, in a multitude of places, caused caravanserais to be built for the comfort of men and of animals. But, for myself the true comfort is this:—Previous kings have, and I myself have contributed to the welfare of men by various ameliorations; but to make them enter on the ways of religion, with this object I rule my actions. Thus saith Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods:—I have created also supervisors of religion in order that they may be occupied in all kinds of works of charity, that they may be occupied also with all sects, sects of monks or of people living in the world. I have had also in view the interests of the clergy, with which these officers will occupy themselves, also the interests of Brâhmaṇs, of religious mendicants, with which they will occupy themselves, about the Nirgrantha ascetics and the different sects, with which they will equally occupy themselves. The Mahâmâtras will occupy themselves separately with the one and the other, each with one corporation; and my supervisors of religion will be employed in a general way, as much with these sects as with all others. Thus says the king Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods:—These officers and others besides are my intermediaries; they are appointed to the distribution of my alms and those of the queens. In my whole palace they (*give their attention*) in different ways each to the apartments that are entrusted to them. I intend also that, as here, so in the provinces, they be employed to distribute the alms of my children, and specially of the royal princes, in order to encourage acts of religion, the practice of religion, namely: compassion, almsgiving, veracity, purity of life, gentleness and kindness. Thus saith the king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods:—Indeed, the acts of goodness of every kind that I perform, after these do people govern themselves: they are ruled by my example. In this way have men grown and will grow in obedience to parents, to masters, in condescension to people of advanced age, in respect towards Brâhmaṇs, Śramaṇs, the poor, the miserable, even to slaves and servants. Thus saith the king Piyadasi,

beloved of the gods :—But this progress of religion among men is attained in two ways: by positive rule and by the sentiments which every one may inspire in them. But of this double action, that of positive rule is only of mediocre value; the inner-inspiration alone gives it all its influence. The positive rules consist in what I enjoin, when, for example, I interdict the killing of such and such kinds of animals, and in other religious prescriptions which I have enjoined in great numbers. But it is only by the change of personal sentiments that the progress of religion grows more and more, in the (*general*) respect for life, in the care not to slay any being. It is with this view that I have placed this inscription in order, that it may endure for my sons and grandsons, that it may endure as long as the sun and moon, so that they may follow my directions; for in following this path they will obtain blessing here below and in the other world. I have caused this edict to be engraved in the twenty-eighth year of my consecration. Thus saith the (*king*) beloved of the gods :—Wherever this edict exists on pillars of stone or walls of rock, it must be made to last long.

The Queen's edict at Allahâbâd.

Prinsep *u. s.* p. 966 ff.

(1) Devânampiyasa vachanenâ saata mahâmatâ

(2) vataviyâ [.] eheta dutîyâye deviye dâ (?)-ne

(3) ambâvaḍikâ vâ âlame va dâna chevâ etasi amne

(4) kichhi ganîyati tâye deviye se nâni sava

(5) dutiyâye deviye ti tîvalamâta kâluvâniye . . . . .

Translation.

This direction is addressed in the name of (*the king*) beloved of the gods, to the Mahâmâtras of all districts: Every gift made by the second queen,—the gift of a mango orchard or of a garden, equally every object of value found in them (*should be to the honour*) of the queen, whose religious zeal and charitable spirit should be acknowledged by saying: "all this comes from the second queen . . . . ."

Edict of Kauśâmbî.

This fragment is so named by General Cunningham because it is addressed to the Mahâmâtras of Kauśâmbî. This is the only information also that I can derive from it. I can make nothing of the rest of the transcript, too incomplete and imperfect to serve as a basis for any useful conjecture. I only reproduce it from the *Corpus* to complete the series.

(1) Devânampiye ânapayati Kosambiya mahâmata.

(2)—ramari (?) . . samghasi nilahiyo

(3) i . . . . . . ṭhatibhiti . bhamti nita . . chi

(4) ba . . . . pinam dhapapita ata satha amvasayi.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 175.*)

XXII.

While Mu-khu-li in Liau-tung and Mingan before Chung-tu were prosecuting their successful campaigns, Chinghiz Khân was reposing at Hoan-chau, a town, according to Hyacinthe, founded in the year 810 by the Khitans, and situated 19 leagues N.E. of Tu-shi-keou, one of the gates of the Great Wall, and south-west of lake Dolon. It is called Kurtun Balghassun by the Mongols.[1] When the news of the capture of Yen-king reached him he sent one of his officers to compliment Mingan, with orders to transport all the treasures in the city to Tartary.[2] The *Huang-yuan* tells us that Chinghiz sent on this errand Khudukhu-noyan (who is called Shigi-khutukhu in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*[3]), with Yunggur Yao guan-chi,[4] and Arkhai Khasar.[5] When the Kin emperor left for Nan-king he had entrusted the treasury to the two officers, Khada and Gokhi.[6] They presented Chinghiz Khân's

[1] Hyacinthe, p. 426, D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 147 and 148. This is confirmed by the *Ta-ts'ing-yi-t'ung-chi*, which puts it in the same place. Bretschneider, *Notes on Chinese Med. Travellers*, p. 122, note.

[2] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 72.

[3] Rashidu'd-dîn tells us he was formerly called Shiki, was a Tartar by origin, and had been made over to Chinghiz Khân's wife, whose protégé he was.—Erdmann, p. 329.

[4] Called Unggur, the chief marshal, by Rashid, and Vangur in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

[5] The Harkhi Khasar of Rashid.

[6] *Huang Yuan*, p. 188. They are called Kai-li-u and Ku-i in the transcript of Rashid by Erdmann.

messengers with some offerings of gold and other things. Yunggur and Khasar took what was offered them but Khutukhu refused. They took the Kin treasures with them, and also Khada.[7] Chinghiz asked Khutukhu, "Did Khada give thee some things." He replied, "He offered them, but I did not venture to accept them." "Why not?" said Chinghiz. He replied that he had said to Khada, "Before the surrender of the city all its treasures belonged to the Altan Khân. But now it has surrendered, it all belongs to my king. How can you secretly take the property of my king, and appropriate it to private uses?" Chinghiz greatly praised him for this act, and severely reprimanded Yunggur and Arkhai Khasar.[8] It is singularly curious how Rashidu'd-dîn and the author of the *Huang-yuan* agree almost verbatim in this narrative, which is not mentioned by other *Chinese* authors. In regard to the results of the capture of Chungtu, Minhaj-i-siraj says the Altan Khân's son and his vizier both fell into the hands of Chinghiz, and that he ordered an account to be taken from the records of the quantity of gold and silver which ought to be in the treasury, and insisted upon every bar being forthcoming.[9] The same author reports Bahau'd-din as stating that he actually saw the son of the Altan Khân and the vizier brought into the presence of Chinghiz.[10] In regard to the son I can find no confirmation of the statement anywhere except in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where we certainly read that the ruler of the Kins having arrived at Bian-lian,[11] submitted himself humbly to Chinghiz, and Chinghiz received his son Tengeri, and 100 men into his service.[12] By the vizier is meant a famous person, who became an important factor in developing the Mongol polity. His name was Yeliu-Chutsai. He was a member of the Khitan Imperial house, and descended in the eighth generation from Thu-yo, a prince of that house. His father had been vice-chancellor of the Kin empire, and he himself was born in the district of Yan in the year 1190 when his father was 60 years old. As the latter, from certain prognostications, judged that the boy would some time render important services to some foreign princes, he gave him the name of Chutsai or Thsu-Thsai, and the surname of Tsin-king, thus making a double allusion to a passage in the chronicle of Tso-khieou-ming, which mentioned a fact of the same kind. Chutsai lost his father at the age of three years, but under his mother Yan-shi, who took charge of his education, he surpassed older children in his knowledge of various kinds of books, especially those dealing with astronomy, geography, the calendar and arithmetic, studies which led him to the conclusion that the planetary motions were more accurately known in the west than in China, and he constructed a set of tables under the name Mathapa, made on the system of those of the Mussalmans. In 1213 he obtained his first public employment, which he quitted to take charge of the government of Yen-king.[13] De Mailla says he was of a gigantic stature 8 feet high (!!!) with a majestic bearing, had a venerable beard, and an imposing voice. On his being presented to Chinghiz, the latter was struck by his appearance, and said to him:—"The Kin Tartars have been the enemies of the Khitans, from whom they have taken their empire, I have come to revenge your family." Chutsai replied:—"My father and grandfather have been faithful subjects of the Kin, how can I condemn their conduct and venture to take vengeance upon them for what they have done to my family?" Chinghiz was pleased with this reply and determined to keep Chutsai by him, and to employ him in his service. He insisted that before each enterprise he undertook, Chutsai should predict for him according to the rules of his science[14] whether the event would prove favourable or the reverse, and also confided to him the duty of divining by means of burnt shoulder-blades of sheep.[15]

A few days after his reception of Yeliu Chutsai, Chinghiz Khân went in person to Yen-king. All the troops there were under arms to receive him, Mingan, otherwise called Chapar, being at their head. Addressing the grandees he told them he owed the capture of the city to Chapar. After a short stay he set out again for Tartary and went to pass the summer heats of 1215 at Leang-king, a town in the district of Hoan-chau,

[7] Here called Kheda by Erdmann.
[8] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, p. 142; *Huang-yuan*, pp. 188 and 189; Erdmann, pp. 329 and 330.
[9] *Op. cit.* pp. 962 and 963.
[10] *Id.* pp. 965 and 966.
[11] *i.e.* Pien-liang.
[12] *Op. cit.* p. 142.
[13] Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. II, pp. 62 and 63.
[14] *i. e.* divination.
[15] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 73; Hyacinthe, p. 106; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 148 and 149.

already named. He took with him the princesses, whom Monien-tsin-chong had deserted.[16] Leang-king is identified by Douglas with the modern Koo-urh-too Pa-urh-ho-sun in Mongolia, *i.e.*, with Kurtun Balghassun already named.[17] At this time the towns of Hokien Tsing-chau and Tsang-chau revolted against the Mongols. Douglas names only Tsing, which he identifies with the modern Tsing-hien in Chih-li and Shun, which he similarly identifies with Shun-i-hien in the same province. Chinghiz sent Wang-tsi with an army to recover them, and sent 3,000 Mongol and Chinese troops after him under the command of Putu. They captured Hokien, where they increased their army by 1,000 men. Putu wished to exterminate the citizens, as they were very turbulent, but Wang-tsi having interceded for them and answered for their good behaviour, he not only pardoned them but also the leaders of the revolt.[18] Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that in consequence of the capture of Yen-king three Kin officers, whom he names Jang-gu, Jang-gu-ging, and Jun-gar-Ashu-leng, who had shut themselves up in the town of Chi-ngan which was situated in a marsh submitted.[19] The text of the *Huang-yuan* is corrupt at this point. In reporting apparently the same event, it says, on the contrary, that Jan-fu, Juan-khobun, Jun-gelsi and Yan-shuai occupied Sin-an, and did not surrender.[20] Meanwhile Chinghiz determined to prosecute his advantage against the Kin empire and detached a *tuman*, *i.e.* 10,000 men, towards the south under Samuka, who is called Samkhia-batur by Hyacinthe, Sanko-patû by De Mailla, Sankepa by Gaubil, San-khe-badu in the *Huang-yuan*, and Samuka Behâdur by Rashidu'd-dîn. He had orders to turn the famous and difficult Tung-kuan pass by making a detour through part of Si-hia, and advanced by King-chau or Si-ngan-fu upon Tung-kuan, situated near the southern bank of the Yellow River, and commanding a defile from Shen-si to Ho-nan. Unable to capture it he determined to make a detour through the mountains of Sung, situated N.E. of Ju-chau, in Ho-nan, and took the road leading to Ju-chau or Yu-chau. De Mailla and Gaubil say that, in order to traverse the ravines and defiles in this difficult country, he made bridges with pikes, and interlaced branches of trees fastened by strong chains. Douglas makes out that this contrivance was employed for crossing the Yellow River, and that the interstices between the boughs, &c., were filled with earth and stones. Samuka at length reached Hing-hoa-ing, 20 lis distant from the Nanking. The Kin emperor hastily summoned the troops of Shan-tung, and the Mongols were beaten and forced to retire towards Shen-chau, called Shen-khua-in by Hyacinthe. It is a town situated in the western part of Ho-nan, 15 leagues E.N.E. of Tung-kuan, on the south bank of the Yellow River. As it was winter, and the Yellow River was frozen over Samuka traversed it on the ice, returned once more northwards, and the Kin troops, too anxious for the safety of Tung-kuan, and San-fu, neglected pursuing him.[21] The *Huang-yuan* says that after passing Tung-kuan Samuka in this campaign ravaged the districts of Sun and Ju, and then went straight to Pien-liang to the camp of Sin-khua-in,[22] and plundered Khe-nan.[23] Retiring thence he went to Shan-chau[24] crossed the river,[25] and withdrew northwards.[26] Rashid adds that on passing the great city of Pe-sin two Kin generals named Apendur and Fisher Sani, submitted to him.[27] According to the *Yuan-shi*, Chinghiz now sent Ekele,[28] to offer terms to the Kin emperor, and to remind him that every city north of the river and in Shan-tung was now in his possession, that resistance was useless, and if he would abdicate the throne he would make him king of the district south of the river, *i.e.*, of Ho-nan, and leave him in peace.[29] According to the *Kang-mu* the overtures came from the Kin side, and it was Utubu, the Kin emperor, who sent an officer to demand peace. Chinghiz was not indisposed to grant it. "It is in these matters," he said to Sa-mu-ho-ti *i.e.* Samuka, "as in hunting, when we have enclosed the stags, we can select what we choose. There only

[16] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 73.
[17] *Op. cit.* p. 79.
[18] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 73; Douglas, p. 77.
[19] Erdmann, p. 330.
[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 189.
[21] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 73 and 74; Hyacinthe, pp. 81 and 82; Douglas, pp. 81 and 82; Gaubil, pp. 29 and 30; *Huang Yuan*, 189; D'Ohsson vol. I, pp. 150 and 151.
[22] ? The place read Fu-big by Erdmann in Rashidu'd-dîn.
[23] ? The Fey-tub-tu of Erdmann's MS. of Rashid.
[24] Sim-chau of Rashidu'd-dîn.
[25] Rashid calls it the Kara-muran.
[26] Huang-yuan, p. 189; Erdmann, pp. 330-331.
[27] Erdmann, p. 331.
[28] Called Etsiri by Hyacinthe.
[29] Douglas, p. 80; Hyacinthe.

remains a hare which we have not captured. Why not let it go?" Samuka who blushed at not having distinguished himself like the other Mongol chiefs did not like this counsel. Chinghiz proposed very hard conditions. Utubu was to surrender all the territory he held north of the Yellow River, to renounce the title of emperor, and take that of king of Ho-nan, and to acknowledge him as his suzerain. These terms were rejected.[30] The negociations having broken down we read that in the spring of 1216 the Mongols made a second effort to reach the southern capital of the Kin; we are told that Siu-ting the commander of Ping-yang-fu sent Pilan-alutai and Tushan-pekia with 15,000 men to defend the passage across the Yellow River, and also the town of Shen-chau. He himself with a picked army went to cover the southern capital, and sent several other divisions towards Tung-kuan to oppose the Mongols if they should venture to attack it, but they turned it as on the former occasion and went and encamped between Ju-chau and the mountain of Sung, whence traversing the mountain paths which were deemed impracticable they fell suddenly upon Tung-kuan and captured it almost without a blow.[31] Siu-ting ordered the governors of Kiang-chau, Hiai-chau, Shi-chau Ki-chau and Mong-chau to combine their forces in case the enemy should suddenly appear. Shortly after the Mongols having crossed the river near San-men marched towards Ping-yang, but were repulsed with loss by Siu-ting, who also recaptured the fortress of Tung-kuan.[32] The *Yuan-shi* has a different story about this campaign. It says that when the Kin emperor refused to listen to the terms offered by Chinghiz he sent the general She-tien-ne, called Shetkian-ne by Hyacinthe, and She-tian-i in the *Huang-yuan*, to recommence hostilities, and to encourage his generals, he gave each of them a *paizah* or official tablet of office, marked with a tiger. She-tien-ne, we are told by this authority, went forth in the eighth month of 1215, and took Ping-chau, and at the same time the Kin minister, Kechu,[33] surrendered.[34]

The *Huang-yuan* and Rashidu'd-dîn mention a third campaign in these parts. They tell us that Chinghiz sent Totolu-an-Sherbi,[35] who, the latter says, was the son of Mengelig Ijigeh, and was at the head of the Mongol, Khitan and Chinese troops to fight in the south. They marched against Chaghan Balghassun, which he adds the Chinese called Jen-din or Jinzin-fu, which they plundered, and defeated Da-min. They then advanced upon Dun-pin,[36] but on account of the river could not take it; so after pillaging the district greatly, they retired, and the Kin troops reoccupied it.[37]

It is not surprising that the ill-fortunes of the Kin Tartars should have tempted their neighbours on the south, the masters of the Sung empire, and they now refused to pay the tribute which they had been in the habit of paying.[38] It would seem that Chinghiz Khân had tried to arrange an alliance with the Sung against the Kin, but without avail. This fact is noticed in the *Tsian-yan-i-lai-ch'ao-ye-tsza-tszi*, and the notice has been abstracted by Palladius. We there read that in the seventh year of the reign of Tzia-din (1214), and on the ninth day of the first moon, there arrived three horsemen at Vuvei-fu, a small place on the north bank of the river Khuai. They crossed the river, and set off towards the south. A scout asked them why they had come. They produced a wallet containing a letter and a figured chart written on a silken material, and said:—"The Dadan Vantzi,[39] Chinghiz, has sent us to proffer lands to the Sung, and to ask for an auxiliary army." On the following day, when the chief of the scouts learnt this, he sent several men with an answer to the effect that the district chief was at this time at the court, and that he dared not receive them without permission from the Emperor, and he ordered them to be sent back, a curious proof that the exclusiveness, European travellers complain about so much in China, is of very old date. On the following day the scout met them on the mountain Miao-Gan, and immediately made them recross the river on a raft. Unable to return northward on account of the interruption of communications they lay hid in the lake Bo-lu-khu in the

[30] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 74 and 75; Hyacinthe, pp. 82 and 83; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 151.
[31] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 76.
[32] *Id.*, p. 77.
[33] The Tsi-chu of Hyacinthe.
[34] Douglas, p. 80; Hyacinthe, pp. 75 and 76; *Huang-yuan*, p. 189.

[35] Called Tulun-Sherbi by Rashidu'd-dîn.
[36] Called Tu-ngin-fu by Rashidu'd-dîn.
[37] *Huang-yuan*, p. 190; Erdmann, p. 331.
[38] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 78.
[39] *i.e.*, the ruler of the Tartars.

district of Khun-sian, and the district governor three days later sent to take them to Si-chau. Nothing more is known about them. It was said that one was a Tartar interpreter, another a captive Kin, and the third a North-Chinaman.

When subsequently the Mongols sent a contingent into Shan-tung, having reached Tsei-nan they told off 37 horsemen to escort three fresh envoys, and afterwards sent 300. They rode through Vei-chau, where having seized some boats they crossed the Yellow River and then rode west to Bo-chau whence they were sent back, and it was strictly commanded by the Sung authorities that in future no envoys should be received; those receiving them, being detected, were to suffer the penalty of death.[40]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* mentions the sending of one of these embassies which it says was headed by Jubkhan, but says it was hindered by the Kin.[41] It would seem that on their side the Kin authorities made advances for an alliance with the Sung against their terrible enemies from the north. The Sung emperor was disposed to listen to these overtures, but was diverted by Kao-ju-li, who pointed out that it would be far better to make common cause with the Mongols. It was probably in consequence of this attitude and also of their refusal to pay tribute, that we find the Kin troops now, *i.e.*, in 1217, attacking their frontiers, but getting badly beaten.[42]

The mode of attack of the Mongols and the defensive tactics of the Kin authorities may be gathered from a memoir, which the tribunal of censors made to the emperor, on the occasion of Samuka's attack, the Mongol general being at the time encamped at Yu-chau. This runs as follows:—"The enemy's army having passed Tung-kuan, Yao-kuan and Mien-chan has advanced into the interior of Ho-nan, and approached the western faubourgs of Nan-king. They know the capital contains a strong garrison. This is why they do not attack it. They avoid a fight, and endeavour by different detachments of cavalry to blockade the place, while their other armies attack the surrounding towns. They are gradually tightening their grip upon Nan-king. If we refrain from defending the other towns we shall presently find the capital deprived of food, for the public magazines and private stores there are not a hundredth part of what they are at Chung-tu. It is this which freezes our beasts. It would be well if your majesty were to order the troops from Shen-chau to cover Tung-kuan and to take up their position opposite the general Alibas; if you were to select in the capital some dozens of brave officers to whom to make over the best soldiers, in order to carry on a system of skirmishing (the *petit guerre* of the French), and if the same plan were adopted north of the river."

The emperor remitted this memoir to the senate, but Chu-hu Kaoki replied that the officials of the tribunal of censors were not versed in war, and knew nothing of defensive tactics, and it was laid aside. Kaoki had no plan of his own, save that of summoning as many troops as possible to the capital, and thus leaving the provinces bare.[42]

Having traced the fortunes of the Mongol arms in the south, let us follow them further east in Liau-tung and its borders where their great general Mu-khu-li had control of matters. While he had been engaged in conquering Liau-si, Chang-king or Chang-tsing, called Chang-ping by Gaubil, murdered the collector of taxes at Kin-chau at the head of the gulf of Liau-tung, and having proclaimed himself king of Lin-hai sent his submission to Chinghiz.[43]

In the last month of 1215 Chang-king received orders to march from Liau-yang, *i.e.* the Peking of those days, with a division of troops, and to march against Tuholan-salipi, called Dogolan by Hyacinthe, who commanded a Kin army in the south. Chang-king intended deserting the Mongol service. Mu-khu-li, who had heard of this, deputed the Uighur Siaoassien to watch his movements. When they arrived at Ping-chau,[44] Chang-king feigned sickness, and professed not to be able to march. Siaoassien accordingly forced his way into his palace, and was just in time to prevent his flight. He then put him to death.[45] Chang-chi, brother of Chang-king, was then at Kin-chau. On hearing of his brother's death, he killed the governor of the town, which he occupied, took the title of the prince of Ing, and declared for

[40] *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 551. [41] *Op. cit.*, p. 141.
[42] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 78 and 79.
[42] D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 152 and 153.
[43] Douglas, p. 75.

[44] Situated according to Douglas in the modern Loo-lung-Heen.
[45] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 75; Douglas, pp. 77 and 78; Hyacinthe, p. 83; Gaubil, p. 30.

the Kin emperor, who gave him command of his troops in the country. The *Yuan-shi* says he also pillaged Hin-chung-fu, while the *Kang-mu* adds that many towns situated between the sea, the river Liau, the Great Wall, and the barrier separating Liau-tung from Tartary, including Ping-chau, Luan-chau, Shui-chau, Li-chau, I-chau, Ye-chau, and Kuang-ning submitted to him.[46] Mu-khu-li and his Uighur subordinate Siaoassien marched against the rebel, who, according to the *Yuan-shi*, sent one army against him under his son Tung-ping. Mu-khu-li pointed out to his men that the enemy having no armour would be overwhelmed by their arrows. He then gave orders to his cavalry to charge. The rebel army was completely defeated. Tung-ping was among the slain, while 12,800 officers and men were killed.[47]

Mu-khu-li now sent Siaoassien to attack a mountain fortress and arsenal named Lieou-shê-shan-pao, and sent Mongu-pu-hoa, called Mungu-bukha by Hyacinthe, to plant himself in ambush, 10 lis (Hyacinthe says 40) to the west of Yong-te-hien, with orders to watch the movements of Chang-chi. When the latter learnt that the enemy was attacking Lieou-shê-shan-pao, he at once went to the rescue. Mu-khu-li, who was then at Kuang-ning, was informed of this movement by his subordinate Mongu-pu-hoa, who also sent a body of cavalry to cut off his retreat. Mu-khu-li marched in all haste and reached Shin-shui at day-break, and there encountered the enemy's army. Chang-chi found himself between two fires. He fought bravely, but was at length defeated with a loss of 3,000 men killed, besides a great multitude who were drowned or forced to seek shelter in Kin-chau, which was duly invested by the Mongols, and which he defended for a month against all their efforts. Kao-i, one of his officers, who had a grievance against him, then surrendered him to Mu-khu-li, who beheaded him. Douglas says he himself surrendered, but that Mu-khu-li distrusted him as a double-dyed traitor, and put him to death. This happened in the eleventh month of 1216.[48]

The *Huang-yuan* calls Chang-chi the Shuai Tsin-jou Jan-tsin, which means apparently, if we accept the corresponding phrase in Rashidu'd-dîn,—the general Chang-chi or Jan-tsi from the town of Kin-chau or Tsin-chau. On his submission to Chinghiz he had been given charge of some districts, which are called the Tsinsk or Kinsk and Guan-ninsk districts in the *Huang-yuan*, and the Jurchi towns of Lariti, Falshi and Gug-ling by Rashidu'd-dîn. The former says he rebelled and styled himself Liao-si-van,[49] *i.e.*, king of Liao-si, and gave his administration the title of *Dakhan*,[50] which Rashid says corresponded to *Sultân*. These two authorities make this outbreak the source of Chinghiz Khân's wrath and the cause of his ordering Mu-khu-li to march against him.[51]

We now read that Mu-khu-li marched against Kuang-ning-fu, the modern Kuang-ning-hien in the department of Kin-chau, and subdued it, making the eight hundred and sixty-second city which had fallen into the hands of the Mongols.[52] The *Huang-yuan* says Mu-khu-li sent Da-tsin-dao and others to capture Kuan-nin-fu, which surrendered.[53]

In the tenth month of 1215, according to the *Yuan-shi*, the Kin governor, Fusin-onol[54] conquered Liau-tung, proclaimed it the kingdom of Tien-wang, and adopted the dynastic style of Tientai.[55] This was an invasion of the rights of Yeliu-Liuko, who no sooner heard of the victory of the Kin general than he repaired to Chinghiz to lay his case before him. Chinghiz received him well, and gave a place about his court to his son, Yeliu Shesha.[56] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* gives a different reason for Yeliu-Liuko's visit to Chinghiz. It says that many Khitans proposed to him to declare himself emperor, independent of the Mongols, and that he rejected this advice as contrary to his duty. "I have sworn," he said, "to be the subject of Chinghiz Khân. I cannot violate this promise. To make myself emperor in the east is to oppose heaven, and to oppose heaven is to commit a great crime." He was much pressed to alter his mind but would not do so, and sent his son, Sietu, with 90 carts bearing rich presents for the Mongol chief, who had the

[46] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 75 and 76; Hyacinthe, p. 83; Gaubil, pp. 30 and 31; Douglas, p. 78. [47] Douglas, p. 78.
[48] De Mailla, vol. IX, pp. 76 and 77; Hyacinthe, pp. 86 and 87; Douglas, pp. 78, 79 and 83; Gaubil, pp. 30 and 31.
[49] The Liw-shi-wang of Rashidu'd-dîn.
[50] Thai-fan-bil of Rashidu'd-dîn.
[51] *Huang-Yuan*, p. 190; Erdmann, p. 331.
[52] Douglas, p. 80; Hyacinthe, p. 76.
[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 189.
[54] Called Puhe Wannu by Douglas.
[55] Tkian-tkai of Hyacinthe.
[56] Douglas, pp. 80 and 81; Hyacinthe, pp. 76 and 77.

gifts exposed for seven days on pieces of felt, which, says the history of Yeliu-Liuko, was to propitiate the sky. After this ceremony he accepted the presents, and honoured Sietu greatly. Liuko sent a census of the families subject to him, which numbered 600,000. Towards the end of 1215 he went in person to do homage.[57]

It may be that it was the dubious allegiance of his subjects which enabled his rival to set up authority in Liau-tung,—at all events we do not read of the latter being at once displaced, but the following year, we are told, he sent his son, Terge, with his allegiance to Chinghiz, but shortly after rebelled and usurped authority over Eastern Hia, (called Eastern Sia by Hyacinthe).[58] This is stated in the *Huang-yuan* and also by Rashidu'd-dîn. The former says that when the Kin emperor moved to his southern capital he appointed Chao-tao and Yenu Suanfus, *i.e.*, commissaries of Sian-pin and other districts. He afterwards transferred the administration to Khubi-alan, who presently submitted to the Mongols, and sent his son Tienge as a hostage, but he soon mutinied and styled himself Tun-sia-van.[59] Rashidu'd-dîn calls him Nujiu Taishi, and says he was privy counsellor of the Kin emperor, and had been entrusted with the administration of the empire when he went to Nan-king. He calls his son Tegeh, and gives his title as Ton-ging-wang.[60]

Disorder was now supreme in various parts of the empire, and suspicion was everywhere rife. "At one time," we read, "a cry was raised against the Buddhist priests as traitors to their country, and this was followed by a fearful massacre which was carried out under the authority of She-gau-tun, who, however, was destined shortly to pay the penalty of his misdeeds, for on entering the Tung pass he was murdered by the hand of an assassin."[61]

We now read how Chinghiz Khân, to reward his great general, Mu-khu-li, for his eminent services, in the last month of the year 1217, nominated him head of all the princes of his empire and generalissimo of his armies in the newly conquered countries. He sent him written patents of office and also a golden seal, *i.e.*, probably a golden tablet or *paizah*, and gave him charge of the countries south of Tai-hang-shan, and ordered that the same deference was to be paid to him as to himself, and that his cortège should be equal to his own.[62] Gaubil tells us Chinghiz made a public eulogy in favour of Mu-khu-li, gave him the title of king, and desired that it might be hereditary in his family.[63] The title actually conferred on Mu-khu-li was that of Kuê-wang or Ki-wang, explained by Rashidu'd-dîn as meaning *pâdishah* of the country; it had been already given to him by the Chinese, and he therefore deemed it of good augury. This we learn from Rashidu'd-dîn.[64]

We will leave him and his further proceedings for the present, and turn once more to Chinghiz Khân and his doings. Whilst his generals were overrunning Northern China, he was apparently engaged in subduing the tribes of Manchuria, and in enjoying himself there. We have no details of this campaign, save a saga to which I shall revert presently, and only a bald notice of it in one authority, namely, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. We there read that when Chinghiz returned back from Bei-piu by the Tsuin-kuan pass, he ordered his brother, Khasar, to go along the coast through Danin, (?) and to pass through Niujinin, *i. e.*, to subdue the Niuchis or Jurchis, the people of Manchuria, with the division of the right hand. If they should submit he was to travel along the frontier provinces, cross the rivers Ula and Nau,[65] and return to the camp along the river Taour.[66] If the Jurchis should not submit he was to devastate their country. Khasar with Jurchidai and Tolun reached Danin. This town surrendered, and when they came to the Niuchis or Jurchis, their ruler, named Fu-khen, submitted, and all the other towns also surrendered. Thereupon Khasar followed up the river Taour, and returned to the chief camp.[67] Palladius says in a note that the Mongol campaign in Manchuria is described in the *Dun-go-shi-mo*,[68] where it is said apparently, that they were on the frontiers of Korea, and

[57] Gaubil, pp. 26 and 27.
[58] Douglas, p. 82; Hyacinthe, p. 84.
[59] *i.e.* king of Eastern Sia; *op. cit.*, p. 187.
[60] Erdmann, pp. 327 and 328.
[61] Douglas, p. 83.
[62] De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 80.
[63] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.
[64] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 334; D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 161.
[65] *i.e.*, probably the Sungari-Ula, and the Nonni-Ula in the direction of the Khin-gan chain.
[66] The Taoêrr, called Dalu by the Chinese, is a western tributary of the Nonni. See Palladius, note 561 to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.
[67] *Op. cit.*, pp. 142 and 143, and notes.
[68] *History of Corea*, and notes.

had communications with the governor.[69] This work is not accessible to me.

In regard to Korea, we have a curious notice which is contained in the Manchu translation of the *Yuan* history, entitled *Thai-yuan-ni-bitkhe*, which was published in 1644 by order of the emperor Shi-tsu, and which notice has been published by Klaproth. In this we read that:—"In the thirteenth year of Tai-tsu Chinghiz Khân, which is that of the yellow tiger or 1218, Luku,[70] general of the mountain Tsin-shan of the kingdom of the Khitans, sought refuge, with 90,000 men, who remained with him, in the kingdom of Solgo,[71] where he captured the town of Kiang-tung-ching, and established himself.

Thereupon Chinghiz Khân sent his general Kha-jen-dza-la at the head of an army to oppose him.[72] The Mongol general entered the territory of the Solgos.[73] Huang-ta-siuan, a grandee of that kingdom, went to the Mongol camp to organize a joint movement with him against the town in which Luku had shut himself up. Wang-che, king of Korea[74] who supplied the Mongol army with cattle, spirits and wine, sent Chao-dsung, one of his grandees, to assist in the siege. The two generals acted like brothers, and the Korean leader suggested that Korea should be tributary to the Mongols." The Mongol general replied:—"Your kingdom is very far from us, an envoy would have difficulty in going to and fro. It would be well, therefore, to employ ten men every year to take the tribute." He then sent out to obtain rice for his men, and was speedily furnished with 10,000 panniers. The next year, in the first month of Spring, Wang-chi sent two of his people, In-kung-dsieou and Sui-i, as envoys to the camp of the Mongol general. He returned the compliment by sending Fiao-szu-yun; and presently Chinghiz Khân sent the king letters-patent confirming him in his dignity. These were taken by Fulitai-yei. The king received them from the ambassador on his knees, and gave a ceremonial feast, and thenceforward Korea became tributary to the Mongols.[75]

Turning from the regular histories to the collections of Mongol Sagas contained in the *Altan Topchi* and in the pages of Ssanang Setzen, we have a curious romantic story relating to the intercourse of Chinghiz Khân with the tribes of Manchuria and the Solongas, which is very interesting from its local colour and otherwise. It follows one or two shorter statements about other districts, which it will be well first to relate as they are not reported elsewhere.

The *Altan Topchi* tells us that Uran Chinkui, of the tribe Ingut (called Uran Tsenkoi of the tribe Ängkud, by Ssanang Setzen), with 31 clans or families, broke away or rebelled, and began to nomadize towards the north-west. Chinghiz Khân and Khasar went after him. Khasar rode on the beautiful yellow horse belonging to his brother called Samuchin.[76] While the son of Toktongui-bagatur,[77] commanded the advance guard, Khasar fought so vigorously that his horse was covered with blood. Uran Chinkui was defeated and captured. He was taken before Chinghiz Khân. Khasar, as his reward, received the woman, Balbal, while Uran Chinkui presented Chinghiz Khân himself with a crystal pyramid. For this he was given the daughter of Altan. Altan's other daughter, Altan-Gorgoldoi, Chinghiz Khân gave to the Solongut Khân, Narin.[78]

It will be noticed that the account in the *Altan Topchi* is more detailed than in Ssanang Setzen, but it does not enable us now any more than the notice by the latter enabled his editor, Schmidt, to say who the Ingut were, nor to what period of the great conqueror's reign the story is to be assigned. With Schmidt I am disposed to think it refers to the earlier part of Chinghiz Khân's career, but the mention of the Khân of the Solongas raises a difficulty, since the Mongols had not apparently any dealings with Korea until later.

To continue: the *Altan Topchi* next tells us that Oroshi Gushi, of the tribe Buriat, having captured a hawk on lake Baikal, took it to Chinghiz, for which he got the command of the Buriats.[79] Ssanang Setzen says the Oirad Buriad sent Oroju Shigushi from lake Baikal with an eagle, as a present to Chinghiz Khân, and as a token of their submission.[80] This

[69] *Id.*, note p. 563.
[70] *i.e.* Yeliu-liuko.
[71] *i.e.*, Korea.
[72] According to Douglas this was in answer to an invitation from the Korean king.
[73] *i.e.* of the Koreans.
[74] Called Wang-thun in the Chinese abridgment of the same notice.
[75] *Journal Asiatique*, 1st Series, tome II, pp. 195 and 197; Douglas, p. 88; Hyacinthe, p. 91.
[76] The Sain Samujin of Ssanang Setzen.
[77] Called Andun Ching Taiji, the son of Toktangha Baghatur Taiji, by Ssanang Setzen.
[78] *Altan Topchi*, p. 133; Ssanang Setzen, p. 75.
[79] *Op. cit.*, p. 133.
[80] *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

submission of the Buriads is considered by Schmidt to be the same event as the submission of the Kirghises mentioned in an earlier paper. He would identify Oroju Shegushi with the Urus Inal of the Kirghises, there mentioned as sending presents of falcons, but I do not see how this can be probable. The Kirghises did not live on lake Baikal, while the Buriats, who still do so, no doubt did so then also, and it seems to me the statement clearly refers to the Mongolian Buriats, and not to the Turkish Kirghises. It probably refers to some early event in the life of Chinghiz.

We now reach the Saga about Manchuria, to which I referred. The *Altan Topchi* says that Dsanchun, the ruler of the Jurchis, called Wangchuk Khaghan by Ssanang Setzen, having noticed that Chinghiz Khân was hawking between the rivers Olkho and the Ulia,[81] fled. Chinghiz sent an army in pursuit, but as there was no ford over the Ula, the sons of Khasar Anchi-Andu-shara and Galdsagu-Ching-Taiji,[82] coupling together 20,000 geldings by the rings of their reins, with a shout drove them into the water, and thus got over.[83] They proceeded to lay siege to Dsan-chun's capital, and demanded as the price of their withdrawal 10,000 sparrows, Ssanang Setzen says 10,000 swallows and 1,000 cats. They then made some *kiebung*,[84] which they fastened to the birds and some wadding to the cats, and then fired it. They then let them loose. The birds flew to their nests[85] while the cats jumped from roof to roof. The town being thus fired, surrendered. Dsanchun remarked, "What a wonder? What cats!" Chinghiz Khân married his daughter Balakhai,[86] who, it is said, died on her way home.[87]

Chinghiz Khân, we are told, now went on a campaign against the Solongod living in the east. The river Unegen had overflowed its banks, for which reason he halted when he reached it, and sent an envoy to the ruler of the Solongod to say he had come to demand tribute. The Solongod ruler Bukha-Tsagan, as a sign of his submission, brought his daughter Khulun,[88] in a boat, and gave her as a marriage gift, a kibitka covered with panther skins, and made over to Chinghiz the tribes of Bukha and Solongod. Noticing that Bukha Tsaghan Khân did not cross the river Chinghiz bade him go over if what he took with him was tribute. So anxious was he to complete the marriage rite that, in spite of the objection of his grandees that it was not etiquette to do so, he nevertheless completed the marriage ceremony with Khulun on the high road.[89] This notice is certainly puzzling. According to every other authority, as we have seen, Dair Ussun, the father of Khulun, was the Dair Ussun, chief of the Merkits, and not of the Solongod; and we are bound to follow them. It will be noticed that Ssanang Setzen actually calls the Solongod here Solongos-Merged. To continue the story, however, we are told that Chinghiz remained among the Solongod for three years. Thereupon Arghassun Khorchin, who had been left in charge of his home,[90] wanting to know the cause of his delay, set out on the red horse, Gurbelgu-dsegerdi, and compassed a three months' journey in thrice twenty-four hours.[91] When he arrived he inquired after the health of the chief. The nobles told him he was well. Chinghiz then asked him after the health of his wife, children, nobles and people. Arghassun replied:—"Thy wife and children are well, as to what appertains to thy great people I know not what it thinks. I only know it gets itself skins and food for its hungry mouth. As to the whole of thy people I can only say it wants water and snow for its thirsty mouth. I don't know what thy Mongol people think." Chinghiz Khân, not understanding these enigmatical phrases, told him to explain. He therefore went on:—"It is said that the bird *salbar*(?) lays its eggs on the tree *sala* (?), and trusting to the tree *sala* it allowed the predatory bird *sar* (?) to destroy its nest and eat its eggs and fledglings. It is

[81] Ssanang Setzen says between the Olkho and the Ula. The former is no doubt the Olkui, which rises in the Soyolji mountains, a branch of the Khing-gan, about lat. 47° N., see D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 64. The Ula is probably the Nonni Ula.

[82] Ssanang Setzen says Andur-Ching-Taiji, son of Toklangha Baghatur Taiji.

[83] Ssanang Setzen says 10,000 horses were so coupled.

[84] This is a doubtful word, it probably means tinder. Schmidt reads the corresponding word in Ssanang Setzen as cotton-wool.

[85] In the thatch.

[86] Called Salikhai by Ssanang Setzen.

[87] *Altan Topchi*, pp. 133 and 134; Ssanang Setzen, p. 75.

[88] Ssanang Setzen says Khulan was the daughter of Dair-Ussun, of the Solongos Merged.

[89] *Altan Topchi*, p. 134; Ssanang Setzen, pp. 75 and 77.

[90] Ssanang Setzen calls him Arghassun Khurchi, the lute player.

[91] Ssanang Setzen says he had been sent by Chinghiz's first wife Burte Jujin.

said the swan lays her eggs in the cane brake, trusting to the canes, and thus allows the evil bird *khulo* (?) to kill its young and eat its eggs, and destroy its nest. My Bogdo Edsen, listen to my words." Chinghiz thereupon turned to his nobles, and asked them if they understood what he meant. They said they did not, whereupon he explained as follows:—"The tree *sala* represents my friends, the bird *salbar* myself, the predatory bird, *sar*, the Solongod, the eggs and chicks, are my wife and children, the nest my grand empire. Again, the cane-brake represents my people, the swan myself, the *khulo* the Solongod, the eggs and fledglings my wife and children, the nest my grand empire." Having said this he marched the army towards home. He presently began to say:—"I am ashamed to meet Burte, my wife, whom I met in my younger days. If I go home with another family how can I prevent a broil at home when the two houses meet? If there is a disturbance in the presence of strangers I shall be ashamed and disgraced. It will be better to send on one of my orluks to have a preliminary interview with my family." Mu-khu-li was accordingly chosen. Having arrived he bowed to the empress, and sat down. Burte asked him about the health of Chinghiz, and also inquired about his errand, upon which Mu-khu-li said he had been sent with the following message:—

"He has not obeyed the laws that rule us, but has been wilful. He has not taken the advice of his nobles, but has been allured by the outward attractions of the panther skin yurt. The Bogdo Edsen has united himself on the pillow with Khulun." Thereupon Bürte said:—"He depends on his own will, and not on the Mongol people.[92] It is said there are many geese on the river Irtish, but my Edsen knows how many it is necessary to shoot, so as to sustain life. There are many women and maidens in great empires, but my lord knows whom to choose. It is said there are many swans in the cane-brakes, my lord knows how long he can shoot at them without growing weary. It is said that a man who has a big finger will hit both the ground and the duck with his arrow, and a husband if he likes can marry two sisters.[93] Does a wild unridden horse wish himself to be saddled? Does the first wife wish her husband to take a second wife? It is bad to have too much. Is not too little also bad? In a double suit of clothes it is said you won't be cold, and a twisted rope will not break."

Mu-khu-li returned with this message, whereupon Chinghiz returned home again.

After Chinghiz arrived, Arghassun Khorchin got drunk with *arsi*,[94] and he entered the golden tent *i.e.* Chinghiz Khân's tent, and slept in it. Ssanang Setzen says he used his golden lute, but 'golden lute' seems to be a euphemism for the Khân's tent. For this offence Chinghiz ordered Boghorchi and Mu-khu-li to go and find him, and gave a sign with his hand that they were not to let him speak, but to kill him. They went to him, and said:—"We have been sent by the ruler and ordered by the movement of his hand to put you to death. He would take no excuse, since you have got drunk and slept in his golden lute." Arghassun replied:—"It is said you ought always to listen to the words of those sentenced to death. It is said a dying man should always express his last sentiments."

On hearing this they did not kill him. Holding at his breast wine,[95] prepared for the commander, and under his arm wine for the tribunal, they took him to Chinghiz, who was asleep.[96] They then repaired to the tent, and said:—"In thy bright chamber there is already light. By the grace of God thy boys and girls shall be good and domestic. The accused are already assembled. Order them to disperse by thy great command.[97] In thy jasper palaceglory is already effulgent, order the doors to be opened; the unfortunate and the suffering are already assembled, condescend to order them to disperse by giving thy jewel-like orders."[98] When they had spoken thus, Chinghiz rose and they entered the tent, taking Arghassun with them. Chinghiz did not speak, no more did they; whereupon

[92] Ssanang Setzen has this phrase: "The will of Burte Jujin Khatun as well as the wish of the whole people are subject to the might of our lord. It depends on his own will whom he shall befriend, and to whom unite himself."

[93] A custom disapproved of among the Mongols.

[94] ? Airak.

[95] ? Kumis, a skin.

[96] Ssanang Setzen says they gave him two leathern bottles filled with strong drink.

[97] *i.e.* show thy clemency.

[98] Ssanang Setzen reports their speech thus:—"The light already shines in thy bright dwelling. He who has offended thee is without; and awaits thy commands; when your effulgent person shall have awoke and risen, condescend to open the door, to hear and judge the repentant culprit and to exercise your favour and clemency."

Arghassun began:—"It is said that the seventy-tuned bird, Tsaktsagai, becomes hushed when the hawk with outspread wings directs its flight towards it. I must also declare that I cannot say what is appropriate in the presence of our heavenly appointed ruler. For ten years,[99] I have looked after the golden lute and have learnt thy wisdom and thy policy. Never was I known to behave ill. It is true I was drunk and used thy golden lute, but for twenty years I guarded thy Khoton lute. I listened to thy wisdom and humour, but I was never noticed doing anything wrong. It is true I was drunk and I took thy Khoton lute, but I had no evil intention." On this Chinghiz said:—"Thou art forgiven on account of thy clever speech, my Arghassun Khorchin, mercy is shown thee because of thy eloquence."[100] He thereupon had him released, and withdrew his sentence.[101]

This saga, however wanting in actual historical basis, and however incongruous in some of its statements, is assuredly not wanting in dramatic force and local colour, and is a good example of the tales current in the yurts of the Mongols in early times.

MISCELLANEA.

BUDDHA AND ST. JOSAPHAT.

Prof. Max Müller, in his interesting essay on the Migration of Fables, has pointed out (also quoting Reinaud) that 'Ιωάσαφ, the name by which Buddha found a saint's place in the Greek Church calendar—transformed in the Latin legend into Josaphat—is a corruption, through the uncertainties of Persian transcription, of *Bodhisattva.* I have never seen it noticed how strongly this suggestion is confirmed by a passage in the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, by Albîrûnî, of which the English translation by Prof. Sachau was published in 1879. Here we have mentioned (p. 186), among the "pseudo-prophets," "Bûdhâsaf, who came forward in India." This brings us a long step nearer to *Bodhisattva.*

Having touched on this most curious subject, let me say a few words on another branch of it. I had pointed out briefly in 1875 (*Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 308) that the identity of St. Josaphat and Buddha had been recognised by the famous Portuguese historian Diogo de Couto. This had not been observed by Mr. Rhys Davids, who, some years later, in the Introduction to his translation of the *Jâtaka Tales*, observes:—"It was Prof. Max Müller, who has done so much to infuse the glow of life into the dry bones of Oriental scholarship, who first pointed out the strange fact—almost incredible, were it not for the completeness of the proof—that Gotama the Buddha, under the name of St. Josaphat, is now officially recognised and honoured and worshipped throughout the whole of Catholic Christendom as a Christian saint!" (p. xli.)

There is nothing to correct in the spirit of this passage; but, as a matter of fact, the identity had been recognised nearly three centuries ago by Couto. After telling the story of Buddha's youth, the latter proceeds:—

"This prince is called in the histories of him by many different names. His proper name was Dramâ (*Dharma*) Rajo; that by which he has been known since he came to be held for a saint is the Budâo, as much as to say, The Wise. . . .

"To this name the Gentiles throughout all India have dedicated great and superb pagodas. With reference to this story we have been diligent in enquiring if the ancient Gentiles of those parts had in their writings any knowledge of St. Josaphat, who was converted by Barlam, who in his legend is represented as the son of a great king of India, and who had just the same up-bringing, with all the same particulars, that we have recounted of the life of the Budâo. And as the story of Josaphat must have been written by the natives . . . it would seem that in the lapse of time there grew round it many fables such as they have in the life of Budâo, and these we pass by, for not in two whole chapters could we rehearse the stories as they have them.

"And as a thing seems much to the purpose which was told us about St. Josaphat by a very old man of the Salsete territory in Baçaim, I think it well to cite it. As I was travelling in that island of Salsete, I went to see that rare and admirable pagoda which we call the Canara Pagoda [*i.e.*, the well-known Kânhari Caves] made in a mountain, and with many halls cut out of the solid rock—one of them as big as the larger of the mansions on the Ribeira at Lisbon—and more than 300 chambers rising like a staircase in the mountain, each with its cistern at the door, cut in the same solid rock, containing water

[99] Ssanang Setzen says twenty.

[100] Ssanang Setzen reports him as merely exclaiming: "My loquacious Arghassun, my chattering Arghassun," and as then pardoning him.

[101] *Altan Topchi*, pp. 134 and 138; Ssanang Setzen, pp. 77 and 81.

as cool and excellent as you could desire, whilst at the gates of the great hall there are carved beautiful figures of the stature of giants, but of art so subtle and exquisite that better could not be wrought in silver; and many other fine things which we omit for brevity.

"And enquiring from this old man about the work, and what his opinion was as to who had made it, he told us that without doubt the work was made by order of the father of St. Josaphat, to bring him up there in seclusion, as the story tells. And as this informs us that he was the son of a great king in India, it may well be, as we have just said, that *he* (St. Josaphat) was the very Budâo of whom they relate such marvels." (Dec. v., liv. vi., cap. ii.)[1]

H. YULE.

London, August 28, 1883.

NOTE ON THE STORY OF MÛLRÂJ AND HIS SON.

In vol. XI, p. 41 *ante,* I gave a short story current all over the Panjâb illustrating the sacred character of the *dohâî* or poetic justice of the celebrated Dîwân Mûlrâj of Mûltân. It purported to say that the Dîwân put his favourite son to death for robbing his garden after the gardener had demanded the protection of the Dîwan's *dohâî*. I have since chanced on the real tale in Griffin's *Panjâb Chiefs*,[2] which ought to be told, with modifications, of the greater Dîwân Sâwan Mall, Mûlrâj's father. The victim was Mûlrâj's elder brother Râmdâs, who died in 1831, not his son Harisingh, who survived his father for many years as a Government pensioner on Rs. 360 a month. Sâwan Mall was murdered in 1844, and Mûlrâj, as is well known, died in captivity at Calcutta in 1850. From the true version of the tale it appears that the circumstances, which the Panjâbîs have poeticised into the pretty story of Mûlrâj and his son, really occurred in 1830.

I give the story in Sir Lepel Griffin's own words, with the additional note that it is much more characteristic of Sâwan Mall, who was above all, as the times went, a kindly and impartial man, than of Mulrâj, who was mean, grasping, suspicious and vacillating in character.

Sâwan Mall and his son Râmdâs.

One day a peasant complained to the Dîwân that some chief had destroyed his crop by turning his horses loose to graze in the field. Sâwan Mall asked the man if he could point out the offender in Darbâr. The peasant pointed to Râmdâs, the Dîwân's eldest son. He admitted the complaint to be just, and Sâwan Mall ordered him to be imprisoned. The injured man begged for his pardon, but for several days Râmdâs remained in confinement and his spirit was so broken by this punishment that he fell ill and died shortly after his release.

R. C. TEMPLE.

KÎRTTANA.

At pp. 228 ff. above, Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has pointed out the true meaning of the two verses contained in lines 14 to 17 of the Baroda grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Karka II., by explaining the word *kîrttana* as meaning 'a temple,' in addition to its usual and etymological sense of 'praise.' This meaning, which was not known to me when I translated the grant in question, clearly supplies the keynote of the passage. In addition to the authorities quoted by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar in support of this meaning of *kîrttana*, I have since found that it is used in the same sense in the five inscriptions of Dêvalabdhi, the 'grandson' of the Chandella king Yaśôvarmâ, and the son of Kṛishṇapa and Âsarvvâ, in the temple of Brahmâ at 'Dudahi' (*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. Plate xxxii.) No. 3 of them, for instance, runs—

Mahârâjâdhirâja-Śrî-Yaśôvarmma-naptrâ Śrî-Kṛishṇapa-sutêna mâtṛi-Śrî-Âsarvvâ-udar-ôdbhavêna Chaṁdell-ânvayêna Śrî-Dêvalavdhi(bdhi)-[nâ] kîrttanam=idaṁ sarvva[ṁ] kâritaṁ ‖

J. F. FLEET, Bo. C. S.

Simla, 24th August 1883.

BOOK NOTICE.

A CATALOGUE of the BUDDHIST TRIPITAKA. By Bunyiu Nanjio, Priest of the Temple, Eastern Hongwanzi, Japan. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1883.

This *Catalogue* is a rearrangement and expansion of that prepared by Mr. Beal in 1876 for the India Office Library. The books were sent from Japan, as Mr. Beal explains, in "cases" or "covers," one hundred and three in number, and as they were sent so they were arranged in Mr. Beal's catalogue. Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio in 1880 "thought it his duty to correct this wrong arrangement," and we have now before us the result of his work, viz., the same books classified according to the original division by determining characters taken from the Thousand-letter classic. Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio has done his work very completely, and with almost "Chinese exactness;" and

[1] *The Academy*, Sept. 1, 1883, p. 146.

[2] Lahore, 1865, pp. 277-278.

his catalogue will no doubt supersede the old one, and be generally used.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio thinks that Mr. Beal was ignorant of the original arrangement of these books (p. 11). What ground he has for this opinion he does not state. Mr. Beal on p. 2 of his Catalogue speaks of the "original division" of the works, and on p. 110 he writes:—"The books in this catalogue may be classed generally, and for the sake of brevity, under the heads *Vinaya*, *Sûtra*, *Abhidharma* and *Miscellaneous*." This also is the division adopted by Mr. Nanjio; we observe also that he has used the term *sannipâta* (p. 9) or *mahâsannipâta* for the last division, a term first employed by Mr. Beal in disagreement with Stanislas Julien (Beal's *Catalogue*, p. 3). The "irrational" character of the "tripartite division," to which Mr. Beal refers in the passage quoted by Mr. Nanjio, is, that it is made to include *four* sections of books; and it is irrational to attempt to put four pegs into three holes.

Why does Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio call this collection of books "a sacred canon?" It does not claim any character of sanctity. It is a collection of Buddhist books brought to China by haphazard. Of course, the imperial sanction under which the catalogue is issued, may give it a character of sacredness in the eyes of some; but we cannot let the use of such a phrase as "sacred canon" pass by unchallenged. The teaching of Buddha may be termed "holy," as it is so used in the original; but a series of books including travels, catalogues and dictionaries, can only be called "sacred" by a misuse of language.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio's account of the steps that led on to the preparation of the collection of these books in their present order in China, is interesting and exhaustive. If anything, it is too minute; but, anyhow, it will do for all time, and settle the question, which has hitherto been rather a perplexing one, as to the cause of differences which occur in the various lists respecting the number of the books and their right place in the *Tripiṭaka*. We note, too, as an important feature in this consideration, the zeal shown by private persons in arranging and printing these books. This alone is sufficient to show the hold which Buddhism still has on the minds of the people who profess a belief in its teaching.

Altogether there are 1662 distinct works separately named and described by the author of this *Catalogue*. In this respect it is a most useful help for an exact knowledge of Buddhist literature, and it will take its place beside the catalogues being now, or already, prepared, of similar books known in Nepâl and Tibet. In fact our acquaintance with Buddhism in all its branches is becoming daily more accurate and more extensive, and we look forward with interest to the solution of questions involved in the rise and progress of this religion in the East, which will be suggested by an analysis or translation of some of the books in these various collections, and an exact comparison of points of agreement and divergence between them.

Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, in the last clause of his "Introduction," "humbly asks all students of Buddhist literature to assist him in correcting any mistakes he may have made" in compiling his catalogue; we will therefore point out a few errors. In the *Mahâratnakûṭa* class of books (No. 23), Mr. Nanjio has translated the symbol "*hwui*" in every case as: "that (spoken at) an assembly"—but why so? The idea appears to be that each of these *sûtras* is a portion, or part, of the "gems heaped up;" and the term *hwui* (*saṅgraha*) might just as well be rendered by "collection" or "portion," as by the long and unusual phrase adopted by the author.

No. 303.—Mr. B.N. translates into rather obscure English. Surely if he had consulted Stas. Julien's *Méthode* (1315), or the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, (1880), p. 85, he might have explained this title somewhat more accurately.

No. 399.—Mr. B. N. here risks the assertion, "the term *Śûraṅgama* has no connection whatever with *Sûra*, the sun." But the explanation of the title given by Kumârajiva, viz., *chien-siang*, "the mark of a hero";—*siang* here as elsewhere corresponds with *lakshaṇa*,—seems to point to the Sun's rays, under the figure of horns (śṛiṅgin). The possession of horns (as in the case of Alexander the Great) is especially the mark of a hero. The explanation which Mr. Nanjio seems to adopt, viz., "going from heroism," is, to say the least, unsatisfactory.

No. 551.—Mr. B. N. restores experimentally the expression *leu-thân* to *lokadhâtu*. But from the work *Fân-i-ming-i-tsi* (Book IX, fol. 19), it seems that the right restoration of this title is *Piṇḍadhana*, or *Piṇḍadâna*.

No. 1492.—Mr. B. N. has here separated the symbol *nêi* from the preceding *kwêi*, and instead of translating the whole as, "Records of the Law sent from the Southern Sea by one returning to China," he has rendered it, "Records of the 'Inner Law,' "&c;" but *kwêi nêi* is "to return to China," the Inner Land.

There are other similar mistakes to be found scattered through this work. We point these out, not for the sake of fault-finding, but to show how easily the most careful writers may fall into error. With respect to the book as a whole (though the errata are quite unusually numerous), it deserves great commendation.

ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE PRINCIPAL HINDÛ ERAS, AND THE USE OF THE WORD *SAMVATSARA* AND ITS ABBREVIATIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 215.)

II. THE VIKRAMA ERA.

As in the case of the Śaka era, the earliest technical expression for the era of Vikrama or Vikramâditya, supplied by an epigraphical record, is the simple word

Saṁvatsara

or 'the year.' It is furnished by—1, the Kâvî grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa,[1] in which the date, which is given in both words and numerical symbols, is expressed (ll. 15-16 and 24-5) by *Âshâḍha-śud[dh*]a-daśam[y]â[ṁ] Karkkaṭaka-râśau sa[ṁ]krântê ravau* * * * * * * *Saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayê sha.* . . . . [*Sa*]*ṁ 400 80 6 Âshâḍha śu 10 Âdityavârê.*

In my reading of this date, I differ in one detail from Dr. Bühler's reading, as published; but probably he would now adopt what I propose. He read the sign before *Âdityavârê* as *di*, i.e. *śu di*. This, however, was at a time when the system of numerical symbols was not as fully understood as it is now. On the analogy of the two Kaira grants of Dadda II.,[2] we should expect to have after *śu* a numerical symbol for the day of the fortnight. In determining what the reading is, three *aksharas* have to be noted, *viz.* :—

The first of these is the symbol that follows *śu*;[3] the second is the sign used for *di* in this grant, *e.g.* in the following word *Âdityavârê*; and the third is the sign used for *dî* in this grant, *e.g.* in *gandha-dhûpa-pushpa-dîpa,* l. 10. It is evident at once that what follows *śu* is not *di*, or even *dî* for *di*. Also, this symbol that follows *śu* does not occur, even approximately, anywhere else in this grant; and therefore it cannot be interpreted as any ordinary syllable. It is, however, almost identical with, and evidently is only a variety of, the *la* which is used—(*a*), by itself, in Gupta and Valabhî inscriptions, to denote 30,—and (*b*), in conjunction with the vowel *ṛi*, in Gupta inscriptions, to denote 10.[4] The objections to interpreting it in this grant as 30, to the purport that, though the grant was made on the tenth day of Âshâḍha, the actual writing of the charter was effected or completed on the thirtieth day of the same month, are—that the thirtieth day of the month belongs to the dark fortnight, not to the bright;[5]—and that it does not seem possible, from any of the computations of this date, that the thirtieth day of Âshâḍha of Vikrama-Saṁvat 486 can have fallen on a Sunday. In order to interpret it as 10, we ought to have some form or other of the vowel *ṛi* below it. And I think, from indications in the photograph which are too faint to be reproduced with certainty, that a variety of the vowel *ṛi* is below it. This can only be determined by another examination of the original plate. But the advantage of accepting that we have here the symbol for 10 is, that,—whether the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Âshâḍha of Vikrama-Saṁvat 486 fell on a Sunday or not,—this interpretation is at any rate in exact accordance with the distinct specification of the tenth day in line 15 of the text.

This date has recently been strongly criticised by Professor Max Müller.[6] He seems, in the first instance, inclined to question the fact of the Jayabhaṭa of this grant being identical with the Jayabhaṭa who is mentioned as the father of Dadda II. in the four grants of the latter. But, with regard to this, I think that the arguments put forward by Dr. Bühler in his paper on this grant leave no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the two Jayabhaṭas. Further, his special objections are—(*a*), the improbability of the father, Jayabhaṭa, using one era, and the son, Dadda II., using another;—(*b*,) the injury to the date in the original plate; and—(*c*), the doubt induced by the differing results of the computations of the details of the date. Irrespective of the fact that the

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 110 ff.; and *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions, No.* 272.
[2] Nos. 1 and 2, p. 208 above.
[3] The slight space between the horizontal line and the bottom of the vertical line seems to have been caused by the copper pushed up by the engraver's tool.
[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 44, columns 4 and 5.
[5] See, for instance, No. 81, p. 213 above.
[6] *India; What can it teach us?* pp. 285 f.; and *ante* p. 232.

computations of the details of this grant, made for Dr. Bühler by Professor Kêru Lakshmaṇ Chhatrê of Poona and a Jôshi of Surat, give even a less satisfactory result for Śaka-Saṁvat 486 than for Vikrama-Saṁvat 486,[7] I would remark on these points—(*a*), The fact that the father and the son should use two separate eras, is not at all more strange than that,—assuming the Kâvî grant to be dated in the Śaka era; in which case the Jayabhaṭa of this grant must be a descendant, in the third or fourth generation, of Dadda II.,—Jayabhaṭa should in this grant revert to the simple expression of *Saṁvatsara* for the era, in disregard of the more specific technical name of *Śaka-nṛipa-kâla* which, on the same assumption, had been established at least eighty-six years before the date of his grant, and had been used in the two later grants of Dadda II. And, as an instance in which at any rate grandfather and grandson have undoubtedly used different eras, I would quote the inscriptions of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśî II., which are dated in Śaka 534 and 556,[8] while a Nausâri grant of his grandson Śîlâditya-Śryâśraya, the son of Jayasiṁhavarmâ-Dharâśraya,—recently laid before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî,—is dated in "the year 421," the expression in the original, in both words and numerical symbols, being (ll. 20-1) *Mâkha(gha)-śuddha-trayôdaśyâṁ * * * * * * Saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayê êka-viṅśaty-adhikê 400 20 1* ||*; this plainly cannot be referred to the Śaka era.[9] And further,—as an instance in which even two brothers have used different eras,—in his paper on this Nausâri grant the Paṇḍit mentions a Balsâr grant of Vinayâditya-Jayâśraya, also called Maṅgalarâja and Yuddhamalla, another son of the same Jayasiṁhavarmâ, in which the Śaka era is specifically adopted again, the date being Śaka 653.[10]—(*b*), The first of the three numerical symbols in this grant has certainly been a good deal injured by the breaking away of the plate. But, enough of it remains to show beyond any possibility of doubt that it is the symbol for 400. And, in addition to this, there is in line 24 the verbal expression *śata-chatushṭayê*, which is distinctly legible, and which explains this symbol quite sufficiently even if the whole of it had been broken away. As regards the others, it is not quite easy to say from the photograph whether the second symbol is entire and is to be read 80, as was done by Dr. Bühler, or whether it also has been injured and is to be read 90, as suggested by General Cunningham in the remarks quoted by me below. The third symbol is an unquestionable 6; and it is corroborated by the remnant *sha* of *shaṭ* in the verbal expression.—(*c*), Professor Bâpudêva Śâstrî, of Benares, computed that the 10th of Âshâḍha *Śudi* of Vikrama-Saṁvat 486 did fall on a Sunday, and that on that day the sun did enter the sign Karka, Karkaṭa, or Karkaṭaka; and that the grant was issued on the 10th July, A.D. 429. On the other hand, Professor Kêru Lakshmaṇ Chhatrê of Poona, and a Jôshî of Surat, computed that, in Vikrama-Saṁvat 486, the Karka-*saṁkrânti* fell on the 13th of Âshâḍha *Śudi*, and the 10th of Âshâḍha *Śudi* was a *Tuesday*.[11] General Cunningham has favoured me with the following remarks on this date:—"The Vikrama-Saṁvat year 486 began in Gujarât, according to the present reckoning, on the 1st of Kârttika *Śudi*, or the 28th September, A.D. 429; so that the 10th of Âshâḍha *Śudi* would have fallen in the following year, A.D. 430. As there was no intercalary month in that year, the 10th of Âshâḍha *Śudi* was the 99th day calculated from the 1st of Chaitra *Śudi* or Tuesday the 11th March, A.D. 430, which brings the date to *Tuesday* the 17th June, thus agreeing with the Tuesday already calculated by two Bombay

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 112, note ‡.

[8] No. 33, p. 210 above, and No. 44, p. 211.

[9] Nor will the Vikrama era suit; nor the Gupta-Valabhî era, as commencing in either A.D. 167 or A.D. 190. But the Valabhî-Saṁvat which commenced in Śaka 241 seems to suit fairly well.

[10] These two grants, and some others of this Chalukya dynasty of Gujarât which the Paṇḍit will shortly publish, place in an entirely new light the Kaira grants of Vijayarâja or Vijayavarmâ (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. pp. 241 ff), the date of which, in both words and numerical symbols, is expressed by *Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê chatur-nnavaty-adhikê Vaiśâkha-paurṇamâsyâṁ * * * * * * Saṁvatsara 300 90 4 Vaiśâkha śu 10 5* ||. When I published these two grants, I took the era to be the Śaka era, and identified the Jayasiṁha of these grants, the grandfather of Vijayarâja, with the Jayasiṁha I. who according to the southern inscriptions was the grandfather of the grandfather of Pulikêśî II. But it now seems that these grants must be referred, not to the Śaka era, but to the era that is used in the Nausâri grant,—and that the Jayasiṁha of these grants must be identified, not with Jayasiṁha I., but either with the Jayasiṁhavarmâ-Dharâśraya of the Nirpaṇ grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. pp. 123 ff.), who was a younger brother of Pulikêśî II., or with the other Jayasiṁhavarma-Dharâśraya of the Nausâri and Balsâr grants who was one of the sons of Pulikêśî II.

[11] See *ante* p. 232, note 14.

authorities for Dr. Bühler. But, as the day was a Sunday according to the inscription, it seems to me not improbable that the date may not have been read quite correctly. The only year which I can find that agrees with the week-day indicated is Vikrama-Saṁvat 497, in which year the 10th of Âshâḍha *Śudi* fell on Sunday the 15th June, A.D. 441. If the figure for 80 was injured below, as the figure for 400 certainly was, then the figure read as 80 might have been 90, and the Saṁvat year might perhaps be 497."—Whatever may be the case as regards the reading of the second numerical symbol and the computation of the details of the date, the fact remains that the first numerical symbol is undoubtedly 400, and that we have here a date which can only be referred to the fifth century of the Vikrama era. And the only substantial objection to it is, that it is destructive of the theory that the era was only invented by Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî in A.D. 544, *i.e.* exactly after the completion of six centuries from the epoch that was selected as the commencement of the era, and more than a century after this, the first known date in the era.

The same simple expression is used in—2, the Mâlwa grant of Vâkpati of Dhârâ,[12] (ll. 13-14 and 32-3) *Eka-tri(tri)ṁśa-sâhasrika-samvatsarê=smin Bhâdrapada-śukla-chaturddaśyâṁ pavittra(tra)ka-parvvaṇi * * * * * * Saṁ 1031 Bhâdrapada śu di 14*; in—3, the 'Dewal' inscription of Lalla of the Chhinda family, [13] (l. 24) *Saṁvatsara-sahasra 1049 Mâgha va di 3 Gurudinê*; in—4, the Ujjain grant of Bhôja of Dhârâ,[14] (ll. 8-9 and 30-1) *Atîtâshṭa-saptaty-adhika-sâhasrika-samvatsarê Mâgh-âsita-tritîyâyâm Ravâv=udagayana-parvvaṇi * * * * * * saṁvat 1078 Chaitra śu di 14*; in—4, the 'Ingnoda' inscription of Vijayapâla of Iṅgaṇapadra,[15] (l.1) *Saṁvatsara-śatêshv=êkâdaśasu navaty-adhikêshu Âshâḍha-su(śu)kla-paksh-aikâdaśyâṁ saṁvat 1190 Âshâḍha śu di 11*; in—5, the 'Sihvar' grant of the Râṭhôr king Jayachandra of Kanauj,[16] *Dvâtriṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-samvatsarê Bhâdrê mâsi śukla-pakshê trayôdaśyâṁ tithau Ravidinê aṅkato=pi saṁvat 1232 Bhâdra su(śu) di 13 Ravau*; and in—6, the Kaḍî grant of Jayantasiṁha,[17] (ll. 21-3) *Gata-saṁvatsara-dvâdaśa-varshaśatêshu aśîty-uttarêshu Pausha-mâsê śukla-pakshê tritîyâyâṁ tithau Bhaumavârê saṁjâta uttarâgata-sûrya-saṁkrama-parvaṇi aṁkatô=pi saṁvat 1280 varshê Pausha śu di 3 Bhaumê=dy=êha saṁjâta uttarânayana-parvaṇi.*

The next expression, *viz.*

Vikrama-Saṁvatsara

or 'the years of Vikrama, is supplied by—7, the Dhiniki grant of the Jêṭhvâ king Jâïka,[18] (ll. 1-2) *Vikrama-saṁvatsara-śata(tê)shu saptasu chatur-navaty-adhikêshv=aṁkataḥ* ||[19] *794 Kârttika-mâs-âpara-pakshê amâvâsyâyâṁ Adityavârê Jyêshṭâ(shṭhâ)-nakshatrê ravi-graha-ṇaparvvaṇi.*

An abbreviation of the preceding expression, *viz.*

Vikrama-Saṁvat

or 'of the years of Vikrama' is furnished by —8, the Râdhanpur grant of Bhîma II. of the Chaulukya dynasty,[20] (l. 1) *Vikrama-saṁvat 1086 Kârttika śu di 15.* The same expression is used also in—9, the Girnâr inscription of Vastupâla, the minister of Vîradhavala of the same dynasty,[21] (l. 2) *Śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat 1288 varshê A(â)śvina va dî(di) 15 Sômê*; in—10, the Girnâr inscription of Jayantasiṁha, son of the same Vastupâla,[22] (ll. 1, 3, and 4) *Śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat 1288 varshê Phâ[l*]guṇa-(na) śu di 10 Budhê * * * * * * saṁ 79 varsha-pûrvvaṁ * * * * * * saṁ 76 varsha-pûrvvaṁ*; and in—11, the Dôhad inscription of Jayasiṁha of the Chaulukya dynasty,[23] (ll. 8-9) *Śrî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat 1196 * * * * * * saṁ 1202.*

And a further abbreviation of the same expression, *viz.*

Vikrama-Saṁ

or 'of the years of Vikrama,' is furnished by—12, the Sômanâth-Pâṭhaṇ inscription of Arjuna of the Chaulukya dynasty,[24] (ll. 2-4) *Śrî-Viśvanâtha-prativa(ba)ddha-tau(nau)janânâṁ vô(bo)dhakara-sûla-Mahaṁmada-saṁvat 662 tathâ Śrî-nṛipa-[Vi]krama-saṁ 1320 tathâ*

[12] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 51 ff; and *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. III. pp. 101 f.
[13] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. I. pp. 354 f. and Plate LI.
[14] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 53 ff.
[15] *Id.* Vol. VI. pp. 55 f.
[16] *The Paṇḍit*, Vol. IV. pp. 94 ff.
[17] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 196 ff.
[18] *Id.* Vol. XII. pp. 151 ff.
[19] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.
[20] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 193 f.
[21] *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, Vol. II. p. 173.
[22] *Id.* pp. 170 ff.
[23] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. pp. 158 ff.
[24] *Id.* Vol. XI. pp. 241 ff.

śrîmad-Valabhî-saṁ 945 tathâ Śrî-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshê Âshâḍha va di 13 Ravau.

The earliest instance that I have been able to trace out in which the simple expression

Saṁvat

or 'of the years' is used alone, is—13, the 'Deogarh' inscription of Bhôja of Kanauj,[25] (ll. 6-8 and 10) *Saṁvat 919 Asva(śva)yuja-śukla-paksha-chaturddaśyâṁ Vri(bri)haspatidinê Uttara-Bhâdrapada-nakshattrê(trê)* * * * * * * *Śaka-kâl-âbda-sapta-śatyâ(tâ)ni chatur-â(a)śîty-adhikâni 784.* After that date it is of frequent occurrence; *e.g.*—14, the Kaḍî grant of Mûlarâja of the Chaulukya dynasty,[26] (ll. 21-2) *Saṁvat 1043 Mâgha va di 15 Ravau;*—15, the 'Deogarh' inscription of Kîrttivarmâ of the Chandella dynasty,[27] (l. 8) *Saṁvat 1154 Chaittra(tra) [ba* ?] di 2 Vu(?)dhau(?)*;—16, the Gayâ inscription of Gôvindapâla,[28] (l. 3) *Saṁvat 1232 Vikâri-saṁvatsarê*;—17, the Timâṇa grant of Bhîma II. of the Chaulukya dynasty,[29] (l. 1) *Saṁvat 1264 varshê lau° Âshâḍha śu di 2 Sômê*;—18, the Âbû inscription of the same king,[30] (l. 20) *Saṁvat 1265 varshê Vaiśâkha śu 15 Bhaumê*; and—19, the second *Praśasti* of Nânâka, the court poet of Vîsala of the same dynasty,[31] *Saṁvat 1328.*

The next technical expression, *viz.*—

Vikrama-Kâla

or 'the time of Vikrama' is furnished by—20, a grant of Ajayapâla of the Chaulukya dynasty,[32] (ll. 11-12 and 31) *Nṛipa-Vikrama-kâlâd=arvvâk êka-triṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsar-âṁtarvarttini Kârttikê mâsi śûkla-pakshê êkâdaśyâṁ Sômadinê upôshya Kârttik-ôdyâpana-parvvaṇi* * * * * * * *Saṁvat 1231 varshê Kârttika śu di 13 Vu(bu)ḍhê.* The same expression occurs in—21, a grant of Bhîma II. of the same dynasty,[33] (ll. 1-3) *Śrîmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭa(ṭ-) sha(-sha)shṭy=adhikêshu laukika° Mârgra*(sic)*-mâsasya śukla-paksha-chaturdaśyâṁ Gurudinê atr=âṁkatôḥ*[34]*=pi Śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat 1266 varshê Śrî-Siṁha-saṁvat 96 varshê 'lauki° Mârgra*(sic) *śu ḍhi*(sic) *14 Gurau*; and in—22, the Kaḍî grant of Vîsala of the same dynasty,[35] (ll. 1-2) *Śrîmad-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta-saptadaś-âdhika-trayôdaśa-śatika-saṁvatsarê laukika Jyê-(jyai)shṭa(shṭha)-mâsasya kṛishṇa-paksha-chaturthyâṁ tithau Gurau.*

The next technical expression, *viz.*

Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara

or 'the years established by Vikramâditya,' is furnished by—23, the Pâtaṇ grant of Bhîma II. of the Chaulukya dynasty,[36] (ll. 17-20) *Śrîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭ(ṭ-) pa(-pa)ṁchâśad-uttarêshu Bhâdrapada-mâsa-kṛishṇa-paksh âmâvâsyâyâṁ Bhô(bhau)mavârê ऽtr=âṁkatô=pi saṁvat 1256 lau° Bhâdrapada va di 15 Bhaumê ऽsyâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyâṁ tithau.* It occurs in precisely the same way in the Kaḍî grants of the same king, of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1263, 1283, 1287, 1288, and 1295;[37] and, with the slight difference of using *Vikrama-saṁvat* in the place of *saṁvat* and omitting the words *asyâṁ* &c., in—24, the last Kaḍî grant of the same king,[38] (ll. 19-21) *Śrîmat(d-) Vi(-vi)kramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu shaṭ(ṇ-) na(-ṇa)vaty-uttarêshu Mârgga-mâsîya-kṛishṇa-chaturddaśyaṁ Ravivârê ऽ tr ऽ*[39] *âṁkatô ऽ pi Vikrama-saṁvat 1296 varshê Mârgga va di 14 Ravau.* And it also occurs in—25, the Kaḍî grant of Tribhuvanapâla of the same dynasty,[40] (ll. 14-17) *Śrîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara-śatêshu dvâdaśasu nava-navaty-uttarêshu Chaitramâsîya-śukla-paksha-shashṭhyâṁ Sômavârê ऽtr ऽ*[41] *âṁkatô ऽpi saṁvat 1299 varshê Chaitra śu di 6 Sômê ऽ syâṁ saṁvatsara-mâsa-paksha-vâra-pûrvvikâyâṁ saṁ lau° Phâ[l*]guṇa(na)mâsîya-amâvâśyâ(syâ)yâṁ saṁjâta-sûryagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi saṁkalpitât tithau.*

An abbreviation of the preceding expression, *viz.*—

[25] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate XXXIII. No. 2. The date is equivalent to Thursday, the 10th September, 862.

[26] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 191 ff.

[27] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate XXXIII. No. 3; re-edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 311 f.

[28] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 125, and Plate XXXVIII. No. 18.

[29] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 337 ff.

[30] *Id.* Vol. XI. pp. 220 ff.

[31] *Id.* Vol. XI. pp. 106 ff.

[32] Not yet published.

[33] Not yet published.

[34] This *Visarga* is a mistake.

[35] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 210 ff.

[36] *Id.* Vol. XI. pp. 71 ff.

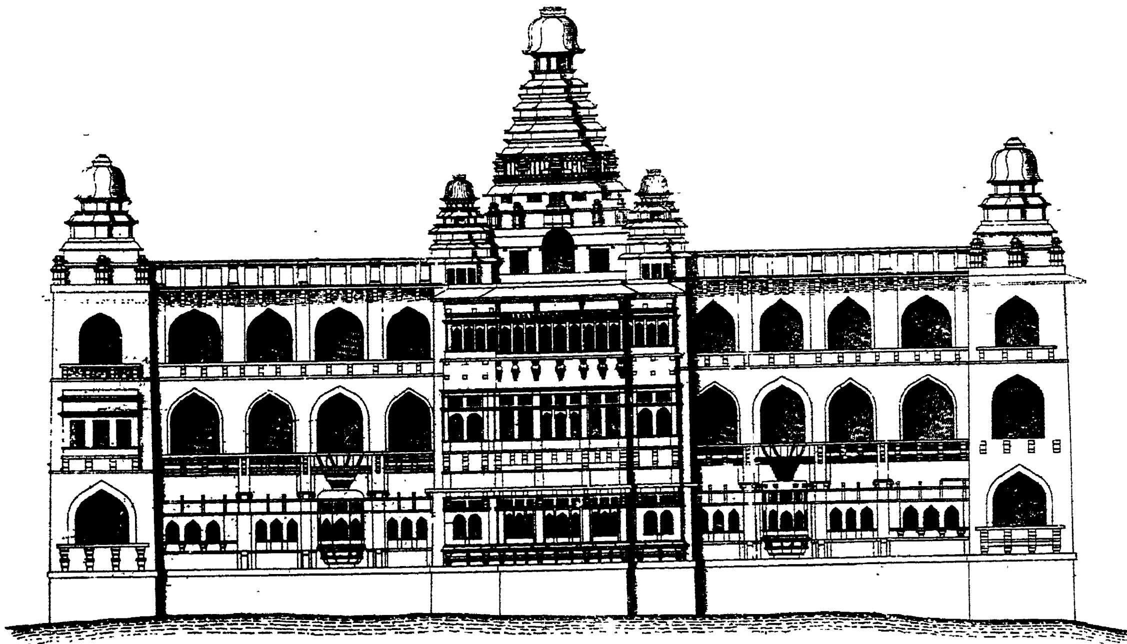
[37] *Id.* Vol. VI. pp. 194, 199, 201, 203, and 205.

[38] *Id.* Vol. VI. pp. 206 ff.

[39] In the original, this second *Avagraha* stands after the syllable *âṁ*.

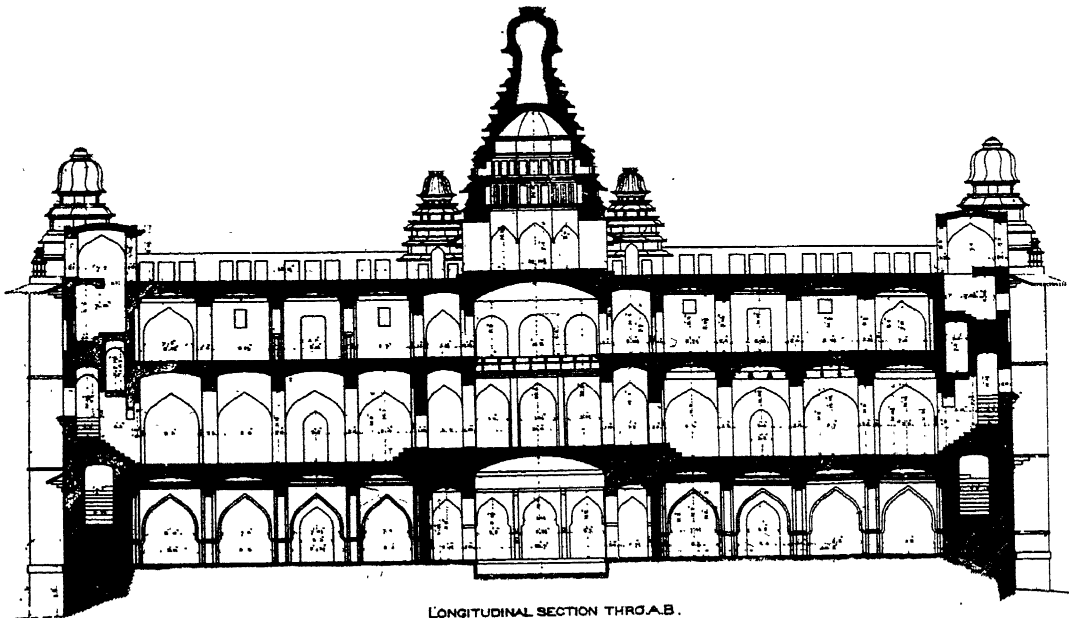
[40] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 208 ff.

[41] In the original, this second *avagraha* stands after the syllable *âṁ*.



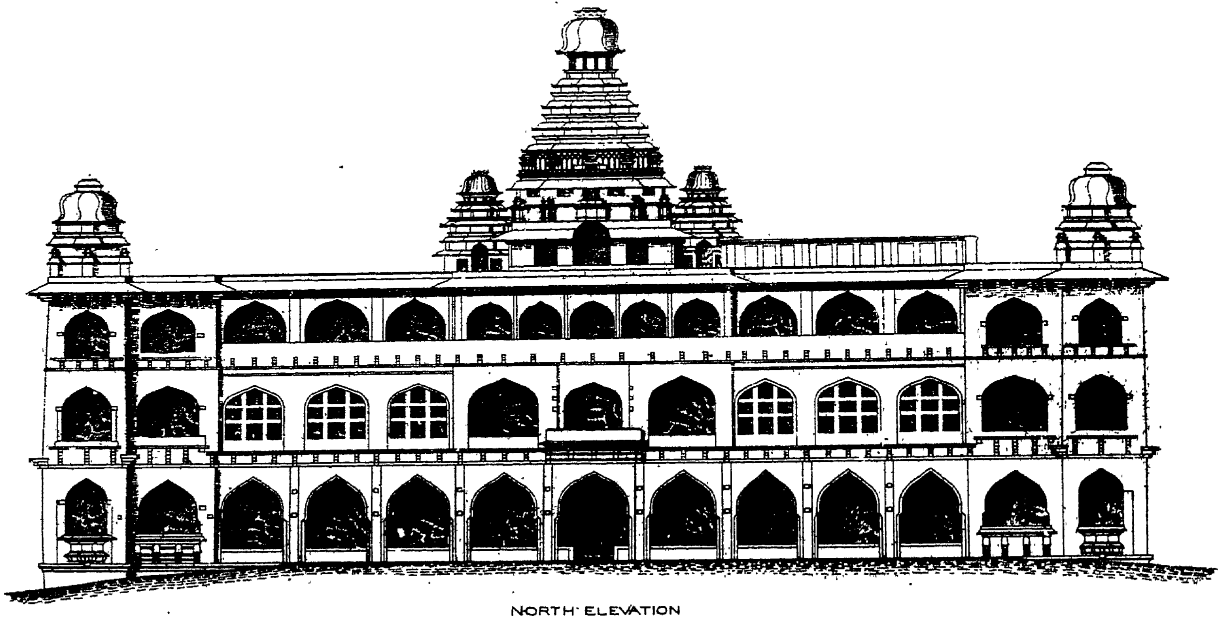
SOUTH ELEVATION

Sprague & Co Photo-litho London



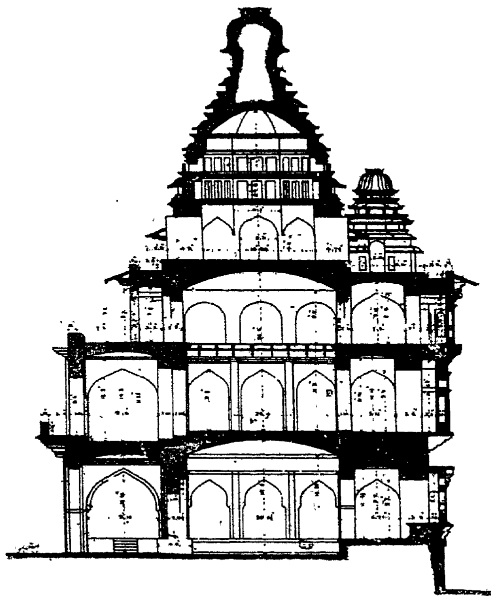
LONGITUDINAL SECTION THRO. A.B.

Sprague & Co Photo-litho London

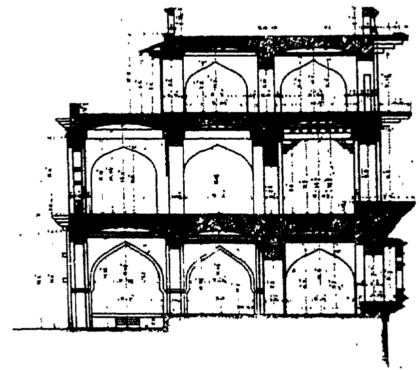


NORTH ELEVATION

Sprague & Co Photo-litho London

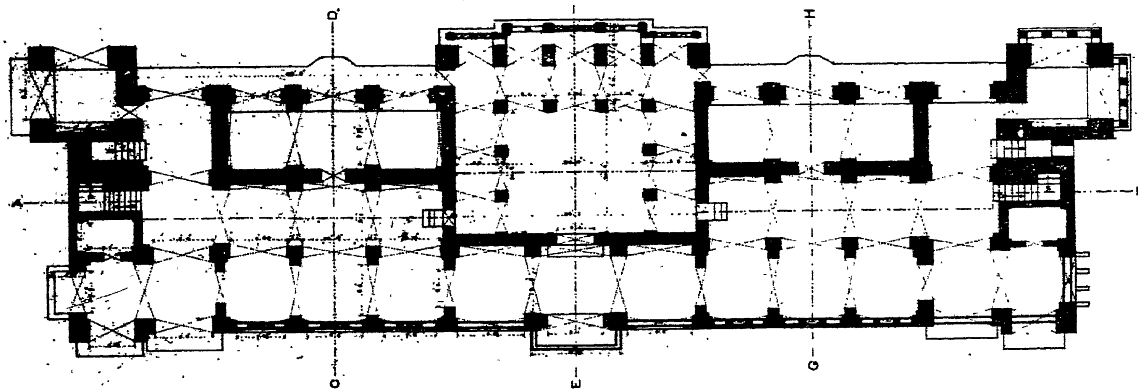


SECTION THRO. E.F.



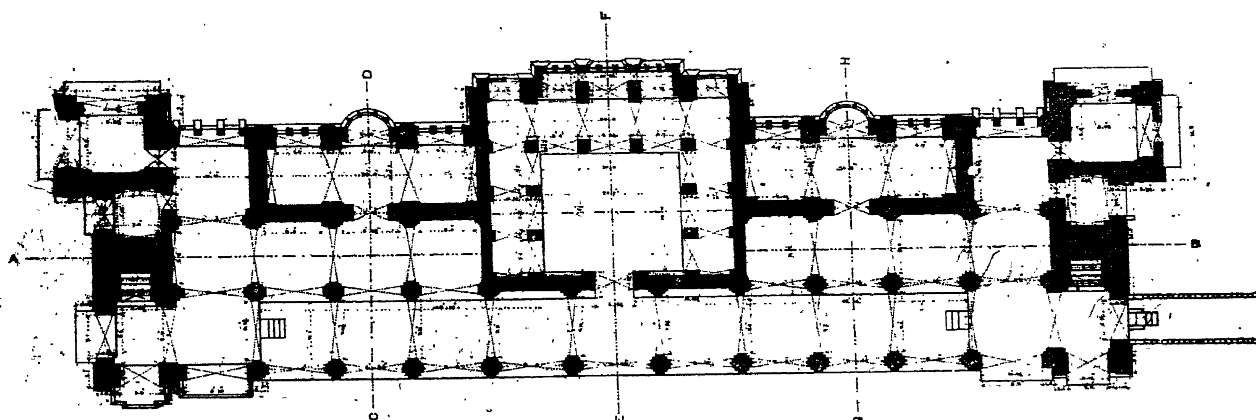
SECTION THRO. G.H.

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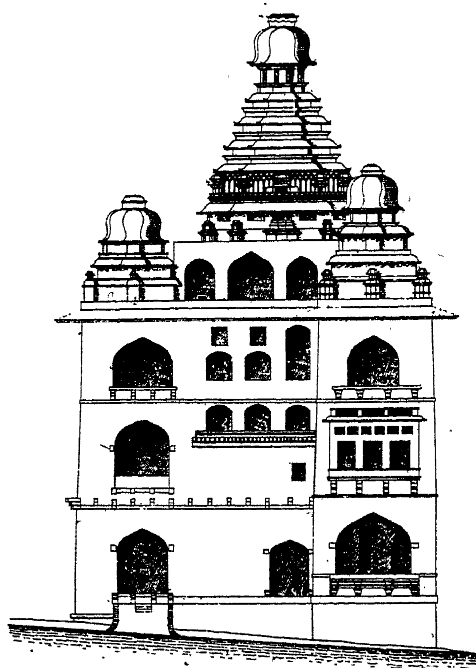
PLAN OF 2ND STOREY.

Sprague & Co Photo-litho. London

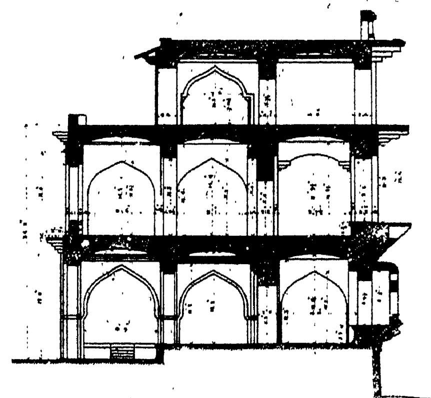


GROUND PLAN

Sprague & Co Photo-litho. London

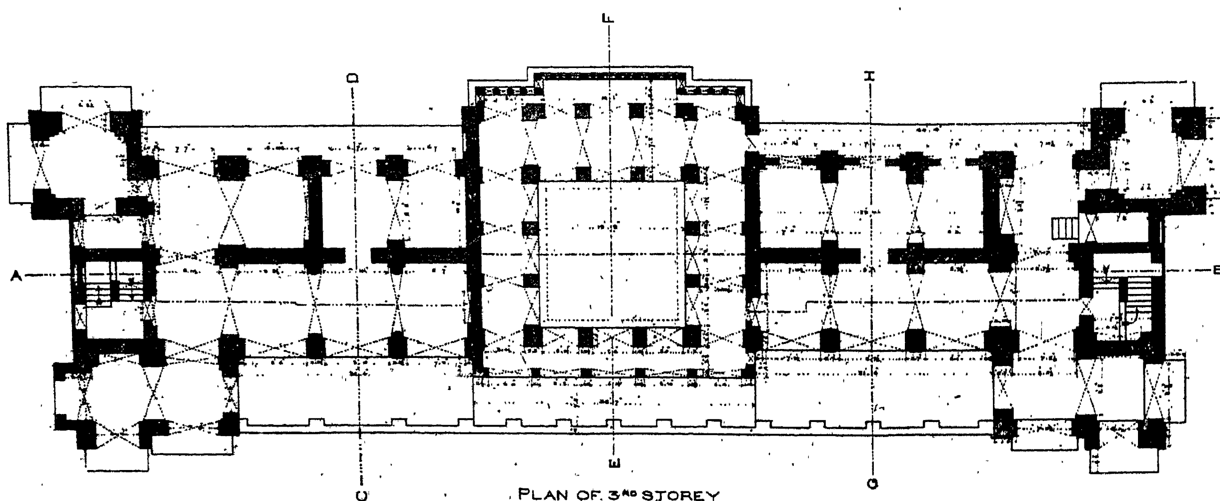


WEST ELEVATION.



SECTION THRO. C.D.

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PLAN OF. 3RD STOREY

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Vikramâditya-Saṁvat

or 'of the years of Vikramâditya,' is furnished by—26, a Gayâ inscription,[42] (l. 1) *Vikramâditya nṛipatêḥ | saṁvat 1257(?) Jyê(jyai)-shṭha va di 15(?) Ravau.*

Finally, the last technical expression, *viz.*

Vaikrama-Śâka

or 'the era belonging to Vikrama,' is furnished by—27, the Nêpâl inscription of Lalitatripurasundarîdêvî,[43] *Vêda-sapta-gaj-êndu-mitê 1874 Vaikramê śâkê Śachî-śukla-navamyâṁ Sôm-ânvitâyâṁ.* A little further on, the inscription uses the simple word *Śaka,—tasminn=êva śakê Bhâdra-krishṇa-navamyâṁ Śuklê (krê) śilâpravêśaṃ vidhâya bâṇa-svara-nâga-bhû-mitê 1875 śakê Mâgha-mâsi tritîyâyâṁ Gurau &c.*;—but it seems to be used in the sense of 'year,' rather than of 'era;' and, at any rate, it can hardly be taken as furnishing a technical name for the era of Vikrama or Vikramâditya.

[42] *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 127, and Plate XXXVIII. No. 22.

[43] *Ind. Ant.* Vol IX. pp. 193 f.

THE OLD PALACE OF CHANDRAGIRI.

BY R. F. CHISHOLM, F.R.I.B.A., GOVERNMENT ARCHITECT, MADRAS.

Chandragiri, in the Madras Presidency, in the Collectorate of Chittur or North Arkaṭ, is situated 30 miles N.N.E. from Chittur, and is the head-quarters of a tâluqa of the same name.

The town of this name is some distance from the building which forms the subject of this article. The old Palace and the Zenâna buildings now stand amid cultivated lands; the fort on the adjoining hill and the remains of gateways and other ruins which lie about are the only other indications of former greatness. Chandragiri possesses peculiar interest to the British, for here resided the Râja who gave us the first foothold in India by granting to the representatives of the East India Company the *Sanad* which permitted them to erect Fort St. George at Madras. The date of this *Sanad* was 1639 and the Râja who granted it Śrî Raṅga Râya, the last representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty.[1] He was himself subdued by the Muhammadan king of Golkonda in 1645, only six years after this event.

The main building (shown in the accompanying illustrations) is about 150 ft. long, presenting a well-balanced façade of three storeys surmounted by turrets in the form of gôpuras, which break the sky-line pleasingly. With the exception of the angles (of comparatively solid construction) each floor consists of a pillared hall, the piers are arched across both ways, corbelled at the angles, and closed with flat domes. Each floor is projected 6 or 7 feet beyond the face of the external row of piers, the projecting portion resting on strong stone corbels.

It will be seen from the plan, that the rooms are all small. The largest which, no doubt, served as a Durbar Hall, is only 21 ft. square. This apartment rises through two storeys, the upper tier of arches forming a kind of clerestorey, conveying a lesson on light and ventilation, which might be advantageously studied by greater architects than those old builders professed themselves to be.

As usual in Eastern domestic art, the building, as it stands, is a perfect puzzle. There are two different kinds of work, executed apparently at two different periods, the earlier being stone, and the later brick. It is not necessary, however, to place these periods at a wide interval, as both kinds of work may have been executed contemporaneously. In nearly all the temples and other structures in Southern India, brick is always used in the upper parts, and generally in those places where the strains and loads are insignificant. Most of the civil buildings in the south have rough stone piers, wooden corbels, and brick arches. Wooden corbelling was resorted to when the octagonal form had to be worked out from the square in a limited vertical space; only one kind of hard wood was used,—a wood which neither rots nor expands. The exterior was invariably covered

[1] After the battle of Tâlikôṭa in 1565, their representatives made Pennakoṇda, in Anantapur district, their capital, and it continued so until 1592 A.D. when Veṅkaṭapati Râya retired to Chandragiri.

with coir rope to form a key for the plaster. Work executed in this manner appears to be as durable as lath and plaster, if not more so. The removal of this timber corbelling seldom affects stability.

On the north or rear face of the palace in question the walls, pierced by the arches which have crossed work, are built with brick entirely. Again on the south side, the arches are not pointed but segmental, rising from a succession of corbels. It is noticeable also that while all the lower arches are stilted on bands rising from corbels, the upper piers have no preparation for the arch,—the salient angles changing suddenly to hollow angles in a particularly bald and disagreeable manner. Further, the older vaults, particularly those in the lower story, appear to be worked in stone from stone corbels, while the upper vaults are of brick; and lastly, with one exception noted further on, not a particle of ornament of any kind exists above the basement! These facts would lead to the conclusion that the building was never finished at all, but such a conjecture is contradicted by the fact that the lower and presumably meaner apartments were finished to the intrados of the arches with clean-cut plaster mouldings, griffin brackets and coffered ceilings, while in the floor of State, where a superior finish would be expected, we find on one or two arches only a coarse imitation of the lower work, and higher still on the third storey is a coarse piece of cornice work worthy of the later Golkonda tombs. There is nothing beyond these miserable attempts at ornament above the lower storey. It is a curious fact that many of the remains of civil buildings in the south of India present similar characteristics. In the old Palace of Tirumal Nayyak at Madura, in the ladies' bath at Hampi, in the Zenâna tower at Jinji, and here in the Chandragiri Palace, well conceived and carefully executed designs are marred by the coarsest of plaster finishing, and frequently, as in the present case, the better finished parts are found in what should be inferior positions. May it not be that the walls of the superior apartments were covered with a surface of intrinsic value, such as tiles, mosaics, tapestry, &c., since removed, and if so, what good genius adorned their nakedness with the present coarse plaster work? At Madura I accidently knocked a piece of plaster off a tall cornice figure, and by this means discovered about an inch below the surface an older and better-proportioned figure, and in another place, beneath a particularly coarse and uneven pier, I found (also about an inch below the surface) a better finished pier; the latter was bound with coir rope to key the new plaster. This rope was sound and strong, and could not possibly, I think, be more than 50 years old. Now all historians agree that the Madura Palace was abandoned after the Court removed to Tiruchinapalli. It appears to me, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that the old servants of the East India Company, with characteristic love of India and everything Indian, instituted these innovations, making use of local labour only, which would account for the coarse finish.

It is difficult at the present time to form any conception of the finished exterior of the building. The bold projections beyond the face of the arches, supported by massive corbels, probably carried a network of Hindu cusped openings tier upon tier, not unlike the rude imitation seen in the central compartment of the south elevation. This network would hide the larger pointed arches, and completely alter the character of the work. The central screen cannot, I think, be accepted as original work, although it is undoubtedly cotemporaneous with some of the coarse work executed on the later parts of the building, and in the absence of anything better it might be accepted as the kind of work which extended over the whole of the face of the building.

The present condition as regards stability is highly satisfactory. There is no structural weakness, the few pieces of exposed wood used to corbel out the octagonal pendents will rot and fall without damaging the more durable parts, and the wear and tear for some years will be confined to the crumbling of the brick and mortar projections, and possibly to the fall of a brick column or two in the outer projecting works.

The accompanying four plates of illustrations were drawn by Mr. Lewis, my assistant, at the expense of the Government of Madras, who have directed me to prepare plans for renovating the structure.

CHINGHIZ KHÂN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 288.)

XXIII.

The campaigns of Chinghiz Khân in China affected very largely the fortunes of himself and his people, and consequently the history of the world. A man of the highest vigour and genius, taken from the unsophisticated steppes of Asia and brought into immediate contact with the oldest, and at that time the most intricate, civilization in the world, he naturally had his horizon very much enlarged, and his views of policy very much altered; and this not merely in the more obvious fields of military and political life, but in more intimate and deep-seated respects. I now propose to consider one or two of these, and first in regard to religion. China has virtually three religions—Confucianism, if that may be called a religion which is really a system of philosophy; Taouism, and Buddhism. With Confucianism Chinghiz Khân could hardly be expected to have much sympathy, nor do we hear of any relations he had with the professors of the sect. It is very different with the other two religions. First, in regard to Taouism.

In the *Ch'e-keng-lu*, a work written at the end of the Yuan dynasty, chapter 10, we have an article entitled *K'iu-chen-jen*. *K'iu* is the family name of the famous Taouist sage, Ch'ang Ch'un; and *Chen-jen* means the man of the truth, *i.e.* the Taouist. Ch'ang Ch'un was born in 1148, in Si-Hia, a city in the Department of Teng-chau-fu in Shan-tung. Ch'ang Ch'un, as is well known, paid Chinghiz Khân a visit, and his journey is described in the *Si-yu-ki* which has been so admirably annotated by Palladius and Dr. Bretschneider. In the article on him above cited, we have recorded a very curious and interesting correspondence between Chinghiz Khân and Ch'ang Ch'un. This correspondence has been translated into Russian, and published by Palladius as an appendix to the *Si-yu-ki* in the 4th volume of the *Records of the Pekin Ecclesiastical Mission*, 1866. Dr. Bretschneider has re-translated two of the letters, and published them with annotations in his *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West*, pp. 120-122. As the subject is one of the highest interest, I have had the third letter translated, and now publish the correspondence. The first two letters, with the notes, are taken entirely from the text of my distinguished correspondent, Dr. Bretschneider. He says, by way of preliminary introduction, "Chinghiz, in his simplicity professes such sound principles for governing people, and his words express such deep verities, that they would be valid even in our days, and for our countries. On the other side, Ch'ang Ch'un inspires sympathy by his modesty, candour and sincerity. He seems to have been endowed with high intelligence, knowing well his time and human nature. This was the reason that Chinghiz, who was about to include northern China in his empire, laid such stress upon his advice. But there was yet another reason for which he was impatient to make the sage's acquaintance. According to Palladius,[1] Ch'ang Ch'un belonged to the northern Taouist school, to the sect of the Kin-lien, or 'golden lotus,' the professors of which called themselves Ts'üan-chen, or the 'perfect true,' and sainted men. They were all adepts in spiritual alchemy, *i.e.*, they looked in the spiritual world for the *t'an*, or philosopher's stone, the secret of immortality, &c., which mysteries had been vainly searched after for centuries by material alchemists. One of the first questions Chinghiz addressed to Ch'ang Ch'un at his first audience was: 'Have you a medicine of immortality?' There is a tradition, that the conqueror, in his veneration for the sage, went so far as to propose to him his daughter in marriage, and that the latter escaped from this imperial honour only by performing a surgical operation on his body. It is a curious fact that Chinghiz Khân and Ch'ang Ch'un died in the same year and in the same month, *i.e.*, in the 7th month of 1227. With reference to Chinghiz Khân's letter to Ch'ang Ch'un, I need not mention," says Dr. Bretschneider, "that it was not written by himself; he could not write in any language. Probably the ideas of the conqueror were taken down by a Chinese in his suite;

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 262.

very likely by Ye-lü C'hu-ts'ai. The letters are written in a classical Chinese style."

The correspondence begins as follows with a letter from Chinghiz:—

"Heaven has abandoned China owing to its haughtiness and extravagant luxury. But I, living in the northern wilderness, have not inordinate passions. I like simplicity and purity of manners. I hate luxury, and exercise moderation. I have only one coat and one food. I eat the same and am dressed in the same tatters as my humble herdsmen.[2] I consider the people my children, and take an interest in talented men as if they were my brothers. We always agree in our principles, and we are always united by mutual affection. At military exercises I am always in the front, and in time of battle am never behind. In the space of ten years I have succeeded in accomplishing a great work, and united the whole world in one empire. I have not myself distinguished qualities, but the government of the Kin is inconstant, and therefore Heaven assists me to obtain the throne (of the Kin). The Sung, to the south, the Hui-ho to the north,[3] the Hia to the east, and the barbarians to the west, altogether have acknowledged my supremacy. It seems to me that since the remote time of our Shan-yü,[4] a vast empire has not been seen. But as my calling is high, the obligations incumbent on me are also heavy; and, I fear, that in my ruling there may be something wanting. To cross a river we make boats and rudders. Likewise we invite sage men, and choose out assistants for keeping the empire in good order. Since the time I came to the throne I have always taken to heart the ruling of my people; but I could not find worthy men to occupy the places of the *three* (kung) and the *nine* (k'ing).[5] With respect to these circumstances I inquired and heard, that thou, master, hast penetrated the truth, and that thou walkest the path of right. Deeply learned and much experienced, thou hast much explored the laws. Thy sanctity is become manifest. Thou hast conserved the rigorous rules of the ancient sages. Thou art endowed with the eminent talents of celebrated men. For a long time thou hast lived in the caverns of rocks and retired from the world; but to thee the people who have acquired sanctity repair, like clouds on the path of the immortals, in innumerable multitudes. I knew that after the war thou hadst continued to live in Shan-tung at the same place, and I was always thinking of thee. I know the stories of the returning from the river Wei in the same cart, and of the invitations in the reed hut three times repeated.[6] But what shall I do? We are separated by mountains and plains of great extent, and I cannot meet thee. I can only descend from my throne, and stand by thy side.[7] I have fasted and washed.[8]

"I have ordered my adjutant, Liu Chung-lu[9] to prepare an escort and a simple cart for thee.[10] Do not be afraid of the thousand li. I implore thee to move thy sainted steps. Do not think of the extent of the sandy desert. Commiserate the people in the present situation of affairs, or have pity upon me and communicate to me the means of preserving life. I shall serve thee myself; I hope that at least thou wilt leave me a trifle of thy wisdom (*literally* spit out a little). Say only one word to me, and I shall be happy. In this letter I have briefly expressed my thoughts,

[2] Palladius states that the gown of Chinghiz Khân, made of simple stuff, was kept as a relic by his successors, the Mongol emperors of China.

[3] There is some confusion in the position assigned to these nations.

[4] The Shan-yü were the ancient chiefs of the Hiong-nu. The use of the phrase, "our Shan-yü," shows that Chinghiz claimed the latter as his ancestors.

[5] The San-kung and the Kiu-king are meant. Since the Chou dynasty, 1122-249 B.C., the three Kung were the highest councillors of the empire, the nine K'ing occupied different parts of the administration.

[6] This is an allusion to two examples from Chinese history, that sages had been invited by Emperors to occupy high charges. Wen-wang, the virtual founder of the Chou dynasty, found an old man fishing in the river Wei, whose conversation proved so sage that the prince begged him to enter his service as minister, and took him along with him in his cart. The other allusion refers to Chu-ko-liang, who was sought out by Liu Pei, the founder of the Shu-Han dynasty, whom his fame for wisdom had reached. He was found (A.D. 207) inhabiting a reed hut, and was with difficulty persuaded to abandon his hermit's life.

[7] Chinghiz here proposes that he should descend from the throne, and that Ch'ang Ch'un should take his place.

[8] A Chinese phrase of politeness, meaning that the host has worthily prepared himself to receive the guest. The phrase in its literal meaning "fast and wash" would seem strange from the lips of Chinghiz. Rashidu'd-dîn reports that it was a rule amongst the Mongols never to wash or bathe themselves. The Musalmans in Mongolia, who sometimes infringed these rules were put to death. It seems that the Mongols of the present time follow conscientiously these practices of their ancestors.

[9] He was a deserter from the Kin who entered the Mongol service when Chinghiz Khan entered China. Chinghiz valued him for his skill in making arrows.—Palladius.

[10] In ancient times the Emperors used to send a cart for the sages when inviting them.—Palladius.

and hope that thou wilt understand them. I hope also, that thou, having penetrated the principles of the great Tao, sympathisest with all that is right, and wilt not resist the wishes of the people. Given on the first day of the 5th month 1219."

To this letter the sage replied as follows:—

"K'iu-Ch'u-ki from Si-Hia-hien[11] devoted to the Tao, received lately from afar the most high decree. I must observe that all the people near the seashore (*i. e.* of Shan-tung, Ch'ang-Ch'un's native country) are without talent. I confess that in worldly matters I am dull, and have not succeeded in investigating the Tao, although I tried hard in every possible way. I have got old and am not yet dead. My repute has spread over all kingdoms, but as to my sanctity I am not better than ordinary people; and when I look inwards I am deeply ashamed of myself. Who knows my hidden thoughts? Before this I have had several invitations from the southern capital (*i.e.* Kai-feng-fu), and from the Sung, and have not gone. But now at the first call of the Dragon court[12] I am ready. Why? I have heard that the emperor has been gifted by Heaven with such valour and wisdom as has never been seen in ancient times or in our own days. Majestic splendour is accompanied by justice. The Chinese people, as well as the barbarians, have acknowledged the Emperor's supremacy. At first I was undecided whether I would hide myself in the mountain or flee into the sea (*to an island*) but I dared not oppose the order. I decided to brave frost and snow, in order to be once presented to the Emperor. I heard at first that your Majesty's chariot was not farther than north of Huan-chau and Fu-chau.[13] But after arriving in Yen (Pekin), I was informed that it had moved far away, it was not known how many thousand li. Storm and dust never cease obscuring the heavens. I am old and infirm, and fear that I shall be unable to endure the pains of such a long journey, and that perhaps I cannot reach your Majesty; and even should I reach (I would not be good for anything). Public affairs and affairs of war are not within my capacity. The doctrine of Tao teaches to restrain the passions, but that is a very difficult task. Considering these reasons I conferred with Liu-Chung-lu and asked him that I might wait in Yen (Pekin), or in Te-hing (now Pao-an-chau) the return of your Majesty. But he would not agree to that, and thus I myself undertook to lay my case before the Emperor. I am anxious to satisfy the desire of your Majesty, and to brave frost and snow; wherefore I solicit the decision (whether I shall start or wait). We were four, who at the same time became ordained monks. Three have attained sanctity. Only I have undeservedly the repute of a sainted man. My appearance is parched, my body is weak. I am waiting for your Majesty's Order."

"Written in the 3rd month of 1220."

The third letter is addressed thus:—

"The Emperor Chinghiz to the Teacher Ch'u.

"I read with pleasure your statement that, according to my commands, you have set out, and I have taken into consideration all that you have written. In holiness you excel three learned men, your brilliant qualities are renowned in many countries. For this reason I sent an official with a tempting present,[14] who travelled by post-horses to seek you near the ocean. The result was in accordance with my desire. Heaven did not set itself against man. Two Courts have several times invited you, but you did not go to them; but when my single envoy invited you but once, you resolved to leave your abode. Because I am favoured by heaven, you are coming to me. You did not refuse to brave wind and weather in the open air, and have determined to cross the sandy deserts. When your letter was presented to me, I need not say how glad and satisfied I was. Military and state affairs engross my attention, but not by my desire I must confess, but in the sense of the spirit Daude.[15] Because of the insubordination of certain chiefs, I have threatened them severely; and abused them roundly. My army no sooner arrives than distant countries become quiet and submit themselves. Whoever comes to me is on my side—and whoever leaves me is against me. I employ strength so that by some temporary labour I

[11] K'iu was Ch'ang Ch'un's family name, Ch'uki was another name of the sage; Si-Hia-hien was his native place.

[12] Lung-ting, meaning the Mongol court.

[13] Ancient Han-chou according to the *Ta-ts'ing-ye-t'ung-chi*, was to the N. E. of the Tu-shi-k'ou gate (*great wall*). 180 li distant, where the present Kurtun balghasun stands, Fu-chau was the old name of Karabalghasun.

[14] Really a piece of cloth.

[15] A mere figure of speech.

may receive a continuous peace, and intend to cease as soon as people's hearts are well disposed towards me. With this end in view, I parade a martial greatness and live amidst chariots and warriors. Again, I fancy I see your closed chariot moving from Pin-li-ya and that you direct your way on a stork towards India. Da-mul came to the East in order to impress the spirit of learning with the truth of tradition. Lao-tsi travelled to the West in order to enlighten the barbarians and to raise them to a state of grace. Although the deserts are wide it is not too far for me to see your table and your staff, for this reason I reply that you may know my sentiments. I hope you will be happy and well during your journey. I will not enlarge."

The result of this correspondence was that Ch'ang Ch'un paid Chinghiz Khân a visit, which we shall describe later on. These letters will suffice to show the impression which must have been created upon Chinghiz Khân's mind by the mystical faith which has survived so much persecution and ridicule in China, namely, Taouism.

We will now shortly consider his connection with Buddhism. This he was first brought more immediately into contact with in consequence of the Uighurs, who were so intimately connected with his people, having been Buddhists. Their Buddhism was of very old date, and was doubtless the same as that professed by the Red or Unreformed Buddhists of Tibet, who have been so put in the shade by the Yellow or Reformed Buddhists, followers of the Dalai Lama. These Red Buddhists were much contaminated with necromancy and apparently also with immoral practices. Abu'l-faraj has preserved a curious notice which has apparently not been quoted, in reference to Chinghiz Khân's intercourse with them, and with the more respectable Chinese Buddhists. He tells us that when the Mongols conquered the Uighurian Turks, they found among them certain necromancers called Kams. 'We have heard from many,' he says, 'who reported that they (the Kams) had heard the voices of demons speaking with them through the light-holes in the tent; but these manifestations, they declared, only took place when they allowed themselves to be polluted by other men.'—"Siquidem eorum multi hermaphroditæ sunt. Adeo fœdi sunt, ut, quando aliquid ex magica eorum arte facere volunt quemcunque qui iis obviam fit, vi cogunt ut eos polluat." Abu'l-faraj continues, and says that "Chinghiz Khân, having heard that the Chinese possessed idols and sacrificing priests, sent envoys to summon some of these, promising to receive them honourably. When they arrived he ordered them to have a discussion with the Kams. When the priests had spoken and read out of their book called *Num*, the Kams were discomfited, for they were of small understanding, and thenceforward the reputation of the sacrificing priests (*i.e.* of the more enlightened Buddhists of China) among the Mongols increased. They were ordered to make some images and statues such as they made at home, and also to offer sacrifices and offerings as they were accustomed. Although they greatly honoured the priests, the Mongols did not despise the Kams. Both of them were tolerated; one did not abuse the other," says our author, "as is the custom among people who have sacred writings and prophets, among whom it is customary for each person to indulge in insults, to abuse his neighbour and call him an infidel." He also tells us how "in the book *Num*, just mentioned, besides profane sentences similar to those recorded by Saint Gregory, were laws of great excellence, *ex. gr.* violence and wrong-doing were forbidden, evil was not to be returned for evil but good. The smallest animal was not to be killed by man, not even bees and flies. Like Plato, they believed in the transmigration of souls, and that the spirits of good and upright men migrated after death into the bodies of kings and grandees, while those of evil-doers passed into the bodies of criminals, who duly suffered torture and were killed. The latter also passed into the bodies of animals. When some one took flesh for the priests to eat, they inquired if the animal had been killed purposely for them or had been bought in the market place; if the former, they would not eat it."[16] This is surely a very fair and generous notice of Buddhism for an ecclesiastic of the 13th century to have recorded.

In addition to the influence exercised by the Chinese upon the religious opinions of the higher Mongols, they had a very potent in-

[16] Bar Hebræus, *Chron. Syr.* pp. 451 and 452.

fluence also in moulding that magnificent force which swept over half the civilized world with such rapidity and success. It seems incredible how a body of mere shepherds, however brave and disciplined, should have engaged in elaborate siege operations and elaborated a scientific strategy which is the wonder of our time, and it is only explained when we remember that Chinghiz induced a large number of educated and skilled warriors from China to join his forces. Northern China, as we have seen, had only been conquered by the Kin dynasty a comparatively short time, and the partizans of the former dynasty, the Liau, were not only willing but anxious to help one who was likely to give their mortal foes such heavy blows. The Khitans, who had old traditions of culture, became his eager allies. In addition the Kin empire was itself, as we have seen, the prey of intestine feuds, and there were not wanting many experienced Kin officers who joined the vigorous Mongol chief. We read in the *Yuan-shi-lei-pen* that when Chinghiz Khân set out on his western campaign, many Tartar princes and grandees were selected to accompany him, and he also had with him several Chinese generals. He also organized several companies of soldiers whose duty it was to assail besieged towns with stones (*i.e.*, no doubt he got together from China a body of men skilled in using the mangonels and other primitive artillery of those days). These quasi-artillerymen, we are told, were commanded by a Mongol named Yenmuhay and by Suktalabay who had lived at Yenking, but was a stranger by origin.[17]

The number of Chinamen and others from the far East who thus accompanied Chinghiz must have have very considerable, and some of them were apparently planted in military settlements, for when Ch'ang Ch'un, in his journey to see Chinghiz Khân in 1221, approached a town which his biographer calls T'ien-chen-hai-ba-la-ho-sun, and which Bretschneider places somewhere near Uliassutai, there came out to meet him a number of Chinamen, artisans and workmen who lived there. There were also two concubines of the late Kin emperor and a Chinese princess. This colony, we learn from the biography of Chen-hai in the *Yuan-shi*, was established by Chinghiz Khân as a military settlement, Chen-hai being its governor and ruler; there were also three hundred families there from Pien-king, the modern Kai-feng-fu in Ho-nan, engaged in making woollen cloths.[18]

The mention of these Chinese officers in Chinghiz Khân's service reminds us that one of the most puzzling things in the strategy of the Mongols is to realize the apparent certainty and knowledge with which they marched through most difficult countries with great rapidity at a time when surveys were of the rudest kind, while the Mongols themselves were entire strangers in every way in the countries they traversed. It is quite clear that a much more elaborate system of espionage and a much better organized intelligence department existed in their armies than we have hitherto dreamt of. A passage of Sherifu'd-dîn, referring to Timur's campaigns against the so-called Jets of Mongolistân, is suggestive enough in this view to tempt me to quote it. When he had determined upon his campaign Timur held a grand council with the princes his sons and the other grandees of the empire; and it was resolved that the army should be divided into several sections, each one of which was to advance by a separate route, that the country of the Jets should be surrounded, and that they should be mercilessly pursued wherever they retired. "*To carry out this plan there were summoned to the council those who knew the roads and who could act as guides. They made their reports in regard to the various passes and routes in the district to be invaded, and in accordance with this information memoirs were drawn up, copies of which were distributed to the princes and the generals of the army; lastly a guide was selected to lead each division, and the route he was to follow was marked out for him, while the general rendezvous was fixed at Yulduz.*"[19]

When Chinghiz withdrew from China, he left Mu-khu-li as his vicegerent there, with orders to prosecute the campaign. We will return to him presently, and meanwhile consider what was taking place elsewhere. I must repeat that we are not at all certain of the exact chronology of the events. Thus we read of a campaign

[17] Gaubil, p. 34.

[18] Bretschneider, *Notes on Med. Travellers to the West,* p. 26.

[19] Sherifu'd-dîn, by De la Croix vol. II, pp. 44 and 45.

against the Tumats, but we do not know whether it took place before or after Chinghiz Khân's withdrawal from China. Probably it was before. Who these Tumats were is not easy to decide. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls them the Kholi or Khori Tumat. Rashidu'd-dîn speaks of them as living near Burghurjin Tugunu and among the Kirghises, and says they were a powerful tribe.[20] One of the five sections of the Kerait or Kirais was called Tumait or Tumat, and if the Kirais of Wang Khân were, as some Russian inquirers believe, the ancestors of the Kirais, who still form an important section of the Kirghises, this would support the view that they were of Kirghiz race. On the other hand, the Kalmuks have a legend that one of the four original sections of their race (the Durben Uirad or four Uirads), was called Tummut. They do not know what has become of the Tummut, but believe that they still live somewhere in further or Eastern Asia, and say they were separated from the other Uirads by the spirit[21]—Shara Shuliua, who frequently leads astray wandering tribes. Pallas, who quotes the tradition, suggests that the well-known tribe of the Tumeds among the Mongols of the Forty-nine Banners may possibly be the Tummut of the Kalmuk tradition.[22] I am disposed to consider the Tumats as originally a section of the Kalmuks, more especially as Rashidu'd-dîn in his article on the Hushins calls them theMongol race of theTumats.[23] The word *tumed* or *tumat* is the plural of *tuman*, meaning 10,000, but, in the cases above named, is clearly a proper name, and not a mere appellative. To revert to our story. According to the *Huang Yuan* and Rashidu'd-dîn, the Tumats had submitted, but after a while, profiting by Chinghiz Khân's absence, they broke out into revolt under their chief called Dulaskhoi, by the former authority, and Tatulah Sukhar by the latter. The *Huang Yuan* says Chinghiz sent Bolokhun Nayan and Duluto against them, and the former died there.[24] Rashidu'd-dîn says that the Baim Buyan was first sent against them, but as he excused himself on the ground of illness, Chinghiz ordered Bugharul to march against them with a division. When he received the order he asked the minister if he had suggested his name to Chinghiz, or whether it was the latter's own choice, and on hearing that it was, he said I will obey his command, and spill my blood in the work. Having commended his wife and children to the care of the Khakan, he set out and speedily subdued the Tumat, but he lost his life in the struggle.[25] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* gives us some interesting details of the campaign. When Bugharul, whom it calls Boroul, set out, the Tumat ruler Daidulul was already dead, and his widow Botokhuitarkhun had control of matters. The Mongol general having set out ahead of his army with only three men, the Tumats surrounded him, cut off his retreat and killed him. Chinghiz, hearing of this, was very angry, and wished to march against them himself, but Boorchu or Bughurjin and Mu-khu-li persuaded him not to do so, and he accordingly sent Dorbodokhshin with an army against them; he made a feint to approach the place where Boroul had been killed, but actually advanced through the district Khulaan-bukha along a narrow path which had been trodden by animals, and for fear his soldiers might be afraid to traverse such a road, he distributed 10 rods to each man with orders to beat those who would not advance. The soldiers also provided themselves with axes, saws and chisels with which to hew down the trees obstructing the path. Having at length reached the crest of a ridge, they looked down upon the Tumats "like looking down the smoke-hole of a tent." They fell on them while they were feasting, and conquered them. The victors released two Mongol chiefs, namely Khorchi and Khudukha-beki who had been imprisoned by the Tumats. The former, as we saw in a previous paper, had as a reward for some service requested permission from Chinghiz to select 30 beautiful girls as his wives, and having learnt that the maidens among the Tumats were beautiful, he determined to secure thirty of them. The Tumats objected and seized him. When Chinghiz heard of this, he sent Khudukhabeki, who was well acquainted with the forest peoples, to secure his release, but he also was seized. When the Tumats were subdued, Chinghiz gave Boroul[26] a hundred Tumat families; to Khorchi

[20] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 190.
[21] *i. e.* the *ignis fatuus*. Pallas says the *Irrgeist*.
[22] *Saml. Hist. Nach.*; etc., vol. I, p. 7.
[23] Erdmann, p. 209.
[24] *Op. cit.*
[25] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 353.
[26] *i. e.* gave to the family of Boroul, whom Rashid says he took under his special protection.

thirty Tumat maidens, while Botokhuitarkhun the widow of the Tumat ruler, was made over to Khudukhabeki.[27] We do not again read of the Tumats, and I am disposed to think they were incorporated with the Mongols and became the ancestors of the modern Tumeds of the Forty-nine Banners.

In regard to Bugharul, who was one of Chinghiz Khân's most trusted officers, Rashid-u'd-din tells us he belonged to the tribe Hushin. He at first filled the post of bukaul or head of the kitchen in his establishment, and that of baverji, *i. e.* chief marshal of the court. He then joined the vanguard of archers, then became its commander, then head of a tuman, and eventually second in command of the right wing under Boorchi. Erdmann, says Boorchi, whom he calls Bughurjin, was under him.[28]

[27] *op. cit.* pp. 132 and 133.

[28] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 157 note. Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 209.

SOME NOTES ABOUT RÂJA RASÂLÛ.

BY CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

At vol. XI, pp. 346-349 *ante*, I gave a tale about Râja Rasâlû, the great Skythian hero of Panjâb legendary lore. Subsequently General (Major) Abbott's paper on this hero in the *J. A. S. Beng.* for 1854, pp. 123-163, was brought to my notice. The paper is entitled, " On the Ballads and Legends of the Panjâb : *Rifacimento* of the Legend of Russaloo," and consists of a longish poem in English heroics, with notes on the legends the author had collected. General Abbott's tales were gathered apparently in what are now known as the Maṛhî (Murree) Hills, and therefore his poem represents the same vernacular version of the legends as do the MSS. given me by Mr. Delmerick, and referred to in vol. XI, page 347 *ante*. There are, I find, several versions in the Panjâb of the Rasâlû legends, both in Hindî and Panjâbî, and the use of General Abbott's for the present purpose is that it can be closely compared with that previously alluded to by myself. In many respects General Abbott's version is much fuller than mine, especially as to the names of the places and actors in the tales, and his great local knowledge has enabled him to clear up many difficulties of topography, which would have been otherwise hard to solve, but he rarely gives specimens of his originals, and when he does give any, they are very faulty philologically, nor was he always fortunate in catching the sounds of his words. Thus he calls our old friend Śâlivâhaṇa (whose Panjâbî names are Sâlhâhan, Sâlbâhan, Sâlibâhan or Sâhilwân), Sahl Byne and Sala Byne. He does, however, to use his own words (pp. 159-161), give one legend, "precisely as he took it from the lips of a minstrel when shut in by the snow in a rickety and dark bastion of one of the rude castles of the Dhoond[1] (Maṛhî) mountains." This tale happens to be the same as that I gave previously in this *Journal*, and in order to make my remarks on it as clear as possible I think it best to transcribe it here exactly as he tells it in his old-fashioned way of spelling the oriental words. Quoting him then word for word, he relates this tale as follows :—

" *Recitation.*

"Rajah Russaloo, son of Rajah Sala Byne, was sleeping in his tent in the castle of Sialkot, when the Panj Peer[2] appeared to him in a vision, and said :—

"' Go thou and slay the Rakuss.'[3]

"So the Rajah went to Ooda Nugr,[4] and,

[1] The Dhûnds are a tribe of converted Musalmâns living about the Maṛhî Hills in the Râwal Piṇḍî and Hazârâ Districts. See *Calcutta Review*, vol. LXXV, pp. 272-274 ; Wace, *Hazârâ Settlement Report*, 1876, pp. 58-59 ; Cracroft, *Râwal Piṇḍî Settlement Report*, 1875, §§ 218, 220, 226, 342-346.

[2] No doubt originally the *Panj Pîr*, or five saints, were the five holy persons, Muhammad, 'Âli, Fâtima, Hasan and Husain, but in modern Indian times they mean any five saints of fame known to the bard who is singing. In this case according to Abbott they are—(1), Bahâu'l-haqq (he calls him Bhawulnug) of Multân ; (2), Shâh Ruqâ-i-'âlam Hazrat of Lakhnau ; (3), Shâh Shams Tabriz of Multân ; (4), Makhdûm Jahâniâ Jahângasht of Multân ; (5), Bâbâ Shekh Farîdu'd-dîn Shakar Ganj of Pâkpattan. This may have arisen from a confusion with the *Châr Pîr*, from whom are supposed to be descended the modern saintly orders—*viz.* 'Ali and his successors in saintship, Khwâjâ Hasan Basrî, Khwâjâ Habîb 'Âzimî, 'Abdu'l-wâhid Kûfî. See Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islâm*, Madras Ed., 1863, page 190.

[3] *Râkhas* ; fem., *Râkhasnî* and *Râkhsî*, are the modern forms of *Râkshasa* and *Râkshasî*. They were evidently a race antagonistic to the heroes of Panjâbî legends, and perhaps in translations had best be called "giants" and "giantesses." See Abbott's account, page 150 and *ante*, vol. XI, p. 348.

[4] Adînagarî, Hodînagarî, 'Ohdenagarî : *ante*, vol. XI, p. 349, note 26, I have suggested Ohind opposite Aṭak on the Indus as its site. Abbott more than once says it is old Lâhor, but that seems impossible. At p. 148 he says there is a site called Ûdînagar on the right (west) bank of the river below Jhelam, where there are remains of a largish town with coins exclusively Hindû. The Bâr or forest in this tale being placed west of it, would seem to fix that as the site, at any rate, for these legends.

alighted at the abode of an ancient woman. She was cooking bread, but the whole of her *mohulla* (ward) was desolate, and sometimes she wept, and sometimes she sang. And in that city the inhabitants sent daily a buffalo, loaded with bread and a human victim to the Rakuss as his rations, otherwise he would have destroyed the city. And the Rakuss dwelt in the Barrh,[5] or wilderness, west of the city, and the Rajah addressed the woman thus :—(*Chaunted to music*).

Oochcheh mundul mata marria do russ killah bazâar,
Kye ra sub dur disn sukna kavur lisseh sunsar
Natoo rooh my booddiah, hunjoo na dul karr,
Jie rub rukh si terâ bêtêra my sîr deh sa char :—

" She replies :—

Sut bêtê Raja Jee, my jahch, kye n'h keeta kahj,
Aikulla betâ rehguya, oosdi bâri[6] *ahj.*
Neela ghorawallah shuksa, too moohndâri sir pug
Jereh zalum soohj deh aah! phira'*ni uj.*

" Then on the morrow Russaloo departed in company with the old woman's only remaining son, who was mounted on a pony, and who drove a buffalo laden with bread. And they reached the Neel Rao River,[7] and Russaloo stopped to bathe. And the sound of thunder was heard in the clear vault of heaven, and fell upon Russaloo and the child. And from the forest appeared a column of cloud stalking forward to the spot and lightnings and thunders proceeding from it. And it paused at the river-brink and an arm, huge as a palm-tree was stretched forth with its mighty hand to seize the youth. But Russaloo drew his sword and severed the hand from the arm. And the Rakuss uttered a dreadful roar and fled, and his brother and sister came to see what was the matter, and as they met their bleeding brother they saw Russaloo with his naked sword, and fear fell upon them because of a prophecy which said that the son of Sal Byne should destroy them, and one of them said to Russaloo—

Kahan toomhari vutn hy, quon nugri shihr, graon ?
" *Kis Rajah ka too bêtê ra, k'a toomhara nam ?*

To which Russaloo answers :—

Huz'rut Sîalkot ma wutn, woohi nugri, shihr, graon,
Sala Byn da my bêtê ra, Russaloo mera nam.

" The answer causes great dismay; nevertheless one of the brothers advances to the combat, but is slain by one of Russaloo's fatal arrows, and another, Pehoon,[8] is wounded, and flies to Gundgurh. Pugrputt[8] also flies, but being hotly pursued utters a spell, and is instantly enclosed in solid rock.

" And Russaloo saw in a dream that the Rakussnie Bêêra,[8] was concealed in the forest, and he came upon her with a drawn sword and compelled her to teach him the spell by which Pugrputt, her brother, might be drawn from the rock. And Russaloo muttered the spell and thunders-pealed and Pugrputt came forth, and Russaloo slew him with an arrow.

" And Bêêra said to Russaloo :—

" Behold, I am beautiful, make me thy wife."

" And Russaloo consented, and, as they walked with infolding arms round the caldron of boiling oil,[9] the Rakussnie who was very strong, tried to hurl Russaloo into the caldron but failed. And Russaloo hurled her in and cut off her head.

" And he mounted and rode to Gundgurh, whither the first Rakuss had fled. And the Rakuss Tera[8] burrowed in a cavern of Mount Pîr Than.[10] And when Russaloo found that he

However, Râjâ Sirikap's fort is shown as being at Koṭ Biṭhaur, near Aṭak, overlooking the Indus, *ante*, vol. XI, p. 349, note 26, and also at Mangalâ, a fort overlooking the Jhelam at the point where it leaves the Himâlayas: Abbott, pp. 130-151. So there is not much credit to be placed in the traditions.

[5] *Bâr* means what we should call "forest-land"; thickly wooded *jangal*, generally on riverain lands.

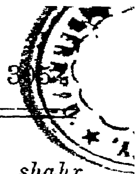
[6] Abbott has here an extraordinary footnote, "*Bari* is a peculiar word, denoting a lot of sheep or other animals for slaughter." *Bârî* here and elsewhere means "turn." "His turn is to-day," is the meaning of the passage. *Bâṛâ*, is a penfold; with dim. form *bâṛî*, a fence.

[7] The Nîlrâo River is probably the Indus at Bâgh Nîlâb, where it is very blue. My version makes these adventures all take place at the Nîlâ City. See *ante*, vol. XI, p. 347, note 18. Lately I have had reason to elieve that Nîlâ should be Śîlâ.

[8] The names of the Râkshasas are all in modern Panjâbî. Four males are mentioned and one female: viz., Chindiâ, Pagṛpat, Pîhûṅ, and Ṭeṛâ, with their sister Bîṛâ (most likely Bîṛâṅ, as Abbott frequently drops the final nasal *ṅ*). Chindiâ I take to be Chandiâ, the moon or glorious, Pagṛpat means lord of the household (*pagṛî*, literally, turban), thus, *sau pagṛâṅ dâ mâlik*, master of a hundred households, is a common phrase to express a great man: Pîhûṅ means a quarreller: *Ṭeṛâ*, means crooked; *bîṛâṅ lit.*, betel leaf, is a common name for beauty, the betel leaf being a conventional model of beauty. Abbott notes curiously (p. 150) that Terra is of Roman not Greek mythology, and could scarcely therefore have been transmitted to the Panjâb!

[9] "A nuptial ceremony of those days," says Abbott. If so, it is well worth remarking.

[10] Pîrṭhân, Saint's Abode, is the highest point of the Gandgaṛh Hills, 4500 ft.



could not get him forth he hung his terrible bow of steel[11] in the cavern's mouth. And whenever the Rakuss would come forth the sight of this bow sends him back howling to his retreat. And many who are living have heard his voice and I amongst others. It is like distant thunder. But the last twenty years it has almost if not wholly ceased.[12]

"And many other acts were performed by Russaloo contained in other traditions and songs, and the steed of Russaloo still stands caparisoned in a cavern at the summit of Mount Sirbonn,[13] waiting for his master."

All the verses quoted by Abbott are hard to follow, and are clearly very incorrectly recorded, and as incorrectly translated. I will here write down those already quoted, giving the words as I believe them to be in reality after much consultation with Panjâbîs who ought to know what they should be.

Rasâlû.

Uchchhe mandal, Mátá merîe, do rukh khilá bázár;
Khere sabh dúr dissan, sakhná korá disse sansár!
Ná tú ro, Mâî budhîe, hanjú ná dhalká:
Je Rabb rakhsî terá betrá,[14] *main sir desán chá.*

Budhiá.

Sat bete, Rájájî, main jáche;[15] *kaî na kîtá káj:*
Ikallá betá rah-gayá; us dî bárî áj.
Nîle-ghorewâliá shakhsá, tú múnh dárî, sir pag:
Jehre zálim sújh[16] *de, áh! phir ánî ajj.*

Rakhasán.

Kahán tumhârî watan hai? kaun nagarî shahr gráon?
Kis Rájá ká tú betrá? kyâ tumhárá náon?

Rasálú.

Hazrat Siálkot merá watan; wahî nagarî shahr gráon:
Sálibáhan dá main betrá; Rasúlú merá náon.

Rasálú.

Lofty palaces, mother mine, on both sides fort and *bázár*;
The people seem all absent; the world seems empty and blank!
Weep not, ancient mother, drop no tears;
If God will preserve thy boy, I will give my head (*for him*).

Old Woman.

Seven sons, Sir King, I bore, none have married.
One only son remains; his turn is to-day.
O man with the dark-grey horse, thou hast a beard on thy face, a turban on thy head:
The evil fate I dreaded, alas! comes again to-day.

Rákshasas.

Where is thy home? what thy town, city or village?
What king's son art thou? what is thy name?

Rasálû.

Holy Siâlkot is my home; that my town, city and village:
I am Sâlibâhan's son: Rasâlû is my name.

General Abbott gives besides the above

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[11] Abbott, p. 155, gives a good description of the formation of the ordinary Panjâbî bow. It is made of three pieces of mulberry wood; one for centre or handle, and two for the horns or ends. These are joined by springs consisting of slips of buffalo horn, and the whole bound tightly together with gut, then covered over with glue and varnished. They are wonderfully elastic and strong considering the materials, and are moreover handy and light.

[12] Gandgarh, Naked Fort, is a remarkable mountain of black clay slate capped with blue limestone about 30 miles long, and is the last through which the Indus cuts its way from the Himâlayas. It has always been an unusually strong place, and resisted the efforts of Nâdir Shâh, and afterwards of Hari Singh Nâlwâ. The bellowing or roaring of the mountain has been an established fact. It is described as being like distant thunder, and is of course put down to Terâ by the people. Humâyun mentions it, calling the hill Garjgarh, Thundering Fort. Abbott (pp. 152, 153, 158, 159), thus accounts for it. Gandgarh is the last mountain in the long deep trough of the Indus, in parts of which sounds reverberate and multiply as in a speaking trumpet, and the last wave of sound being reflected from Gandgarh appears to people in the plains to come from the mountain itself. About 150 miles above Gandgarh the Indus clove its way through gigantic cliffs, masses of which were always plunging into it, and creating waves of sound to be reflected on to the plains as Gandgarh's thunder. Gandgarh has not, however, spoken for many years (50 from present date), and this Abbott says can be accounted for by the cataclysm of 1839 (see Cunningham, *Ladák*, 1854, pp. 99-111), which has so cleared the sides of the Indus gorge as to prevent large masses of rock again falling into it for many years. Cunningham's account of the cataclysm and its causes hardly bears out this theory.

[13] Sirbhân, one of the peaks of Gandgarh.

[14] *Betrá*, little son, dim. from *betá*. In Panjâbî the termination *rá*, *rî* and *ar* are all diminutive. The following saying clearly shows this, "*wohtî to nahîn milî, par wohtrî láyá han*,—I found no bride, but have brought only a kind of bride," said by a disappointed bridegroom. My explanation of the *r*, *J. A. S. B.* vol. LI. p. 165 (*x*), is therefore incomplete. See Hoernle, *Gaudian Grammar*, p. 107, § 215, and pp. 123, 124, § 257.

[15] *Jáche*: this is a new word to me, but is a legitimate form in its obvious sense of "brought forth," if we admit it as a verb from the imported Persian word *zachá* or *zajá*, a lying-in woman, to be found in Panjâbî as *jachchán* and in Hindî as *jachá* and *jachchá*: in Persian *zachágî* is child-birth.

[16] *Lit.* the evil fate (*zálim*) of my sight. *Ante*, vol. XI, p. 348, the translation of *sújhanhárî sújh gae*, as "our fate has come," is rather free: literally it is "that which was to be seen has been seen."

several other verses, and one of them is this, "as the opening of a legend :—

Sawun, Sawun, too kahoh, pee, kurunta pee ;
Tainko Sawun k'a kurrêh, jin ghur n'h byl n'h bee ?"

And he translates it :—

"Harvest, harvest, dost thou sing Popeeia,[17] peeia pee ?
What, thou who hast nor ox nor seed, shall harvest do for thee ?"

In modern form these verses run thus :—

"*Sâwan,*[18] *Sâwan," tû kaho, Pî karantâ pî :*
Taiṅ ko Sâwan kyâ kare ? jin ghar na bail na bî.

And they could be translated in two ways; firstly :—

Sing "Rain, rain," cuckoo, calling *pî !*
What shall the rains do for thee ? in whose house is neither ox nor seed ?

Secondly :—

Sing "Rain, Rain," my beloved, calling my beloved :
What shall the rains do for thee ? in whose house is neither ox nor seed ?

Fallon, *New Hind. Dict. s. v. v. papîhâ* and *piyâ* gives a similar verse playing on the senses of *pî.*

Are, papaiyâ bâore ! to he samjhâve kaun ?
Pî mero, maiṅ pîû kî, tû pî pî kare so kaun ?

Out on thee, silly cuckoo! who hath taught thee this ?
My beloved is mine and I am my beloved's: who is he thou art calling my beloved (*pî*) ?

Again, our author quotes a triplet from the sayings of one Pîlû, a poet of those parts, whose verses are still in the minds of the peasants and bards according to him.

"*Peeloo churria Gundgurh, nuzr kurreh kulloh ;*
Age bhuggeh Sind Rania, pichpkeh bhuggeh Hurroh.
Chuch Bunnarr Sumundur ki, jo bheejeh so hoh.

Peeloo climbed Gundgurh and stood gazing,
Before him rolled Queen Sind, behind him flowed Hurroh.
Chuch Bunnarr like the ocean, whatever you sow there will spring up."

These I would write and translate thus :—

Pîlû charhiâ Gandgarh, nazar kare khalo :
Agge bagge Sindh Rániâ, pichchhe bagge Haro.
Chach banâ[19] *samundar sî, jo bîje so ho.*

Pîlû climbed Gandgarh and stood gazing.
Queen Sindh flowed before him, behind him flowed Haro.[20]
The Chach appeared as the ocean, (*where*) what is sown springs up.[21]

Lastly, General Abbott, in remarking that the bards have a way of prefacing their recitations with long strings of aphorisms unconnected with their tales, makes the following quotation, the major part of which is misquoted, and very little correctly rendered. His words and translations are as follows :—

"*Ulla dehwari. Uvl bôoti Pândoon, pheer booti Jusrut,*
"*Mairi mairi kur gyêe," toor kisi nuggeh hut,*
Sumbhul ki, to buddia kia ? kooah jis ki mooshk nhvass.
Gidr ko, to, sut nhvye, jis da nhkul, nh mahss.
Puttr ko, to, pâlâ kia ? khoosrê ko kur wass ?
Undê ko chanoon kia ? toorreh deveh bullun panjahss.
Mooroob manoo admi hust mooeeka (wuh) mahss.
Sussoo bahj nh sahoreh, huldi bahj nh mahss.
Bahj subooneh, khapra, trieh t'hohk n'h rahss.
Uk n'h kurrieh dundna, sup n'h khyeh mahss.
Narr n'h kurrieh lahdleh, nh hassoh kurreh bunahss.
Jummeh si, to, sut guz, bur jo bun guz to charr,
Piu, pootre, mojah lehguya do-no aik sh' narr.
Kooloo koot'rr lehguya, chukkî lehguya khân.
Taili kâti ninglia, chourasi hurff graon."

With the preliminary remark that he cannot answer for more than the general accuracy of the translation because the bards themselves can never explain and frequently misquote to such an extent as to render themselves unintelligible,[22] he translates as follows, but he

[17] The *papîhâ*, the black and white crested cuckoo, according to Fallon, *s. v.*; the sparrow-hawk, according to Bate, *Hindî Dict.*, *s. v.* The name being onomatopœtic, it might well stand for either. According to Abbott's remarks (p. 156) he means by it the golden oriole (*pîlak*).

[18] *Sâwan* is July-August, the wet month, when the crops most benefit by the rain: harvest, as Abbott has it, is in the following month, *Bhâdoṅ*, August-September, during which every native prays for dry weather, as many a proverb and saying shows.

[19] *banâ sî*, Panj., is *banâ thâ*, Hindî: became, was like.

[20] The Haro river is a feeder of the Indus running about 90 miles through the Hazârâ and Râwal Pindî Districts, and joining the Indus near Aṭak.

[21] Alluding to the flat and fertile appearance of the Chach Plain from Gandgarh. It is the scene of the struggle between Mahmûd of Ghaznî and Prithvî Râj.

[22] Every one who takes down verses direct from the bards finds this. Personally I have long given up stopping a bard to explain or correct a passage: to do so is simply to confuse him. The only thing to do is to let him go on in his own way, and try and piece together unintelligible passages as best one can afterwards. Strict attention to the literal sense and excluding secondary senses is the surest way to get at the real meaning.

has sometimes completely misunderstood the sense. The last four verses are nonsense from any view as they stand, and natives explain them allegorically.

" First were the Pandoos, after them the Jusrut.[23]
Each said "the world remains mine own."
Yet none remains to either of you.
What harm is there in arsenic, or in the well whose odour is rotten ?[24]
Spare to beat the jackal, that hath nor hide nor flesh.
What careth the rock for frost ? The eunuch for matrimony ?
To the blind what profiteth the lamp, tho' you should light fifty.
Man is an ignorant compound of hair and flesh.[25]
The mother-in-law without her son-in-law,[26] meat without *huldi*,
Clothes without soap, these three things are amiss.
Bring not the swallow-wort to your teeth.[27]
Eat not the flesh of snakes.
Weep not despondently, nor laugh over much.[28]
Born an infant of seven ells, would you grow into a man of four ?
The father hath entered his son's boots, one measure serves for both.[29]
The dog hath run off with the sugar press, the *Khân* hath seized the millstone.[30]
The worm hath eaten the saddle of the village of 84 figures (in letters).[31]"

These lines I would quote, and render thus:—

Allâ de wârî! Awwal bûṭî Pâṇḍûṅ pher bûṭî Jasrath.
"Merî, merî" kar gae, toṛ kisî na â gae hath.
Sumbal kî to baḍiâî kyâ, kahîye jis kî na mushk na wâs ?
Gidr ko to saṭ na hoîye, jis dâ na khal na mâs.
Patthar ko to pâlâ kyâ ? khusre ko gharwâs ?
Andhe ko chânun kyâ ? torîṅ dîwe ballan panjâs ?
Mûrakh mâno âdmî hast mûe kâ mâs.
Sassû bâjh na sauhre ; haldî bâjh na mâs ;
Bâjh sabûn na kapṛâ : tre thok na vâs.
Akk na karye dandnâ ; sap na khâye mâs ;
Nâr na karye lâḍlî, na hâsoṅ kare binâs !
Jamme sî to saṭh gaz, bhar joban gaz to châr :
Piû putre maujâṅ legayâ donoṅ iksî nâr.
Kaulû kuttar legayâ, chakkî legayâ kahâṅ ?
Telî kaṭṭî nigaliâ ; chaurâsî harf garâṅ.

God be praised ! The first race was Pâṇḍû ; the second race was Jasrath.
Each claimed (*the earth*) as his ; in the end it came into no one's hand.
What is the value of the cotton tree, in which men say, is nor smell nor scent ?
Let not the jackal be killed, which has nor skin nor flesh (*of any use*).
What is frost to a stone ? matrimony to a eunuch ?
What is lamplight to the blind, even though you light fifty lamps ?
An ignorant man is like the (*useless*) flesh of a dead elephant.
Let not the bride's home be without the bride's mother ; let not flesh be without turmeric ;
Let not clothes be without soap ; these three things are amiss.
Use not the swallow-wort for a tooth-brush ; eat not the flesh of snakes ;

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[23] Abbott more than once notes curiously that the Pâṇḍû rule preceded the Jasrath in the Panjâb. Pâṇḍû was of the Lunar race, and Jasrath is the modern form of Daśaratha, the father of Râmachandra of the Solar race. The bard probably refers vaguely to the two great races of Epic heroes. Chronologically if there be any real chronology in this matter—I fancy Daśaratha must have been anterior to Pâṇḍû.

[24] A complete mistranslation. Grammatically Abbott's *kooah* must stand for *kahîye*, they say, men say, *on dit.* At p. 131, footnote, Abbott mentions the *sumbal* or cotton-tree, which makes his misapprehension here all the more remarkable. The line is literally, "what indeed is the value of the cotton-tree, of which, they say, is neither smell nor scent?"

[25] *Lit.*, the flesh of a dead elephant (*i.e.* something absolutely useless) is like an ignorant man.

[26] *Lit.*, let not the bride's house be without the bride's mother. The Indian son-in-law looks chiefly to his wife's mother for affection of all her relatives. Abbott explains, "alluding to the custom of treating the mother-in-law with marked tenderness and affection," but this is incomplete.

[27] *Akk* or *âk* is the *asclepias gigantea* or large swallow-wort. It has an acrid and blistering milk. The universal Indian toothbrush is a twig of the *nîm* tree (*melia indica*) or *babûl* (*kîkaṛ*) tree (*acacia arabica*).

[28] A curious mistranslation. *Lit.*, make not thy wife a darling that she may not ruin thee by laughing. It expresses a universal sentiment among the Panjâbî lower orders, and is a very widely known verse.

[29] I read this to translate, "she was born indeed sixty yards, at full youth (she was) indeed four yards: father and son both enjoyed the same wife." I take it to be one of those riddles natives are so fond of, with the answer, "*chhâyâ*, shadow." The natives say the morning and evening shadow of a tree is sixty yards, "*sâṭh gaz.*"

[30] *Lit.*, the words mean, "the little dog took away the small brass bowl, where has he taken the sweet-cake?" but they appear to have no sense in the context.

[31] *Lit.*, the little she-buffalo swallowed up the oil-maker, the village of 84 letters. I fancy really this last couplet is of the riddle nature, the three last words being the answer: *chaurâsî jûnâ*, the 84 (lâkhs of) lives is a common expression for transmigration of souls. The couplet is, however, from any view confused. The turning of the oil-maker into his buffalo would be a just retribution, the life of the latter being universally and justly upheld as the personification of hard and thankless toil for another's benefit.

Make not thy wife a darling, lest she destroy thee with dalliance.
She (*the shadow*) was at birth sixty yards, at full youth four yards;
Father and son both enjoyed the same wife.
The dog has taken away the brass bowl, whither has he taken the sweet cake?
The buffalo has swallowed the oil-maker; (*this is*) the transmigration of souls.

TRANSLATION OF TWO BRIEF BUDDHIST SÛTRAS FROM THE TIBETAN.[1]

BY W. W. ROCKHILL.

The two *Sûtras*, of which I offer the following translation from the Tibetan, serve to show, in a certain measure, that Buddhist literature is in reality a comparatively meagre one, if we take into consideration the immense collection devoted to it extant at the present time.

I might have taken a hundred other *Sûtras* in the Tibetan *Bkah-hgyur* that would have equally well served my purpose; but these are especially commendable, because they are short. It must have struck every one who has read any number of Buddhist works how the same stereotyped phrases, the same similes, occur on every page, and that one *Sûtra* differs from another only by slight changes introduced into these stock phrases, and by a selection suited to the text of the sermon. Take the *Dhammapada*, the *Sutta Nipâta*, or the Tibetan *Udânavarga*, and you will find the substance of nearly every *Sûtra* in the canon; these works have probably been used as compendiums from which the long diffuse *Sûtras* like the *Lalita Vistara*, or the *Prajñâ Pâramita*, have been derived; but turn to whichever work one will, one finds the same sentiments, the same old precepts of the *Dhammapada* and other like works.

I do not claim that these works are in themselves among the oldest of Buddhist literature; on the contrary, they cannot have been composed until after the Dharma had been taught for a long while; but they certainly contain the best authenticated versions of the sayings of the Buddha Gautama.

The founder of Buddhism addressed himself to the masses of the people, to the learned and to the ignorant; and to all he taught, not an elaborate system, but a few irrefutable truths; in some cases, even, he enables a hopelessly stupid person to perceive the truth by the simple performance of some manual labour, or by the constant repetition of one word; but generally he teaches them to repeat a few lines which contain that portion of the doctrine best suited to their intelligence. Frequently the triviality of the simile struck their untutored minds, and in every case the verses were so short that it required but little application to commit them to memory.

"He who, though he can only recite a few lines (of the law), walks in the way of the law, and has forsaken passion, anger, and ignorance, he has a share in the priesthood" (*Udânavarga*, iv, 23; *Dhammapada*, 20).

It is these oft-repeated aphorisms that have served as the basis of the greater part of the *Sûtras*, which were set down in writing long after the death of the Buddha; and it is unquestionably a proof of the estimation in which they were held, to find them everywhere repeated, or so slightly altered that we cannot help detecting the source from which they are taken.

For these reasons, I think that wherever we see these aphorisms, we may take them as the utterances of the Buddha, with much greater probability than any other part of the works we may have before us. The two following *Sûtras* are therefore worth notice, for they are undoubtedly compilations. It is remarkable that, beside *Sûtras* like these, in which moral virtues are so highly exalted, we find passages like the following, taken from the *Brahmâjâla Sûtra*: "Bhikshus, all those foolish beings who have not heard (the law) speaking in praise of the Tathâgata, only speak of trifles, such as morality (*śîla*), and of the removing of desires by seclusion" (*Bkah-hgyur, Mdo*, xxx. f. 110b).

The explanation of this discrepancy seems to lie in the fact that morality, charity, good-will, &c., were the foundation—indispensable, it is true—the preliminary steps, of him who would

[1] From the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May 1883.

reach perfect enlightenment, who would become a Buddha. The omniscience of which the Buddha was possessed made the more humble virtues sink into insignificance—in the case mentioned in the *Brahmâjâla*, at least.

Morality—that is to say, keeping the ten or the six commandments binding on a mendicant or on a lay follower—was a virtue essential to all beings, and was a source of great future felicity; but this only required to be impressed upon the ignorant crowd; and to such were these sermons or "trifles" spoken.

I have endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the style of the *gâthâs* forming the latter part of the *Maitrîbhâvana Sûtra*, which appears to me to have been something like a song.

This *Sûtra* gains especial interest from the fact that it is one of a rather numerous class of *Sûtras* which were translated into Tibetan directly from Pâli, as we are informed by the colophon, which says that "it was translated in the Mahâvihâra, in the island of Ceylon, by the great paṇḍit Ânandaśrî and the *bahusrutya lotsava*, the bhikshu of Śakya, Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtsan dpal-bzang-po (*Sûryadhvaja Śrîbhadra ?*), who (both of them) understood the two languages (Pâli and Tibetan or Sanskrit)."

1. *BHIKSHU PRAREJU SÛTRA.*

In the language of India, *Bhikshu prarêju sûtra*; in the language of Bod (Tibet), *Dg-e slong-la rab-tu gches-pai mdo* (the *sûtra* called 'very agreeable to a bhikshu').

Praise be to him who knows all!

I once heard the following discourse, while the Blessed One was residing in the Phullapadma *vihâra* in the great city of Śrâvastî, accompanied by a retinue of twelve hundred and fifty bhikshus.

Then it happened that from amidst the retinue of the Blessed One, the *Ariya* called Upâli, whose senses were well controlled, who was attentive, whose wisdom was profound, who was particularly esteemed on account of the way in which he could recite the disciplinary rules that had been set forth by the Blessed One, rising up from his mat, throwing his cloak over one shoulder, touched the ground with his right knee with hands joined over his breast, and smilingly said to Bhagavat: "Thou who, like a lotus, art free from the mire of the world, thou who art unshaken as a mountain, whose mighty body is adorned with the ornaments of symmetry and beautified with the flowers of signs, thou whom one gazes at unwearyingly, who art the best of the best, thee do I worship!

We who are here gathered together, all of us bhikshus, we beseech the Mighty One to tell us these four things: 1, the nature of a bhikshu; 2, the different kinds (of bhikshu); 3, what constitutes (this condition); 4, the deportment (of a bhikshu)."

Then the Conqueror, the Blessed One, well pleased, turned toward Upâli and said: "Give thou only ear, Upâli, and I will satisfy you by explaining what is becoming in bhikshus.

The real bhikshu, being the chief ornament of the Law, the real bhikshu is a living diamond.

The real bhikshu, having cast off suffering, the real bhikshu is the son of the Conqueror.

The real bhikshu, having destroyed all corruption, the real bhikshu goes to the garden of freedom.

The bhikshu controlling (*or* who controls) his whole nature, knowing the four fundamental (truths), and observing the two hundred and fifty (rules of the *Prâtimôksha*[2]), is pure and virtuous.

There are many kinds of bhikshus: the signs and characteristics of the real bhikshu, of him to whom that name only really applies, are these:

He who seeks for virtue (*dge-slong*=bhikshu), and who seeks for his food by begging, who is dispassionate, who walks in the way, whose life is correct, who has cast off passions, he, on account of these qualities, is a bhikshu.

The real bhikshu is adorned, for having cast away (worldly) ornaments, he is well adorned. He has attained his great desire when he has cast off desires.

The mendicant who cares about unguents, baths, choice food, jewels, (fine) garments, collyrs, horses, elephants, palanquins, waggons and carriages, for which he ought not to care, is not a (real) bhikshu."

Then Upâli said to the Blessed One: "What the Sugata has said is obscure; I beseech the Sugata to illuminate with the light of his words the obscurity of his (previous) sayings."

Then the Blessed One said:

"He who has cast far away gold and all the other ornaments of the world, and who is merciful, he is adorned with the most precious of ornaments.

Not the garments of the world, but the garment of the doctrine, the saffron-coloured gown, is the best of raiment.

It is not camphor and such like, but morality, that is the best of unguents.

[2] There are 253 rules in the *Bhikshu Prâtimôksha* and 373 in the *Bhikshunî P.* in the Tibetan version. The Chinese *Prâtimôksha* has 250 rules.

It is not white, red, or such like, but faith, that is the most beautiful colour.

It is not worldliness, but application, that is the best and swiftest conveyance.

Contemplation and the practice of the Law is the best food, and has a sweeter aroma than boiled rice.

They who in the abode of the community are dispassionate, who are content with a single mat, come not back again (to this world), they are truly bhikshus.

They who, weary of the three perfections[3] (*pradhâna*) and their accompaniment, become hermits, and (take up) cool dwelling places, their bodies, speech, and minds all well controlled, knowing the proper way to comport themselves, they are truly bhikshus.

Both of these (kinds of bhikshus) arrive at the city of freedom, where they enjoy the perfect happiness of freedom.[4]

He who scoffs at the alms-bowl and the other (possessions of a bhikshu), will be plunged in hell in molten bronze for four thousand *kalpas*.

To some morality (*śîla*) brings happiness, to others morality (*i.e.* the want of morality) is a source of suffering.

He who has morality has the greatest blessing. He who acts against morality is in misery.

He who has brought himself to perfectly observe morality, the appearance of that man is beautiful.

He has nearly conquered, I consider, the man who has learnt morality; for in a single day he acquires an incalculable amount of merit, which vies with the fruit of enlightenment (*bôdhi*).

He who convinces himself that he understands the spirit of the Law (*lit.* the sign of victory) of the Sugata, when he is not keeping the precepts of the Law, that man is only devoted to form (*rûpa*);[5] that bhikshu I consider like a mad bull held by a hair, or like one who drinks acids rather than sweets. That man sows in a single day innumerable seeds of wickedness, and does himself all kinds of injuries.

He who keeps not the *śîla* precepts, who, though not keeping the precepts, (thinks) that he comprehends rightly the Law of the Sugata, who approves of the saying that one can hold on to form (*rûpa*) and to a home (life), that man, not keeping the precepts, perceives not the characteristics that mark all worldly (existence) as essentially connected with sorrow; so all the utterances of that man are evil.

The live trunk of a tree can send forth shoots for a long time; so that man will talk for a long time the language of sin, and will greatly add to his wicked works.[6]

Morality is the greatest happiness! Morality is the road to freedom! Morality is the field of perfection! Morality is the foundation of enlightenment! Morality is the chief of good things! Watch over morality as over the apple of your eye, for life is at stake! He who renounces it, unwise, foolish is he!

All things that are born have but a limited existence; but morality has no such future.[7]

Therefore, Upâli and all you other disciples, watch well over these laws."

When the Blessed One had thus spoken, Upâli and the bhikshus greatly extolled his teaching.

The sûtra called *Bhikshu prareju* is finished.[8]

2. *MAITRIBHÂVANA SÛTRA.*

In the language of India, *Maitrîbhâvana sûtra* in the language of Bod, *Byams-pa bsgom-pai mdo* ('the *sûtra* on showing good will').

Glory to the blessed Triratna!

This discourse I once heard, while the Blessed One was stopping at Śrâvastî, at Jîtâvana, in the grove of Anathapiṇḍika. It happened that the Blessed One called the Bhikshus to him; and when they were in the presence of the lord Bhagavat, he spoke to them as follows:

"To thoroughly emancipate the mind, one must show good will; to steadfastly keep it in one's thought, one must show it to many; one must be dispassionate, one must make it a fundamental law, one must strictly adhere to it; to this accustom yourselves, devote yourselves.

There are eleven blessings (attached to good will) which I will explain. They are as follows: one sleeps peacefully, one awakes peacefully, one has no bad dreams, men delight in him, supernatural beings delight in him, the gods protect him, fire or poison or the sword harm him not, his mind is always happy, his countenance is beaming, he will die with his mind at peace, through his righteous deeds he will be born in the world of Brahmâ.

Bhikshus, steadfastly keep the thought of good will in your minds, practise it, show it to many, be dispassionate, make it your fundamental law, strictly adhere to it, to this accustom yourselves, devote yourselves. These then are the eleven blessings.

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[3] *Gtso-bo gsum*: this most likely means Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha, but in a very restricted sense.

[4] They attain arhatship or *klêśanirvâna*.

[5] "If one has heard little, but does carefully observe the moral laws, he, because he honours the moral laws, is the best kind of hearer."—*Udânavarga*, xxii, 8.

[6] Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 338.

[7] Or it may be rendered: "He who is born has a limited life, but he who observes the *śîla* precepts has no such future."

[8] Taken from the *Bkah-hgyur*, xxvith vol. of the *Mdo*, f. 189,192.

Bhikshus, I will tell you of yet other blessings that good will brings:
He lives with food and drink in plenty,
Which he finds near at hand,
He lives in the midst of great abundance,
The man who is not without good will.
Where'er he goes within the town,
Be it in the city or in the royal palace,
Everywhere he meets with honour,
The man who is not without good will.
To him thieves and robbers come not,
To him the king does no harm,
He is a friend to all creation,
The man who is not without good will.
Free from anger, he happily lives at home;
To mankind there shines no such pleasing vane,
But he is better than them all,
The man who is not without good will.
He who shows honour, honour he will find,
He who bows, to him shall others bow,
Glory and fame shall he find,
The man who is not without good will.
He who is respectful, respect he shall find,
Reverence comes to him who shows it,
He will have the bloom of health,
The man who is not without good will.
He shines as does a blazing fire,
His body like that of some (bright) god;
He will not lose his wealth,
The man who is not without good will.
Great will be the herds,
Great the grain in the field,
Many the sons and the daughters,
Of the man who is not without good will.
Falls he from off the mountain-top,
Or falls he from off a tree,
He drops not, but (gently) reaches the earth,
The man who is not without good will.
The man who climbs a *phata* (? or *tála*) tree,
Cannot be shaken by the wind,
So enemies cannot bring to harm,
The man who is not without good will."

When the Blessed One had thus spoken, the Bhikshus greatly extolled his teaching.

The *sûtra* on showing good will is finished.

(*Bkah-hgyur, Mdo*, xxx. f. 575, 576.

MISCELLANEA.

NAGAPATAM BUDDHIST IMAGES.

SIR,—In the VIIth volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (1878), at pp. 224-227, Sir Walter Elliot has published a paper, entitled *The Edifice known as the Chinese or Jaina Pagoda at Negapatam*, in which he describes the ruined tower once in the vicinity of the Jesuit College there, and alludes to several Buddhist idols found by the Jesuit Missionaries under the roots of a Mohwâ tree, which was cut down in 1856.

On reading it I have been struck by some mistakes, which, I think, it will be interesting to correct.

As regards the author's account of the tower and of the discovery of the images, I have nothing to object, the second part being the translation of a paper communicated by M. Ph. Ed. Foucaux to the *Athenée Oriental*, and by Baron Textor de Ravisi to the Academic Society of St. Quentin. But the author says, at page 226: "M. Foucaux adds that one of the idols has been retained in the college, and that the fifth had been sent to the Rev. T. Carayon in Paris, but he does not state what became of the remaining three. One of these is almost identical with that figured for our article (fig. 3), differing only in the absence of the square pedestal bearing the inscriptions, which, however, forms a separate piece from the lotus stand common to both, and in the disposition of the mantle, which is pendent from the left shoulder only and not from both as in ours. The left hand, also, is held up, instead of pointing downwards. In all other respects they are identical."

"It is probable that these three (figs. 5, 6, 7) have been deposited in the Academy of St. Quentin, and that the one retained by the Fathers is that which was given to Lord Napier."

I can supply some information about the statues. Of the five, two have been brought to the Rev. T. Carayon in Paris (and not one only) by the Baron Textor de Ravisi himself, one bronze statue and that in porcelain and clay alluded to in the article of Sir Walter Elliot. Two, those under numbers 5 and 6, were given to M. Textor de Ravisi by the Missionaries; of these he gave that numbered 5 to M. Ph. Ed. Foucaux, and it will soon be published as an illustrative plate in the new translation of the *Lalita Vistara* in the volume VI of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*; the other, the bronze standing image is still, I think, in M. de Ravisi's possession. The fifth was retained by the Fathers, as stated by Sir Walter Elliot, but it was not given to Lord Napier, for M. Textor de Ravisi says—in a note to a paper issued some years ago (I don't know the date), in answer to the critics of the paper in the *Travaux* of the Academic Society of St. Quentin, entitled *Interpretations d'Antiques Idoles Bouddhiques*—"By a letter of the 7th September 1860 the Missionaries also gave me the fifth Buddha. I sent it to a relation of mine,

M. Elie Pajot, landowner in Réunion Island, and Member of the Société des Arts et des Sciences of that Island."

As regards the statue numbered 7 in the plate accompanying his article, Sir Walter Elliot is entirely mistaken. First, this image was not found at Negapatam, but it was taken by a captain of Sipahis out of a shrine under the Colossal Buddha statue in the Shwē-Dagon-Prah at Rangun, after the conquest of the city by the English troops, during the Burmese war in 1824, and acquired for M. de Ravisi from the heirs of the captain by M. Alling, police inspector in Karikal, as stated in the same paper of M. Textor de Ravisi. Sir Walter Elliot has certainly been led into this error by a misunderstanding of M. Textor de Ravisi's communication before the International Oriental Congress, held in London in 1874, or perhaps he had forgotten, after some years had elapsed, that there were two different papers in the *Travaux* of the Academic Society of St. Quentin, the one relating to the idols of Negapatam, the other to the said Burmese image.

He also says at page 227 : "No. 7 appears to be a female devotee of very rude workmanship." Here, also, Sir Walter Elliot is mistaken, though, in that case, he follows the interpretations of M. Textor de Ravisi, who thinks the statue may represent Mayâ-Dêvî, the mother of Gautama Buddha.[1]

It would be needless to follow the author in the discussion of the reasons he gives for considering this statue as Mayâ-Dêvî ; he finds them in the various parts of the figure, and refers principally to a tradition, preserved in the family of the captain of sipahis, that the idol was worshipped in Shwē-Dagon-Prah under the name of the Virgin and Mother of Buddha. Those conclusions we cannot accept, for the following reasons :—

The said statue is now in the Musée Guimet Collection, at Lyons, having been given to M. Guimet by M. Textor de Ravisi four years ago. It stands in the gallery of the first floor, first room, in the lower range of the case 3 A. The image is thus described in the new edition of the *Catalogue* at p. 63 :—

"Çâkya-Mouni debout, vêtu d'une grande robe et d'un manteau, la main droite étendue sur la poitrine, la gauche pendant vers la terre et tenant le bord du manteau. Marbre peint; hauteur 0·700mm. (avec le socle). Provenant de Rangoon, Birmanie."

The statue has been carefully examined by M. Guimet and myself, and by our native collaborators MM. Panditileke and Lewis da Sylva, Buddhist priests of Ceylon, M. Y. Ymäyzoumi, a scholar of the Buddhist Singon sect in Japan, and quite recently by M. Louis Vossiou, the present General-Consul of France at Rangun, and their unanimous opinion was that it represented the exact features of the Gautama Buddha of the Burmese.

As regards M. de Ravisi's interpretation I objected in the following terms in a letter that I wrote to him on the 5th of June 1883 :—

"I cannot agree with the opinion that our statue represents the Mother of Buddha :

"*1st.* Because there is no trace anywhere of worship paid to Mayâ-Dêvî, except perhaps, according to Dr. Edkins in *Religion in China*, by the Eastern Mongols, who worship the Mother of Buddha under the name of Ehe Borrhan. But such worship of a woman is quite contradictory to all Buddhist tenets, who place women in a quite inferior rank, so as to oblige them to be reborn as men before they can hope to attain to *Nirvâṇa*.

"*2nd.* Because, though the features of the face are somewhat those of a woman, they are identical, notwithstanding, with those generally given to Gaudama, as illustrated by numerous other representations of the same personage, the face being intended to represent that of a young man of about eighteen.

"*3rd.* Because the conical ornament on the top of the forehead is by no means a flame, but the *Uśnisha*, the sacred elevation of the forehead peculiar to the Buddhas when they have attained to *Bodhi*.

"*4th.* Because the equality of length in the fingers of the hands and feet is a particular characteristic of a Buddha,—one of the thirty-two external characters by which he is to be recognised as soon as born.

"*5th.* Because there is absolutely nothing in the general form of the body to allow us to conclude that it is that of a woman, the garments differing in no way from those of other images of Buddha in Burma, Siam, and Kamboja."

We, therefore, hold the said statue to be that of Śâkya Muni, the Gaudama Buddha of the Burmese. Nevertheless, in order to settle entirely this question we prayed M. Louis Vossiou to try, in Rangun, to ascertain from the priests of the Shwē-Dagon-Prah whether, at any time, there was in that Pagoda an image of Mayâ-Dêvî, and whether any worship was ever paid to her.

DE MILLOUÉ,
Directeur du Musée Guimet à Lyon.
Lyons, 1883.

[1] *Mémoire sur l'idole de la Vierge de la Pagode de Shoē-Dagon-Prah à Rangoon*, pp. 43, 44.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE SACRED BOOKS of the EAST, Edited by F. MAX MÜLLER: Volume XIX.—The FO-SHO-HING-TSAN-KING,—A Life of Buddha, by Aśvaghosha Bodhisattva; translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha, A.D. 420, and from Chinese into English by SAMUEL BEAL. (Oxford: 1883).

The publication of the *Sacred Books* proceeds apace,—nineteen volumes having been issued and four more announced as being in the press.

The volume by Prof. Beal adds another to the various *Lives* of Buddha we now possess in English, translated from Tibetan, Burmese, and Chinese sources. The translator, in his introduction, mentions that he had first begun upon a translation of the *Phu yao kiṅg*, an early Chinese version of the *Lalita-vistara*, made by a monk whose name was also Dharmaraksha, in A.D. 308,[1] but from the corruptness of the text and the turgidness of the style, this had to be given up when about three-fourths complete. It is, he tells us, in eight chapters, and belongs to the expanded class of *Sûtras*. In it "the story of Buddha's life is told from his birth to his death, but in the exaggerated and wearisome form peculiar to the works of this (expanded) school. It would seem as if the idea of merit attaching to the reproduction of every word of the sacred books had led the later writers, not only to reproduce the original, but to introduce, by an easy but tiresome method, the repetition of a simple idea under a multitude of verbal forms, and so secure additional merit." Of this work he has given us a good sample in a long note (pp. 344-371) appended to the present volume.

The introduction further contains some interesting details on the divisions of Buddhism, the formation of the Northern schools, a list of the various *Lives* of Buddha in Chinese, of which he enumerates fourteen, the earliest being the *Fo-pen-hiṅg-kiṅg* or *Buddhacharita-sûtra* of Aśvaghôsha(?) translated by Fâ-lân in A.D. 68; and to this he adds remarks on the value of the Chinese translations.

Aśvaghôsha Bôdhisattva, the author of the original Sanskrit work the *Buddhacharita-kâvya*, was the twelfth Bauddha patriarch[2] and a contemporary of the great king Kanishka[3] who probably ruled in the end of the first century. He was a native of Śrâvastî, and a Brâhman by birth, but was converted to Buddhism, and travelled about as a musician and preacher, and seems to have been the popular hymn writer of the Buddhists.

The Sanskrit MSS. of the *Buddhacharita*, however, break off at the end of the 17th section or *varga*, after the account of the conversion of Mahâkâśyapa, whereas the Chinese version contains 11 *vargas* more, continuing the story down to the division of the *Śarîras*, and Prof. Beal thinks this may arise from our Sanskrit MSS. being incomplete, rather than that the additions were made by some other writer before the Sanskrit work was carried to China.

Like all other Oriental Lives of Buddha, it dwells on his teaching with a tiresome amount of reiteration. Written five centuries after the death of the Founder, the body of the discourses put into his mouth in this work must be regarded as apocryphal, but the doctrines they contain are none the less the legitimate outcome of his teaching. "There are many passages throughout the poem of great beauty," even in its Chinese dress, the translator remarks: "There is also much that is dry and abstruse, yet we cannot doubt that in that day and among those people, the 'great poem' of Aśvaghôsha must have had considerable popularity. Hence the translations of it are numerous." As a specimen of the tone of this Buddhist writer we may quote the following passage from *Varga* 19 (vv. 1543-47) describing the meeting of king Śuddhôdana with his son, after the latter had assumed the rôle of a Buddha:—

"Furthermore, he [Śuddhôdana Râja] thought with himself how he had long ago desired (this interview) which had now happened unawares (without arrangement). Meantime, his son in silence took a seat, perfectly composed and with unchanged countenance (1543). Thus, for some time sitting opposite each other, with no expression of feeling (the king reflected thus): 'How desolate and sad does he now make my heart, as that of a man who, fainting, longs for water upon the road, espies a fountain pure and cold (1544) with haste he speeds towards it and longs to drink, when suddenly the spring dries up and disappears. Thus, now I see my son, his well-known features as of old (1545); But how estranged his heart! and how his manner high and lifted up! There are no grateful overflowings of soul, his feelings seem unwilling to express themselves; cold and vacant (there he sits)! and like a thirsty man before a dried-up fountain (so am I) (1546). Still distant, thus (they sat) with crowding thoughts rushing through the mind, their eyes full-met, but no responding joy; each looking at the other seemed as one who, thinking of a distant friend, gazes by accident upon his pictured form." (1547).

This scene pictures with studied clearness

[1] For the contents of this work see Sénart's *Légende du Buddha*, p. 497 n.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, pp. 141-144; vol. IX, pp. 149, 316; vol. XI, p. 49; Beal's *Abst. of Four Lectures*, pp. 95 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, pp. 59-63, 207 n.; vol. IV, p. 362; vol. VI, p. 218; vol. IX, p. 259; vol. X, pp. 213-227; vol. XI, p. 129.

how Buddhism deals with natural affections. It represents, in this direction, its highest achievement in the example of the Buddha himself, "the Perfect being," "the blessed One," and the picture is not an attractive one; Buddhism aims, not at purifying all human feeling, but at destroying some of the best impulses of humanity. Nor is this the only instance of the kind: the student of Bauddha literature can point to many such; yet we find Mr. Arnold in the preface to his *Light of Asia* stating, with most unwarranted assurance, that "the Buddhistical books agree in the one point of recording nothing—no single act or word, which mars the perfect purity and tenderness of this Indian teacher." While such very exaggerated statements are contradicted by the most trustworthy records, it still however remains that the singular beauty and attractiveness of Buddha's character "warrant us in ranking him as among the greatest and noblest of men,—one who lived and laboured, however mistakenly, in order that he might, if possible, lighten the miseries of his fellow-men."[4] Beautiful as his ethical aphorisms are, in the estimation of those who have been brought up amid the culture and civilization of the west, their potential efficacy can only be inferred from the practical operation of the system in Nepâl, Tibet, China, Siam, and other lands where it has had a fair and prolonged trial; and the result is well known to be a very sad one.

This volume of Professor Beal's forms a valuable contribution to the materials hitherto at our disposal for the study of the doctrines of Northern Buddhism, and the translator—already well known by five or six valuable works as an accomplished sinologue and student of Buddhism,—appears to have discharged his difficult task with conscientious care. It forms an important addition to the interesting series of translations embraced in the *Sacred Books of the East*, and is specially fitted to supply the desideratum so well expressed by the Editor in his preface to the collection:—"We want," he says, "to know the ancient religions such as they really were, not such as we wish they should have been. We want to know, not their wisdom only, but their folly also." By the translation of books like this, hitherto unknown in any western language, the series is doing much to supply this want.

UDÂNAVARGA: a collection of verses from the Buddhist Canon, compiled by Dharmatrâta, being the Northern Buddhist version of *Dhammapada*. Translated from the Tibetan of the *Bkah-hgyur*,—with notes and extracts from the commentary of Pradinâvarman. By W. W. Rockhill. (London: Trübner and Co. 1883).

In the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. XX, p. 477), M. Csoma Körösi described at some length a section of the *Bkah-hgyur* as the *Udânavarga*, a collection of versified thoughts on various subjects, by Dgra-vcom-pa-chos-skyob, i. e. the Arhan Dharmatrâta. This Dharmatrâta is said to have been the maternal uncle of Vasumitra and perhaps the same as the pupil of Âryadêva, and hence must have belonged to the 1st century A.D., and of his different works in the Chinese collection, the *Dharmapada sûtra* is said to have been translated into Chinese in the year 224 A.D.

This *Udânavarga* was first discovered by Schiefner to be a form of the *Dharmapada* (*Mél. Asiat.* tom. VIII, p. 560). There is also a Chinese version the *Chu-yao-king* or *Avadâna-sûtra*, translated in 398-9 A.D. by Saṅghabhûti (a native of Kâbul) and Fo-nien; and the Tibetan version,—made by Vidyaprabhâkara, probably in the 9th century,—appears to follow it very closely,—both being divided into 33 chapters, with the same titles in most cases, and identical contents. It contains 989 sentences or verses, of which 300 are nearly the same as verses in the Pali *Dhammapada*, and 150 more resemble verses of that work; 20 are found in the *Sutta Nipâta*, and about as many more are very similar to parts of the same. Thus it will be seen that more than half the book is found in these works which are already well known to us.

The *Udânavarga* belongs entirely to the ethics of Buddhism, a subject which has of late received so much attention, that the history of the developments of the system has been almost lost sight of. Is it not time that scholars were directing their studies again to the latter field, so well opened up by the illustrious Burnouf in his *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*?

Mr. Rockhill's version seems conscientiously executed, with footnotes and a comparative table of the verses in the *Dhammapada*, Beal's *Fa-kheu-phi-yu*, and the *Sutta Nipâta*, that agree with the *Udânavarga*; but the book has no index.

The QUATRAINS of OMAR KHAYYÂM. The Persian text with an English verse translation, by E. H. Whinfield, M.A. (London: Trübner and Co. 1883.)

It was only last year that Mr. Whinfield published his translation of 253 of the *Quatrains* of Omar Khayyâm which we noticed favourably at the time (*see ante*, vol. XI, p. 240); and now he has issued a greatly enlarged edition, containing 500 of these verses,—nearly the whole number in most editions,—with the original Persian text on the page opposite to the version. This edition includes all those in the first, but many of them have been recast and improved. The introduction also is enlarged from 6 to 30 pages.

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[4] Prof. S. H. Kellogg, of Allegheny U. S. A., in *Cath. Pres. Rev.* 1883.

THE RITUAL OF RÂMÊSVARAM.

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the great temples of Southern India perhaps no one is more interesting than that of R â m ê ś v a r a m, on the east side of the small island which takes name from it. The large temple, in its present form, is not very old, but its proximity to the sacred bathing place or Tîrtha of D h a n u s h k ô ṭ i, on a spit of sand that runs out on the south-east of the island, and the great wealth lavished on it by the Sêtupatis or Chiefs of R â m n â d (Râmanâthapuram), have rendered it a place of great note among devout Hindus. It is still visited daily by scores of pilgrims from all parts of India, and at sacred seasons by hundreds and thousands,—and of these the vast majority come from great distances. Probably more come from Nêpâl and north of the Ganges than from the Tamiḷ districts in the immediate vicinity, while the Dakhaṇ and Maisûr seem to contribute the majority. Few great temples are now much venerated by the people in their immediate neighbourhood.

The temple buildings are very large, and like others in the south they are surrounded by a high wall on the four sides, covering an area measuring about 865 feet from east to west by 657 feet from north to south,[1] with unfinished gôpuras or gate towers on the east, south and north, and a single complete one about 78 feet high on the west side towards the village. On the east side is the largest unfinished gôpura, not on the wall of the present outer enclosure, but on that of an inner one surrounding what is known as the second *prâkâra*, or enclosure, while outside the main wall on that side are two large porticos, one opposite this gôpura and leading up towards it, and the other a little to the south, leading in towards a subordinate gôpura in line with the last, and surmounting the gateway in front of the temple of the goddess or Amman.

Inside the great enclosure is the third *prâkâra* abutting on the east wall, and measuring about 690 feet by 435. A passage about 18 feet wide with raised corridors of about the same breadth on each side, leads from the western entrance into this outer *prâkâra* or enclosure, which contains the great corridors surrounding the inner buildings, and is by far the most imposing feature of the temple. Like the entrance passage it has a corridor on a raised platform on each side of it, and runs round the four sides of the rectangle which it encloses.

This third corridor or *prâkâra* alone is open to all castes. Within it, and nearer the east face than the west, is an area 386 feet from east to west by about 314 feet from north to south, also surrounded by a high wall enclosing the second *prâkâra*, which is by no means so imposing, though somewhat older than the third; and within this again are the first *prâkâra*, or inner enclosure round the shrines of the god R â m a l i ṅ g a s v â m î and of his consort P a r v a t a v a r d h i n î A m m a n, of V i ś v a n â t h a S v â m î and V i ś â l â k s h î A m m a n, besides a number of smaller chapels and rooms. The principal shrines are said to have been built by Uḍaiyân Sêtupati, with the aid of a Ceylon prince styled Pararâja Śêkhara in Ś. 1336 (A.D. 1414), the latter having had the stones hewn at Triṅkônamalai and numbered on the spot, ready to be put together. This is said to be supported by the architectural style of these buildings themselves, and by inscriptions on the base of the chief shrine. The north and south gôpuras are unfinished, and ascribed to one Kîraṇa Râyar, of the Dakhaṇ, about 1420 A.D.

The western gôpura, like the others, built entirely of hewn stone, and the outer surrounding walls are said to be the work of Uḍaiyân Sêtupati and a Kômaṭṭi of Nâgûr, near Nâgapaṭṭaṇam, in 1434 A.D.; and statues of the merchant and his wife surmount the eastern wall. In 1450 additions were made to the inner buildings by a wealthy Hindu from Madura, and others in Ś. 1490 by Chinna Uḍaiyân Sêtupati Kâttatêvar, then a feudatory of Viśvanâtha Nâyakkar of Madura, whose statue and that of his son Kṛishṇappa were set up in front of the Nandî. An inscription relating to this by the side of the door into the first *prâkâram*, in front of these, was destroyed, with others, some twenty years ago or more, during a suit between the Paṇḍâram of the temple and the Zamîndâr of Râmnâd.[2]

[1] This represents an area of 13 acres 5 poles.

[2] The suit was conducted by one Appâvu Piḷḷai, still living, who had a number of inscriptions forged and inserted in the walls, and produced translations of them as evidence against the claims of the Sêtupatis. This evidence never seems to have been questioned. The suit, appealed to the Privy Council, was given in favour of the forgers, and the Sêtupati deprived of his right to appoint the Dharmakartas or interfere in the management of the temple which his ancestors had built and so richly endowed. The older copperplate grants disappeared at the same time.

The southern half of the second *prâkâra* was erected, it is said, about 1540, by Tirumalai Sêtupati, whose statue and that of his son Raghunâtha stand by the side of the south entrance into the Amman temple, and are honoured with garlands and an offering of betelnut and flowers[3] every Friday night when the image of the Svâmî is brought to this place on its way to the bed (*Palliyarai*) in the Amman temple. Raghunâtha Tirumalai Sêtupati, just named, built the rest of the second *prâkâra* about Ś. 1580.

The great unfinished eastern gôpura is ascribed to Dalavai Sêtupati in Ś. 1571, who also built the Sabhâpati shrine in the north-east corner of the third *prâkâra*. In Ś. 1624 Hiranyagarbhayâjî Ravikula Vijaya Raghunâtha Sêtupati, besides other buildings, erected the *Palliyarai* or bedroom of the Amman temple, and the mandapa in front—in which are statues of himself[4] and his brother Kadamba Têvar.

About Ś. 1662 the Sêtupati began the third *prâkâra*, setting up the entrances into it from the gôpuras on all four sides, and it was completed by Muttu Râmalinga Sêtupati (born Ś. 1647, A.D. 1725-6) in Ś. 1691. The statues of the latter and of his two mantrîs—Muttirulappa Pillai son of Saundara Pândiyan Pillai, and Krishna Ayyangâr[5], with members of his family are conspicuous in the western entrance corridor.

The temple therefore is not the work of one age, but extends over a period of 350 years, and has been erected and endowed almost exclusively by one family, the Sêtupati Chiefs of Râmnâd. It is one of the last great works of the Hindus, and the latest addition to it is the finest of all.[6]

The *pûjâ* or ritual of this temple may deserve notice, as it will be found peculiar in some details, and differing from what is the practice in temples north of the Tungabhadrâ and Krishnâ.

At half-past 4 or 5 A.M. the *pâdaśaiva* (Tam. *ôśan*) comes into the east porch in front of a shrine of Hanumân and blows thrice on a conch, tinkling on a *jayaghantâ* (T. *śêkandi*) or small gong hung on his right wrist with a small stick held between the fingers of the same hand. Then he proceeds to the south, west, and east gates in succession, and repeats the summons. During certain seasons he visits the temples outside, and blows also on the sea-shore. Then come the *mêlakâran* or musicians,—three with drums, *bhêri* (T. *pêri* or *nagârâ*), *mridanga-bhêda* (T. *tavil*), and *damaruga*, two pipers (*nâgasvara*), a castanet (*kaitâlam*) player, and one with a trumpet *kâkala* (T. *ekkâlam*),—and play in front of the Hanumân shrine in the east entrance. The Sthânikârs, who keep the keys, and have charge of the jewels, the Bhattars or priests, and the dancing-girl (*Muraikârî*) officiating for the day, with *rudrâksha* beads in place of jewels, dressed as a Brâhmanî and her hair uncombed—all having already bathed—come with the peons and servants of the Dharmakartâ or superintendent, and open all the doors up to the Mahâmandapa, and light the lamps. The cooks go to the kitchen, and the storekeeper gives out rice and other provisions for the day. A hundred and eighty measures of rice is said to be the daily dole—40 to the servants, and 140 to be cooked for the worship.

Besides these officials it may be as well here to enumerate also the following:—

The *Gurukkal* is the priest whose duty it is to make the *pûjâ*. His assistant is the *Sadhâchârya*. The *Śavaiyâr* assists at the *abhishêka*, bringing the *naivêdya* and the water (*tirumañjanam*) in a silver pot (*ghata*) on the elephant.

The *Nayinâr* is superintendent of all the temple servants.

The *Mantrapushpa* repeats the *mantra* when the Bhattar or Gurukkal asks forgiveness at the conclusion of each *pûjâ*.

The *Âgama* assists in making *Samprôkshana* according to the *Âgamaśâstra*.

The *Vêdapârâyana* repeats the *Vêda* behind the image when it is carried out during a festival.

The *Kattiyam* holds the silver baton when the image is brought out at the time of *dîpârâdhana* and repeats the *Kattiyam* every evening when the Svâmî is carried to the *Palliyarai*.

[3] These go to the Zamîndâr's servants if any are present.

[4] His statue appears also in two other places with his Mantrî, Tollakâdu Muttirulappapillai opposite, together with others of his friends; but about 1835 a Pandâram had some of them chiselled into ascetics, affixing beards of lime, &c.

[5] To his grandson Satâvadhânam Muttusvâmî Ayyangâr, an able Pandit and poet, I am indebted for much of the information given below respecting the pûjâ.

[6] See Fergusson's *Hist. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 355-358.

The *Śirpâdam* carry the image in the palanquin. Inside the temple the *Śiviyârs* (*Śivikaiyârs*) bear it.

The *Periyamurai* bring the curds, milk, &c., from the Araivâsal and also light all the *dîpas* and give them to the Gurukkaḷ during the *pûjâs*.

About half-past five, when the cooks have prepared the *naivêdya* (food), the doors of the Mahâmaṇḍapa of the temple itself are opened. The pûjakârs or bhaṭṭars, sthânikârs, and dharmakartâ's servants then go to the Mahâmaṇḍapam of the Amman temple with the musicians and open the door, and the priest presents a camphor light at the bed in which the images lie, with fruit and betel-nut. A sthânikâr[7] in a reverential attitude then says to the image or svâmî:—

Udbudhyasva jagat-svâmin sarva-lôk-aika-Śaṅkara | jagatâm upakârâya nitya-pûjâṁ gṛihâṇa bhô ||[8]

"Awake, Lord of the Universe, Author of good to this whole world! and for the world's benefit be pleased to accept my daily worship."

They then place the image, which is of gold, in a small palankin and carry it out at the south door, and, preceded by musicians and dancing-girls, two silver sticks, two torches, a silver umbrella and a *châmara*, it is carried round the second *prâkâra* by the west, to the east entrance of the svâmi temple and placed in the Ardhamaṇḍapa or room between the shrine (*garbhagṛiha*) and Mahâmaṇḍapa. The bhaṭṭar next goes into the shrine,[9] and removes the old garlands (*nirmâlya*) from the *liṅga* and puts them upon the image of Chaṇḍikêśvara, which is in a small chapel just behind the shrine.[10] If this were not done, the *pûjâ* would lose its merit or be of no benefit to the god.

The bhaṭṭar next performs a short *saṁkalpa*, thus—sitting in the Mahâmaṇḍapam facing the east he puts a *pavitra* of *darbha* grass on the fourth finger of the right hand, and bending two other stalks of *darbha* round the same finger he makes *prâṇâyâma*, *i.e.*, holds his nose with the third and fourth fingers and thumb and repeats the words:—

Ôṁ bhûḥ || *Ôṁ bhuvaḥ* || *Ôṁ guṁsuvaḥ* || *Ôṁ mahaḥ* || *Ôṁ janaḥ* || *Ôṁ tapaḥ* || *Ôguṁsatyaṁn* || *Ôm tat savitur varêṇyaṁ* || *Bhargô dêvasya dhîmahi* || *Dhiyô yô naḥ prachôdayât* ||

Then he puts his hand to his right ear, and joining his hands he says:—

Śrî Śivâjñayâ Śivaprîtyarthaṁ suprabhâta-pûjâṁ vidhivat tu ahaṁ karishyê ||

"By Śiva's order and for Śiva's kind acceptance, I perform the sacred rite of the morning worship as prescribed by rules."

Then he performs *Puṇyâhavâchanam*—pouring water into a brass vessel after fumigating it with lighted camphor, he places it on some rice laid on a raised stone (*puṇyâhavâchana kuraḍu*) in the floor, having first tied a thread round the pot four times over the shoulder and bottom, and putting *akshatâḥ* (rice grains coloured with turmeric) on four sides of it, tying a small piece of cloth round the neck, putting mango leaves in the mouth of it, laying a cocoanut on them, and a garland over it, he knots together three *darbha* stalks and spreads out the lower ends (*darbha kûrcha*) so that it may stand over the cocoanut, and makes *prâṇâyâma*, saying:—

Śivâjñayâ Śivaprîtyartham suprabhâtakâlê sthalapâtraśuddhyartham puṇyâhavâchana karishyê ||

"By Śiva's order and for Śiva's kind acceptance I perform the *Puṇyâhavâchanam* ceremony, for the purification of the place and the vessels during the holy morning time (*service*)."

He then lays down the cocoanut, and *darbha-kûrcha*, and taking the mango leaves, dips the tips of them six times into the water and dropping it into a smaller vessel says (1st) '*Vṛiddhiḥ*,'[11] to which the Sâdhâchârya answers, '*astu*';[12] the 2nd time he says, '*pushṭiḥ*,'[13] to which the Sâdhâchârya again says, '*astu*'; 3rd, '*tushṭiḥ*,'[14] Ans. '*astu*', 4th—'*ârôgyam*,'[15] A. '*astu*'; 5th—'*dhanadhânyasamṛiddiḥ*',[16] A. '*astu*'; and 6th—'*gôbrâhmaṇêbhyaḥ śubham*,'[17] A. '*astu*.' The

[7] The Sthânikârs prepare the lights, carry the water, flowers, food, &c. used in the pujâ, keep the jewels, carry the silver sticks in processions, cook the rice, *naivêdya*, ring the bell during pujâ, and hold torches to let the Śûdras see where they are not permitted to enter.

[8] For these translations I am indebted to Mr. S. M. Natêśa Śâstrî.

[9] As the same ceremonies are gone through in all the four shrines it will be sufficient to confine this account to the principal shrine.

[10] Those from the Amman temples are carried to the image of Chaṇḍikêśvarî.

[11] "Increase!" or "May there be increase!"

[12] "Amen," or "Be it so."

[13] "Prosperity!"

[14] "Pleasure!"

[15] "Health!"

[16] Plenty!" or "Abundance of grain and wealth!"

[17] "Good to kine and Brâhmaṇs."

bhaṭṭar now pours the water back into the first pot and replacing the cocoanut he takes 5, 7 or 9 *darbha* stalks and touches the pot, while the Sâdhâchârya (*adhyayanabhaṭṭa*) repeats the *Vêda*[18]—the bhaṭṭar following him; this last takes 10 or 15 minutes. Again the bhaṭṭar takes off the cocoanut and garland and lays them down, and dipping the *darbha* and mango leaves in the water he drops it on his head. This is called *âtma-prôkshaṇaṁ*. The rest of the water he sprinkles over the floors of the Mahâ- and Ardha-maṇḍapas and the shrine, and on the vessels used in the *pûjâ*,—to purify them.

A sthânikâr brings water from a well called the Kôṭitîrtha, in the first *Prâkâra*, and fills a large vessel that stands in the shrine. The bhaṭṭar then takes a handful of sandalwood paste,[19] and rubs it on the *liṅga* and the *pîṭham* in which it stands. Next he pours water over it from the large vessel, repeating the mantra:—

Śrî-chakraṁ Paramêśvarêṇa ghaṭitam bêtâla-pâpâpahaṁ || Śîtâ-maṅgala-vâpikâmṛita-sarô brâhmyaṁ Hanûmat-saraḥ | Âgastyaṁ Raghu-Râma-Lakshmaṇa-Jaṭâ-Lakshmî-saraḥ pâvakaḥ || Chakrâkhyaṁ Śiva-Śaṅkha-tîrttha-Yamunâ-Gaṅgâ-Gayâ kôṭayaḥ | Śrî-sâdhyâmṛita-Mânasâkhyam aparaṁ Śrîmad-Dhanushkôṭy-api ||

"The Srî-chakra-tîrtha (*holy water*) which is powerful to wipe off the sin of the Bêtâla,[20] was created by Paramêśvara. The holy waters, Sîtâvâpî, Maṅgalavâpî, Amṛita-saras, Brâhmyam-saras, Hanûmat-saras, Agastya-tîrtha, Raghurâma-tîrtha, Jaṭâ-tîrtha, Lakshmaṇa-saras, Chakra-tîrtha, Śiva-tîrtha, Śaṁkha-tîrtha, Yamunâ-tîrtha, Gaṅgâ-tîrtha, Gayâ-tîrtha, and others, form the karôr of holy waters. The holy Sâdhyâmṛita-tîrtha, the holy (*water*) named Mânasa, which is as it were another Mânasa[21] itself, and the Dhanushkôṭi-tîrtha (*also form the number*.")

Gaṅgâ Sindhu Sarasvatî cha Yamunâ Gôdâvarî Narmadâ | Kâvêrî Kapilâ Prayâga-niyatâ Vêtrâvat-îty-âdayaḥ || Krishṇâ Bhîmarathî cha Phalgu Sarayûḥ Śrî-Gaṇḍakî Gômatî | Nadyaḥ Śrî Hari-pâdapaṅkaja-bhavâḥ kuryât sadâ maṅgalam ||

"May the Sindhu, Sarasvatî, Yamunâ, Gôdâvarî, Narmadâ, Kâvêrî, Kapilâ, Prayâga-niyatâ, Vêtrâvatî, Krishṇâ, Bhîmarathî, Phalgu, Sarayu, Gaṇḍakî, Gômatî—May these rivers that take their source from the feet of Hari ever give prosperity!"

A sthânikâr then draws a curtain, that runs on a rod, across the Ardha-maṇḍapa, and brings a dry cloth to the bhaṭṭar, who dries the *liṅga* with it, and with the rest of the water he washes the floor round the *vêdî* and ties two cloths round the *liṅga*, one of them in front and round the middle of it (for *vastra* and *upavastra*); then he dips the second and fourth fingers[22] of his hand in sandalwood paste and draws them across the front of the *liṅga*, leaving 3 lines on it, and on these he makes a round spot—forming the *tilaka*. Then he puts a garland over it and lays three *bilva* leaves (*bilva-dalam*) upon it.

About 6 o'clock a sthânikâr, accompanied by musicians playing, brings to the door of the shrine *naivêdya*, of boiled rice, bread, curries—more than an ordinary meal to a single person. The bhaṭṭar sprinkles the food with a few drops of water, and repeats the *Gâyatrî*:—

Ôṁ bhûr bhuvas suvaḥ | Ôṁ tat savitur varêṇyaṁ | bhargô dêvasya dhîmahi | dhiyô yô naḥ prachôdayât[23] ||

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[18] Printed in the *Puṇyâhavâchanam pañchâdi*.

[19] Composed of sandalwood powder, musk, saffron flowers, sandalwood oil, civet (*javâdu* and *punuhu*). bezoar (*gôrôchana*), and *pachcha-karpûra*. The following are the sixteen kinds of baths:—

Prathamaṁ gandhatailaṁ cha dvitîyaṁ likuchêna tu ||
Tritîyam mudgapishṭaṁ cha chaturthaṁ rajanîṁ tathâ ||
Pañchamam ârdravastraṁ cha shashṭhaṁ gavyâbhishêchanam ||
Saptamaṁ payasâ snânam ashṭamaṁ dadhir uchyatê||
Navamaṁ ghṛitam êvôktaṁ daśam pañchâmṛitaṁ tathâ ||
Phalasâraṁ dadêt Raudraṁ dvâdaśam madhur uchyatê ||
Ikshu-sâraṁ trayôdaśaṁ nâlikêraṁ chaturdaśam||
Pañchâdaśaṁ gandhahaimaṁ śuddhôdaṁ shôḍaśam bhavêt ||
Shôḍaśa-snapanam prôktam madhyê śuddhôdakais saha ||

"First of all, by the scented oil; second, by the lime juice; third, by the flour of green pulse; fourth, by turmeric-powder; fifth, by the wet cloth; sixth, by the *Pañchagavya*; seventh, by the milk-bath; eighth is said to be curds; ninth is said to be ghî; tenth, is *Pañchâmṛita*; eleventh, the fruit juice ought to be poured; twelfth is said to be honey; thirteenth, the sugar-cane juice; fourteenth, the tender cocoanut (*juice*); fifteenth, fragrant water; and sixteenth comes the pure water. Thus sixteen kinds of bath, with the pouring of pure water in the midst, are enumerated."

Abhishêka-phalam ||
Pûrvâhnê châbhishêkaṁ tu sarva pâpa-vināśanam ||
Madhyâhnê châbhishêkaṁ tu sarva-saṁpatpradam bhavêt ||
Sâyahnê châbhishêkaṁ tu sarva-vyâdhi-vināśanam ||

"The performance of the bath worship in the morning takes away all our sins. The performance of the bath worship at the noon gives us all prosperity. The performance of the bath worship in the evening drives away all our sickness."

[20] *i.e.*, of a man possessed by the Bêtâla.

[21] The famous *Mânasa Saras*.

[22] Sometimes this is done with three fingers.

[23] "Ôm! Let us meditate on the glorious splendour of that divine sun, that he may inspire us."—H. H. Wilson.

Then he takes water thrice in his hand and pours it on the floor, the Adhyayanabhaṭṭar saying, *arghyam, pâdyam, âchamanîyam*, as he lets them fall in succession. Then taking *bilva* leaves in his hand he sways or waves them thrice towards the *liṅga*, the other saying (for rice)—*annaṁ naivêdyâmi*, (for bread)—*apûpaṁ naivêdyâmi* and (for curry)—*vyañjanaṁ naivêdyâmi*. Again he pours water thrice on the floor saying as before—*arghyam*, &c., and the curtain is withdrawn.

A sthânikâr next gives the bhaṭṭar a lamp[24] (*dhûpa*) in which gum benzoin (or incense) is lighted, and he incenses the *liṅga*, moving it first downwards in a wavy line, then thrice round, and up and down once. Another lamp (*dîpa*) is given and waved as before; then a camphor light. The bhaṭṭar during all these services faces the north, and now, at the close of the morning *pûjâ* (*Suprabhâtam*, Tam. *Tiruvanandal*), he requests the *Svâmî* or god to accept the food, repeating the ślôka:—

Annaṁ cha pâyasaṁ bhakshyaṁ Sîtâ-lêhya-samanvitaṁ | dadhi-kshîra-ghṛitair yuktaṁ grihâṇa Sura-pûjita ||

"O thou that art worshipped by the Dêvas, be pleased to accept the rice, pâyasa (Rice boiled in milk) and puddings and cakes mixed with *sîtâlêhya* (chilly-powder) together with curd, milk, and ghì!"

and prostrates himself with joined hands in front of it.

About 7 A.M. the second service (*Udayamârtâṇḍa*) begins. The bhaṭṭar taking water in a vessel goes into the shrine, joins his hands, and thus asks the svâmi to accept this *pûjâ*:—

Namô Rudrâya bhîmâya Nîlakaṇṭhâya Vêdhasê Kapardinê Surêśâya Vyôma-kêśâya vai namaḥ || Tathâ phalaiś cha dhûpaiś cha naivêdyair vividhair api upachâraiḥ shôḍhaśabhiḥ pûjâṁ grihṇîshva Śaṁkara ||

"Salutation to Rudra, to Bhîma (the fearful) to Nîlakaṇṭha, to Vêdhas, to Kapardin, to Surêśa, to Vyômakêśa. O Śaṁkara accept my worship which is performed with fruits, holy incenses, holy rice of various kinds, and the sixteen kinds of external honours."

Then he dips his fingers in the water and casts it on the *liṅga*, saying:—

Apavitraḥ pavitrô vâ sarvâvasthaṁ gatôpi vâ | yas smarêt Puṇḍarîkâkshaṁ sa bâhyâbhyantaraś-śuchiḥ ||

"Whether pure or impure, in whatever state of body (physical or mental) a man may be, if he only contemplates the lotus-eyed (Vishṇu) he becomes pure both externally and internally."

He next throws water thrice on the floor, saying *ârghyam*, &c. A sthânikâr then brings *naivêdya*—rice mixed with curd (*dadhyôdana*), bread, fresh butter and curry, and the curtain is drawn. The bhaṭṭar sprinkles the food with water, and then waves his hand four times towards the *liṅga* saying—*dadhyôdanaṁ naivêdyâmi, apûpaṁ naivêdyâmi, navanîtaṁ naivêdyâmi*, and *vyañjanaṁ naivêdyâmi*,—with the successive movements.

The curtain is again removed and the sthânikârs bring *dhûpa*, *dîpa* and camphor lights, which are successively waved as before. Then the bhaṭṭar locks the door and goes out.

The same is done in all the four temples, and the food is distributed to the temple servants.

The third or *Udayakâlapûjâ* commences about 9 o'clock. A sthânikâr takes water in a silver pot from the Kôṭitîrtha, and with it he mounts an elephant which is ready in the second *Prâkâra* and comes out by the east gate with musicians, *châmara*, umbrella and the dancing girl of the day[25] in advance, and before them a second elephant. The procession turns to the south and comes round the temple, re-enters at the east gate,[26] and proceeds round the third *Prâkâra* to the east entrance, where the sthânikâr dismounts with the water and carries it into the Ardhamaṇḍapa. Then the bhaṭṭar comes, and the sthânikâr brings water in another vessel into which the bhaṭṭar dips his fingers and drops it on his own head, saying:—

Pañcha-śuddhiḥ || Âtma-śuddhis tu pûrvaṁ syât ||

"The five kinds of purity: Let there be first of all purity of soul!"

This is called *âtmaśuddhi*; he also drops some of it on the floor as (*sthânaśuddhi*,) saying—

Sthâna-śuddhir dvitîyakaḥ ||

"Secondly, purity of place."

Again he sprinkles the vessels (*dravyaśuddhi*) saying:—

Tritîyaṁ dravya-śuddhis tu ||

"Thirdly, purity of things (accompaniments)."

[24] Formed somewhat in the shape of a quadruped, with the cup for the light in place of the head.

[25] They serve in turns, each a whole day.

[26] Here the other elephant makes his *salâm*, and retires.

Then the *linga*, (*lingaśuddhi*,) saying :—

Chaturthaṁ linga-śuddhi-dam ||

"Fourthly, purity of the Linga."

And to prevent his yawning, coughing, &c., he makes *mantraśuddhi*, repeating :—

Pañchamaṁ mantra-śuddhis syât ||

Prôchyantê pañcha-śuddhayaḥ ||

"Fifthly, let there be the purity of the mantras. Thus five kinds of purities are enumerated."

He then sits down in the Mahâmaṇḍapa and worships Sûrya.

Then he observes the following,—

Sthaṇḍila-vidhiḥ || *Uttamaṁ drôṇa-śâlis tu madhyamaṁ tu tad ardhakaṁ* || *dviprasthaṁ kanyasaṁprôktaṁ sthaṇḍilam tu vidhîyatê* || *adhamaṁ tv âḍhakaṁ prôktaṁ tri-vidhaṁ parikalpayêt* ||

"Rule for covering the ground. The best mode of covering is by two measures of *Śâli* grain; a medium mode is by half of that quantity; a low mode is by half a measure; these (*three*) form the definition of *Sthaṇḍila*. The lowest mode is by a quarter measure."

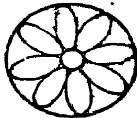
This rule is otherwise given thus :—

Śiva-sthaṇḍilam êvôktam madhyamaṁ tu tad ardhakaṁ ||

And the rule for worship is,—

Sthaṇḍila sthal-âlaṁkâra-vidhiḥ — *Darbhaiḥ pushpais samâstîrya Śrîdêviṁ tatra sâ yajêt* ||

On a raised stone in the floor in front of him a sthânikâr places 4 measures of rice, which the bhaṭṭar spreads into a square and traces on it a circular flower with 8 petals. On it he places *darbha* grass and flowers, saying :—



Śrî dêvyai namaḥ,—and then puts a little sandal paste on it. He then takes an empty vessel like a teapot without handle, and after fumigating it with lighted camphor he ties a thread over it, passing it five times at equal distances down the sides and over the shoulders and bottom, and putting sandal paste and *akshatâḥ* on four sides, he places it over the figure drawn on the rice. Next, taking *akshatâḥ* in his left hand he places it on the rice at the bottom of the vessel, saying :— *Pâdê Brahmâṇaṁ âvâhayâmi.*[27] Again he puts more on the body of the pot, saying :—*Madhyê Vishṇum âvâhayâmi*; on the lip, saying :— *Ôshṭhê Rudram âvâhayâmi*; again on two sides, saying :—*Dvi-pârśvayôr nandikâlau âvâhayâmi*; next inside the pot, the assistant saying :—

Pâtrê jalâvâhana-vidhiḥ || *Gaṅgâ cha Yamunâ chaiva Narmadâ cha Sarasvatî* | *Sindhur Gôdâvarî chaiva Kâvêrî Tâmbraparṇikâ* || *kalaśê tu samabhyarcha ghrâṇê Vighnêśvaraṁ yajêt* | *Śuddhôdaṁ kalaśê pûrya krichhram tu anyatô nyasêt* ||

"The precept for deifying the water in the vessel. Inside the vessel, Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, Narmadâ, Sarasvatî, Sindhu, Gôdâvarî, Kâvêrî, and Tâmbraparṇikâ, are to be worshipped. At the spout of the vessel, Vighnêśvara is to be worshipped."

Lastly he puts some into the spout, saying :— *Kaṇṭhîmukhê Vighnêśvaram âvâhayâmi* :—

"I worship Vighnêśvara at the spout (*of the vessel*.)"

A sthânikâr now takes the silver pot full of water and pours it into this vessel. The bhaṭṭar puts a *pavitra* of *darbha* grass on his finger, thus described :—

Pavitra-vidhiḥ || *Darbha-dvayêna saṁklishṭaṁ dvâdaśâṅgulam âyatam* || *dvir-aṁgulaṁ tu valayaṁ granthir êkâṅgulaṁ bhavêt* || *chatur-aṁguli tat puchhaṁ pavitrasya cha lakshaṇam* ||

"The rule for making *Pavitra* :—Two *darbha* grasses each of twelve finger-breadths long must be twined together. Two finger-breadths in length must be devoted to form the ring of the *pavitram*; one finger-breadth for the knot; four finger-breadths for the tail; this is the description of the *Pavitram*."

The sthânikâr brings a large flat brass tray called *tâmbâlam*, with half a measure of rice, some betelnut, fruit (plantains), sandal paste, flowers, sugar, darbha grass, cocoanut and mango leaves, and sets the tray on the south of the *kumbha*.

Puṇyâhavâchana-pûjâ-sâmagra-vidhiḥ ||

Pâtrê taṇḍula-tâmbûla-phala-gaṁdhaṁ cha pushpakaṁ || *guḍam-darbhâmra-patraṁ cha daksha-bhâgê vinikshipêt* ||

"The rule for the collection of the things required for *Puṇyâhavâchana* :—In the vessel rice, betel-leaf, fruit, sandal-powder, and flowers; molasses, *darbha* grass, and mango leaf must be placed to the right."

The bhaṭṭar sits facing the east, and the Sadhâchârya and any other Brâhmaṇs knowing

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[27] *Pâtrâvâhana-vidhiḥ* || [illegible]*dê Brahmâṇam abhyarchya madhyê Vishṇuṁ samarc*[illegible] || *ôshṭhê Rudraṁ samabhyarchya nandikâlau dvi-*[illegible]*yôḥ* ||

"The precept for [illegible] the vessel. At the foot of the vessel Brahma is to be worshipped. In the middle Vishṇu must be worshipped. On the brim Rudra is to be worshipped. And on the two sides Nandî and Kâla are to be worshipped."

the *Vêda* who may wish to join, sit down near him. The bhaṭṭar asks:—*Puṇyâḥ puṇyâhaṁ vâchayishyê?*

"Charitable people! Permit me to pronounce the *Puṇyâhavâchanam!*"

They reply—*Vâchyatâm*,—"Let it be said!"

He says—*Akshatâḥ?*

They reply—*Santv akshatâḥ*,—"Let there be *akshatâs*."

Bhaṭṭar—*Dakshiṇaḥ?*—"Fees?"

Brâhmaṇs—*Svasti dakshiṇaḥ*,—"Let there be fees."

The bhaṭṭar then takes the mango leaves, cocoanut, darbha grass and a cloth, and lays them on the *kumbha*,—the head of the cocoanut pointing to the east. Then the bhaṭṭar performs *saṅkalpa*, as before. A sthânikâr brings him a cloth and garland, and the bhaṭṭar ties the cloth round the neck of the *kumbha* and puts the garland over it. Then taking down the cocoanut, he dips the mango leaves into the water thrice, and drops the water into another vessel with the same formula as in the first *pûjâ*. Next, touching the pot with some darbha stalks, he and the Brâhmaṇs repeat portions of the *Vêda* for about an hour. The bhaṭṭar then offers betel-leaf, sugar and flowers, as *naivêdya* to the *kumbha*, saying, *Varuṇarâjâya namaḥ*, and from another vessel he sprinkles water thrice on the floor with the usual formula—*Arghyam*, &c.. Now taking water and a flower in his hand, he waves it twice, as an offering, towards the *kumbha*, saying:—*Kadalîphalaṁ naivêdyâmi*; *gulaṁ naivêdyâmi*. Then he says:—

Pûgî-phala-samâyuktaṁ nâga-vallî-dalair yutaṁ || karpûra-chûrṇa-saṁyuktaṁ tâmbûlaṁ pratigrihyatâṁ ||

"Be pleased to accept betel-leaf with nuts, the tender leaves of *Nâgavallî*, and camphor powder."

Then he adds *Tâmbûlaṁ naivêdyâmi*, and taking *akshatâḥ* he joins his hands, and says:—

Varuṇarâjâya namaḥ yathâsthânaṁ pratishṭhâpayâmi |

"Salutation to Varuṇarâja. I consecrate him in his usual place."

He next dips the mango leaves and darbha in the water and drops it on his head, then on the floor, and on the vessels (as *prôkshaṇa*). The *kumbha* is now set aside[28] and a sthânikâr brings the *pañchagavyam*—curds, *ghî*, milk, cow-urine (*gômûtram*) and dung (*gômayam*) for which five cups are arranged in the form of a cross; the milk is put in the centre, the curd on the east, the *ghî* on the south, the cow-dung on the west and the urine on the north. The bhaṭṭar taking *akshatâḥ* in his left hand, lifts a little of it with his right and puts it on the curd, saying:—*Pûrvasyâṁ diśi dadhiṁ pûjayâmi*: "I worship the curd (*placed*) in the eastern direction."

Again on the *ghî*, saying:—

Dakshiṇasyâṁ diśi ghritaṁ pûjayâmi: "I worship the *ghî* in the southern direction."

Next on the *gômayaṁ*,—*Varuṇasyâṁ diśi gômayaṁ pûjayâmi*: "I worship the *gômayaṁ* on the west."

Then on the *gômûtram* saying:—*Uttarasyâṁ diśi gôjalaṁ pûjaydmi*: "I worship the cow-urine on the north."

And lastly on the milk, saying:—*Madhyamê dugdhaṁ pûjayâmi*: "I worship the milk in the middle."

He now presents molasses as *naivêdya*, saying:—*Pañchagavya-dêvatâyai namaḥ gulaṁ naivêdyâmi*:[29] "Salutation to the god Pañchagavya. I offer molasses as *naivêdya*."

Then taking a little *akshatâḥ* and holding it out in his joined hands, he says:—*Yathâsthânam pratishṭhâpayâmi*. "I consecrate it in its usual place."

Next he pours into the milk, first the curds, next the ghî, third the *gômayam*, and lastly the *gômûtram*, and takes the vessel into the *garbhagṛiha* or shrine, and sets it on the north side of the *liṅga*.[30]

Again a sthânikâr brings four measures of rice and places it on the raised stone or flag and the bhaṭṭar spreads it in a square and draws on it a lotus flower with ten petals, the 3rd pointing to the south and the 8th to the north,

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28 The bhaṭṭar gets the rice, &c.

29 *Pañcha-gavya-vidhiḥ ||*

Nava-krita-pada-madhyê dugdham aindrê dadhi syât
Yama-diśi ghrita-sômê vâruṇê gômayê dvê ||
Niśichara-jala-vâyôr îśa-kôṇêshu pishṭâmalaka-rajani-
tôyê sthâpitaṁ pañcha-gavyam ||

The second part is also given thus:—

Anala nirita vâyôvîśa kôṇêshu pishṭâ-
malaka rajanikâpaḥ sthâpayêt Pañchagvyê ||

That is—

"In the middle of a square divided into nine sections the milk must be placed. In the East the curds. In the South the ghî. In the North and West the two *gômayas*—dung and urine. In the South-East (*Anala*), South-west (*Niriti*), North-West (*Vâyu*), and North-East (*Iśâna*), rice flour (*paste*), *âmalaka* (*fruit mixed in water*), Turmeric (*dissolved in water*) and pure water must be placed respectively. All these nine ingredients mixed together form the *Pañchagavya* compound.

30 The North is the proper side in all marriage and propitious ceremonies; in *Śrâddhas* and ceremonies relating to the dead the South is the proper side.

the numeration commencing from the east. On it he places sandal paste and flowers, and putting *akshatâḥ* in his left hand he places a little of it on the petal No. 1, with the words—*Anantyam âvâhayâmi.*

On No. 2, with—*Sûkshmam âvâhayâmi.*
On No. 3, with—*Śivam âvâhayâmi.*
On No. 4, with—*Uttamam âvâhayâmi.*
On No. 5, with—*Yêkanêtram âvâhayâmi.*
On No. 6, with—*Yêkarudram âvâhayâmi.*
On No. 7, with—*Śrîkaṇṭham âvâ°*
On No. 8, with—*Śrîkaṇṭhim âvâ°*
On No. 9, with—*Agnim âvâ°*
On No. 10, with—*Śivavardhinîm âvâ°*

And on the small circle in the centre, with—*Śaktisamêta êkâdaśa rudrân âvâhayâmi.*

Placing a large pot (*ghaṭam*) on the centre of it and ten smaller ones (*kalaśam*) round it on the petals, all fumigated first with camphor, and with threads tied round each in the usual fashion here, he puts *akshatâḥ* and sandal paste on the four sides of each. A sthânikâr then brings water (from the Kôṭi-tîrtha) and pours into each pot, and ties a cloth round the neck, placing mango leaves, a cocoanut, *darbha* and a garland on all. The bhaṭṭar now washes his hands and feet at a well close to the Maṇḍapa and returning into the mahâmaṇḍapa, he sits down facing the east (the *pavitra* being still on his hand), and here he makes *prâṇâyâma* in the usual way, then crossing his fore-arms, with closed fists he beats his temples with the knuckles and muttering *Śrî Gaṇêśâya namaḥ.* Then he begins the *saṁkalpa* :[31] saying; *Śuklâmbaradharaṁ vishṇuṁ śaśivarṇaṁ chaturbhujam |·prasannavadanaṁ dhyâyêt sarva-vighnôpaśântayê ||* "For the pacification of all obstacles let us think on him who is dressed in white robes, who is Vishṇu himself, who is of the colour of the moon, who has four hands, and who is of pleasing appearance."

And then, holding his two hands clasped on the right knee, the right hand above, he repeats the mantra :—*Asya śrî-Bhagavataḥ mahâpurushasya Śivasy-âjñayâ*[32] *pravartamânasya adya brahmaṇô dvitîyê-parârddhê śvêtavarâha-kalpê vaivasvata-manvantarê ashṭâvigum, śatê tamê Kaliyugê prathama pâdê -Jambû-dvîpê Bhârata-varshê Bharata-khaṇḍê Mêrôr dakshiṇê pârśvê śakâbdê asmin vartamânê pravarttamânasya vyâvahârikê Prabhavâdi-shashṭi-saṁvatêsarâṇâṁ madhyê (Chitrabhânu)*[33]*-nâma-saṁvatsarê (uttarâyaṇê hêmanta-ṛitau Makara-mâsê śuklapakshê-saptamyâṁ)*[34] *śubha-tithau*[35] *(Induvâsara)-yuktâyâm (Rêvatî-)nakshatra-yuktâyâṁ śrî Śiva nakshatra,*[36] *śrî Śiva-yôga, śrî Śiva-karaṇa Śubha-yôga śubha-karaṇa êvaṅguṇa-viśêshaṇa-viśishṭâyâṁ . śubha-tithau.* "In the second—southern division of the Continent of Brahma which is going (*its round*) by the command of the great and reverend Śiva; in the (*present*) time of Śvêtavarâha, in the reign of Vaivasvata-manu; the twenty-eighth; in the first quarter of the *Kaliyuga;* in Jambudvîpa; in Bhâratavarsha, in Bharata-khanda; in the southern direction from Meru; in the Śaka-era; in the *saṁvatsara* Chitrabhânu of the cycle of 60 years beginning from Prabhava; in the Hêmanta season; during the (sun's) northern course; on the auspicious day Monday the 7th *tithi* of the light half of the month Makara; on the auspicious day in which is the asterism Rêvatî, the Siva nakshatra, Śiva yôga, Śiva Karaṇa, the Śubha yôga, Śubha Karaṇa, and other (*auspicious*) times are in conjunction."

Then he says,—*Śrî-Râmanâthêśvarasya prâtaḥkâlê abhishêkârthaṁ snâpanapûjâṁ vidhivad ahaṁ karishyê* ;—"For the holy morning-bath of Râmanâthêśvara, I perform the necessary worship of the bath as prescribed by rules" :—and taking *akshatâḥ* in his right hand he puts small quantities of it, with his left; 1st, on the *ghaṭam* or large pot, saying :—*Sapta-vidha-samudra-tîrthân âvâhayâmi* : "I deify the seven kinds of ocean waters in the vessel;" 2nd, into the *kalaśa* on petal No. 1, saying :—*Gaṅgâm âvâpayâmi* : "I fill up water from Gaṅgâ." Into the 2nd *kalaśa,* saying :—*Yamunâm âvâpayâmi* ; into the 3rd—*Narmadâm âvâpayâmi* ; into the 4th—*Sarasvatîm âvâpayâmi* ; into the 5th—*Sindhunadîm âvâpayâmi*; into the 6th—*Gôdâvarîm âvâpayâmi*; into the 7th—*Kâvêrîm âvâpayâmi*; into the 8th—*Tâmraparṇîm âvâpayâmi*; into the 9th—*Śivatîrthân âvâpayâmi*; and into the 10th kalaśa saying :—*Sarvân puṇya-tîrthân âvâpayâmi.*

A sthânikâr brings betel leaf, plantains and

[31] Mental vow or resolution.
[32] A Vaishnava would say *Vishṇôr âjñayâ.*
[33] *i. e.* 1882-3.
[34] Corresponding to 15th Jan. 1883.
[35] *Puṇyatithau* would be used in *srâddha* ceremonies, &c.
[36] Monday.

sugar, and another brings a single *dîpa* and *dhûpa*, and the bhaṭṭar waves the *dhûpa*, saying,—*sarva-tîrthêbhyaḥ mahâ-purushêbhyaḥ dhûpam âghrâpayâmi*;[37] then the dîpa, saying:—*sarva-tîrthêbhyaḥ mahâ-purushêbhyaḥ dîpaṁ darśayâmi*.[38] Then he sprinkles a few drops of water over the betel-leaf, sugar and fruit, and offers them in succession as *naivêdya* saying:—*sarva*,° &c., *kadalî-phalaṁ naivêdyâmi; guḷaṁ naivêdyâmi*; and *pûgî-phala-samâyuktaṁ nâgavallîdaḷair-yutaṁ | kalpûra-chûrṇa-saṁyuktaṁ tâmbûlaṁ pratigṛihyatâm || sarva-tîrthêbhyaḥ mahâ-purushêbhyaḥ tâmbûlaṁ naivêdyâmi*. And then taking *akshatâḥ* in his hands he places it over the *ghaṭam*, saying:—*Sarvôpachârân samarpayâmi*: "I perform all the obeisances."

A sthânikâr next brings, in separate dishes, honey, plantains, curds, milk, ghî and sugar[39] thus enumerated:—

Pañchâmṛita-vidhiḥ ||

Dadhi-madhu-paya-sarpî-sarkarâ madhyamâdi śara-padaśivakôshtê vinyasêd brahma-mantraiḥ || guḍuva-yugala-yugmaṁ prasthapâdaṁ tu pañchâmṛita-maya śiva-yôgyaṁ sthâpitaṁ triṇi kâlê ||

"Of the curds, honey, milk, ghî, and sugar, begin from the middle and place them all in the five sacred spots, pronouncing the *Brahmamantra*.[40] Twice two, and a quarter times of sugar must be in the mixture. This kind of mixture, which is called *Pañchamṛita* must be offered three times to the god."

The bhaṭṭar goes into the shrine and removes the garland, flowers and bilva leaves, and hands them to a second sthânikâr, who takes them to the chapel of Chaṇḍikêśvara. Then the bhaṭṭar stands before the figure of Gaṇapati or Vighnêśvara, in the Ardhamaṇḍapa with joined hands, and says:—

Skandâgraja gaṇâdhîśa dêvyâ vallabhayâ saha | Śivapûjâṁ pravṛittô'smi nirvighnatvaṁ prasîda mê ||

"Thou elder brother of Skanda, the lord of all the *gaṇas*! I have begun the worship of Śiva with his beloved wife; be pleased to favour me with freedom from all obstacles."

Then he goes to the Nandî and removes the garland of the previous evening, and those on all the other images in the temple, and takes those of the gods to Chaṇḍikêśvara—those of the Ammans to Chaṇḍikêśvarî. This takes half an hour to do.

Returning to the *garbhagṛiha*, he sprinkles water on the liṅga (*prôkshaṇa*), and now begins the *abhishêka*. The curtain is drawn and a sthânikâr has already filled a large vessel in the shrine with water from the Kôṭi-tîrtha, and now brings the sandalwood paste or ointment already described and the bhaṭṭar, rubs it over the liṅga, and pours water on it. The sthânikâr next brings powder of *śiyakkây* (*mimosa abstergens*) and the bhaṭṭar mixes it in a brass cup with water, forming a very thin paste, and pours it on the *liṅga*, and again water. The same follows with powdered cinnamon, and turmeric; then the sthânikâr opens the tender cocoanut and the bhaṭṭar pours the water of it into a bowl and thence over the liṅga, followed by water; then the curds, the *ghî*, the milk, the sugar mixed with water and the honey are successively poured on, and each followed by an ablution of water. Next the *pañchagavya* already described is brought and poured on, and again water, and lastly thin sandalwood ointment. Then he ties a cloth to the middle of the liṅga, and offers *naivêdya* of *mudgânnam* (Tam. *poṅgal*) made of boiled rice, green dhâl, ghî, pepper and cumin, first sprinkling it with water and then moving his hand five times towards the liṅga, saying:—*Mudgânnaṁ naivêdyê*. Next he waves a *dhûpa* with 4 or 5 lights on it whilst the sthânikâr rings the bell; then *dîpa*; then camphor, and the curtain is withdrawn and again drawn. The bhaṭṭar now takes the cloth off the liṅga and pours water over it, and a sthânikâr brings over the ten *kalaśas* of water in the order in which they have been already numbered, and gives them to the bhaṭṭar who pours them over the liṅga and gives the empty vessel to another sthânikâr. The *ghaṭam* (or large vessel) is next brought, and the sthânikâr holding it, the bhaṭṭar takes a mango leaf and dips the top of it into the water thrice dropping it each time on the *liṅga*. Then throwing the leaf into the Ardhamaṇḍapa, he takes the *śaṅkh* and the sthânikâr pours water into it which the bhaṭṭar pours

[37] To the great persons—all the great rivers—I present incense. [38] I present light.

[39] At the *Ârdrâ* feast (Tam. *Tiruvâdirai*) on the *Ârdrânakshatra* in Mârgaśîrsha, jackfruit, mangoes, pomegranates, tender cocoanuts, grapes, sugarcane and butter are added.

[40] सद्योजात and the five *Mantras* beginning with it are called *Brahmamantras*.

over the liṅga: this is repeated thrice. The sthânikâr now gives him the *ghaṭam*, which he empties also over the *liṅga*. Next the sthânikâr brings to the bhaṭṭar a vessel of Gaṅgâ water,[41] which he pours in the same way. Then a dry cloth is given with which to dry it. Next he washes all round the *liṅga* with water from the large vessel in the shrine. Then two cloths are brought for *vastra* and *upavastra*, which are tied round the middle and thrown over the top of the liṅga. The sthânikâr next brings the silver *tripuṇḍra* or mark, of three horizontal bars, and the bhaṭṭar, making the usual mark with sandal paste, presses the *tripuṇḍra* against it so that it sticks, and puts a *tilaka* or round mark over the central bar. Then silver eyes are brought which are similarly stuck on; and lastly a garland is put over it.

The sthânikârs come out of the maṇḍapa and pour water in front of the great Nandî—which is built up and plastered over, and is of great size. Water is also poured on all the other *liṅgas*. The bhaṭṭar takes sandal-wood paste in a cup and bilva leaves in a plate, and goes round to all the *liṅgas* and images, putting a *tilaka* on each, and laying two bilva leaves on the top.

The sthânikârs next bring with music from the kitchen, *mudgânnam* (T. *poṅgal*), *gulânnam* (or rice prepared with sugar, *ghî*, green dhâl, cardamoms, milk and cocoanut), *śambhârânnam* (rice cooked with tamarind, sesamum oil, chillies, mustard and salt), bread made of black gram (*phaseolus radiatus*), bread of rice-flour with sugar and *ghî*, a cake made of rice-flour drawn into threads like maccaroni, rice with milk, dhâl boiled with salt, curds, *ghî* and curries. This is brought into the Ardha-maṇḍapa near the shrine door and the bhaṭṭar sprinkles it with water, and taking a bilva leaf he places it at the foot of the *liṅga*, saying:—*Mayâ sarvân naivêdya-padârthân aṅgîkṛitam iti prârthanîyam* |

Then pouring water thrice he says, as before:—*arghyaṁ*, &c. Next he waves a bilva leaf towards the image, saying:—*Mudgânnaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *gulânnaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *śambhârânnaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *mâshâpûpaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *apûpaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *atirasaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *vichitrabhakshyaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *pâyasaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *sûpaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *âjyaṁ naivêdyâmi* | *dadhi naivêdyâmi* | and *vyañjanaṁ naivêdyâmi*[42]—waving his hand five times; meanwhile music is going on in the Nandî-maṇḍapa and a sthânikâr rings a bell in the temple.

The sthânikârs now remove all the food to a room to the south-east of the Amman shrine, beside the kitchen, delivering it into the charge of a Maṇiyakâran, who locks it up. In the temple a sthânikâr takes a bell in his left hand and a *dhûpa* and *dîpa* in the other, and ringing the bell gives the *dhûpa* to the bhaṭṭar and withdraws the curtain. The bhaṭṭar waves the *dhûpa*, saying—*dhûpam âghrâpayâmi*, and pours water thrice on the floor (*âchamanîya*); then waves a *dîpa* with one light (*êkamukha*) saying:—*dîpaṁ darśayâmi*; then a sthânikâr gives him a lighted *saptasthâna-dîpa* which he waves with both hands, saying:—*alaṁkâra-dîpaṁ darśayâmi*. He returns each in turn to a second sthânikâr. Then he pours water on the floor saying, *âchamanîya*, and receives the *pañcha-śirsha-nâga-dîpa*, which he waves saying, *dîpaṁ darśayâmi*; and so in succession he receives the *vṛishabha-dîpa*, the *purusha-mṛiga-dîpa*, the *nakshatra-dîpa* and the *kumbha-dîpa*, and waves each, first in a wavy line from above downwards, then thrice round going up on the left and down on the right side and lastly bringing it straight downwards, and saying the same words.[43] Here the sthânikâr stops ringing the bell, and the priest repeats the words:—

Dhûpaṁ dadyât prathamatô naivêdyaṁ dâpayêd guruḥ | *tâmbûlaṁ tu nivêdyâtha punar dîpaṁ tu darśayêt* || *mahâdîpaṁ tataḥpaśchâd bhûtarudrâṇi saṁjñikân* | *nâga-dîpaṁ śêsha-dîpaṁ purushâmṛiga-saṁjñikaṁ* || *Nakshatra-saṁjñikaṁ dîpaṁ pañchatrîṇêkavaktrakaṁ* | *ârâtrikaṁ cha sarvatra samârôpya samarchayêt* || *gandhapushpair*

[41] Pilgrims from the north often bring Ganges water which is received with great *éclat*, elephants and dancing girls going out with music to convey it to the temple.

[42] *Mudgânnam*—Rice cooked with green dhâl, butter, ginger and spice. *Gulânnam*—Rice cooked in milk, sugar, butter, grapes, &c. *Sambhârânnam*—Rice cooked in Tamarind juice, spiced and scented. *Mâshâpûpam*—Cakes prepared from black gram. *Apûpam*—Cakes. *Atirasam*—Cakes prepared from rice flour and sugar in equal parts. *Vichitrabhakshyam*—Various cakes and sweetmeats. *Pâyasam*—Milk boiled with sugar, grapes, &c. *Sûpam*—Cake prepared out of a kind of pulse. *Âjyam*—Ghî. *Dadhi*—Curd. And *Vyañjanam*—Curry stuffs.

[43] At a festival I observed that the bhaṭṭar who waved the lamps held down his hand after each, that one of the sthânikârs might pour a little water on the fingers of it, then he took a flower out of his left hand and threw it at or upon the dîpa he was about to receive. A second bhaṭṭar always repeats the formula at his left hand.

dhûpayuktaṁ digbandhaṁ chápakuṇṭhanaṁ | *pañchamudrâ-samâyuktaṁ dhênumudrâṁ pradarśayêt* || *pañchabrahma shaḍaṅgaiś cha paśchâdârâtrikaṁ nayêt* | *Nîrañjanê tu tatkâlê ghaṇṭâ śabda-nivarjitaṁ* || *nîrânjanaṁ tatô dattvâ madhyê châchamanîyakam* | *bhaśmâni darśayêt paśchât bhrûmadhyê tilakuṅkumân* ||

"First the incense is to be offered; then the priest presents the sacred meal; then after presenting betel-leaf the light must be presented; then the *mahâdîpa*; *bhûta rudra dîpas*; the *nâga dîpa;* the *sesha dîpa*; the *purushâmiṛiga dîpa;* the *nakshatrâ dîpa* which is arranged in three rows of five, three, and one respectively; all these *dîpas* each with its worship must be waved before the god; then the *digbanda* and *Apakuṇṭha* ceremony with sandal powder and incense must be performed; the *Pañchamudra* and *Dhênumudra* must be presented; the waving of the *Âratrî* with the five *Brahmas* and the six *angas* must be performed; then the waving of camphor ceremony must take place when the sound of the bell must be stopped; after the *Nîrânjana* the *âchamanîyaka* must be offered; then the sparkling mark of *kuṅkuma* must be placed between the eye-brows."

Then the bhaṭṭar pours water on the floor, saying, *âchamanîya*, and with ashes, kept by the door-jamb, he puts a *tilaka* on the *liṅga.* A sthânikâr next gives him a looking-glass which he shows to it; a small umbrella which he holds over it for a little; a *châmara* that he whisks twice or thrice, and a fan of peacock feathers which he waves for three or four minutes. Then he takes flowers and bilva leaves, and presenting them to the liṅga, with joined hands he repeats :—

Pûjâparâdha-śâtyarthaṁ kshamasvêti mayârchanâ | *Nâmnâ kṛitâchutârâdhyâ tanôtu tâvatîm mudam* ||

"For the atonement of any mistakes that I may have committed in my worship, I have now performed the worship. May it give you pleasure (*satisfaction*)!"

He next commences the *archanâ*; facing the north, and holding a tray in his hands with bilva leaves, the bhaṭṭar stands in the shrine, while the Adhyayanabhaṭṭar, standing in the Ardha-maṇḍapa says :—

Śivâya namaḥ | *Śaṁkarâya namaḥ* | *Mahâdêvâya namaḥ* | *Śaṁbhavê namaḥ* | *Paśupatayê namaḥ* | *Iśvarâya namaḥ* | *Chandraśêkharâya namaḥ* | *Khaṇḍaparaśavê namaḥ* | *&c.*, to 108 or 1008 names.

A sthânikâr has now brought back the food from the *arai* or pantry, and the bhaṭṭar sprinkles it with water and waves his hand from it towards the *liṅga*, saying :—

Kadalî-phalaṁ naivêdyâmi || *Pûgî-phala-samâyuktaṁ nâga-vallî-daḷair yutaṁ* | *karpûra-chûrṇa-samyuktaṁ tâmbûlaṁ pratigṛihyatâm* || *Tâmbûlaṁ naivêdyâmi.*

Next, he gives holy ashes (*vibhûti*), bilva leaves and water, to those who are worshipping in the Mahâmaṇḍapa. A sthânikâr then takes some boiled rice in a basin and covers it with a cloth, another brings a bell in his left hand and a *dhûpa* and *dîpa* in his right, and they go with music to all the *liṅgas* in the enclosure, the bhaṭṭar following. To each *liṅga* the sthânikâr lifts the corner of the cloth, the bhaṭṭar waves his hand, offering *naivêdya*, and presents the *dhûpa* and *dîpa*. The same is then done at the shrines of Vinâyaka, Subrahmaṇya, &c.

Next the bhaṭṭar pours water and lays down bilva leaves and rice on each end of the threshold of the east door of the Mahâmaṇḍapa. A copper image like a *triśûla* (Śîvali—a *Balidêvata*) fixed in a hemispherical base is now carried in a small palanquin by two men out at the east door of the Mahâmaṇḍapa, down the north steps, and round the shrine by the south, the bhaṭṭar following and putting water, bilva leaves, and food on all the *balipîṭhams*—of which there are nine to the south and three on the west of the shrine outside, and three in front of the Mahâmaṇḍapa. Coming round by the north the palanquin is carried out to the Nandî-maṇḍapa, round the north side of it, out into the second Prâkâra and to the Yâgaśâlâ in the north-east. There the sthânikâr puts fire into one of the *hômakuṇḍas* and the bhaṭṭar goes in and taking as much food thrice as his fingers will lift, he puts it into the fire, saying, *Dêvabalî, Bhûtabalî* and *Îśvarabalî.* The palanquin is now brought back to the great gilt *balipîṭham* behind the *dhvajastambha*, on which the bhaṭṭar pours water, and lays bilva leaves and a ball of food from the tray carried by the attendant sthânikâr, this he sprinkles with water and offers saying :—*Bâhya-dêvatâbhyô baliṁ naivêdyâmi.* This food is then given to the attendant whose duty it is to blow the *śaṅkh.* The bhaṭṭar then

pours the remaining water on the *balipîṭha* and throws the rest of the bilva leaves upon it, and the palanquin proceeds by the south side of the Nandî to the Mahâmaṇḍapa, ascending to the east door by the south steps. The bhaṭṭar now locks the door of the Ardha-maṇḍapa, and the third or *Udayakâlapûjâ* is closed, the time being now about noon.

The fourth service or *Uchhikâlapûjâ* begins soon after the close of the last, and is exactly like the first after the svâmi or image has been removed from the Amman temple, that it need not be gone over again. It lasts about an hour and a half, after which the doors are locked and all go to their houses for meals.

Again about half-past five the drummers and some of the musicians sit in the entrance porch and play with might and main in the shrillest of keys. At sunset the śaṅkh is blown in the porch and the lamps are lit, servants being appointed for that purpose. The sthânikârs then open the doors and light the temple,[44] and the bhaṭṭar, having bathed and having put on a clean cloth and ashes, comes and makes the *Sâyarakshâpûjâ*, which is a repetition of the third or *Udayakâla* described above. This is attended by many pilgrims, and lasts till 9 or 10 o'clock P.M.

The sixth and last *pûjâ—Ardhajâma*, is also a repetition of the first, including the *abhishêka*. After this, the bhaṭṭar puts the golden image into a small palanquin and waves a camphor light before it; then the sthânikârs, preceded by musicians and the attendant dancing girl, (*dâsî*) carry it out by the north steps from the east door, the bhaṭṭar presenting *dhûpa* and *dîpa* and offers betel-nut and leaf (*kâḷâñji*) in front of the Nandî, they bring it round the north side of the Nandî, in front of the treasury, (*karuvalam*) where again *dhûpa* and *dîpa* are presented, and again on the north-east opposite the store-room. It then proceeds east and south along the second Prâkâra to the south entrance into the Amman shrine. By the sides of the door out of the Prâkâra are statues of Tirumalai Sêtupati (on the east) and his son Raghunâtha Tirumalai Sêtupati,[45] where it stops, and the statues are honoured with garlands before it enters. At the south entrance of the Amman temple, the bhaṭṭar takes out the image and places it in the bed beside Amman. There a camphor light is waved; the sthânikâr brings milk, and the bhaṭṭar offers it as *naivêdya*.

He now comes out, and the dancing girl at the door repeats a *Têvâra ûñjal* or verse in honour of Śiva:—

Mandiramâm Śaduragiri kâlkaḷâka
Mahâmêru Ponmalaiyum viṭṭamâka
Vindaiyanda Śêshan iru kayiṟadâka
Viḷaṅgukinṟa Meyjñânam palakayâka
Tandiramâmâlayanum vaḍantoṭṭâṭṭa
Chaturmarayôr arukirundu sadaṅgukâṭṭa
Sundaramê tirumêninâdar paṅkil
Tuṇai Malai nâyakiyâr âḍirûñjal

"Mandara and Saduragiri mountains are turned as it were into two pillars for the suspension of the swing; Mahâmêru and Ponmalai are converted into beams; the powerful Śêsha has made himself into two cords; the true wisdom itself which shines supreme is turned into a plank; Vishṇu and Brahma hold the cord and sway the swing to and fro; the learned Vêdic Brâhmaṇs stand near and perform the necessary rites; the beautiful goddess Malainâyaki (*Sans.* Pârvatavardhinî) sits by your side. Let us rock the swing."

And a Paṇḍâram (*Ôduvâr*) also repeats another *têvâra*.

Mânana nôkki vaitêki tannaiyôru mâyaiyâl
Kânadil vavviya kârarakkan uyir Seṟravan
Yênamilappugaḻannal seyitavi ramêchhura
Ñânamum nanporuḷâgi ninratoru nanmaiyê.

"That the daughter of Vidêha (Sîta) seeing the deer mistook it, without knowing that it was a Râkshasa come in disguise to entrap her, has after all taken a beautiful turn by establishing for ever the name of Râmêśvaram."

The sthânikâr meanwhile swings the cot to and fro and fans the images, and people attending for worship are supplied with sacred ashes.

Other sthânikârs now lock and seal the doors of all the shrines; all go out, and the sthânikâr counts the jewels on the images, closes and seals the door, locking the *prâkâra* doors and departs about midnight.

[44] The shrine being perfectly dark, lights are kept burning behind the liṅga all day.

[45] In Ś. 1562 Tirumalai is said to have given to the temple the villages of Puliyaṅkuḍi, Kumârakurichi and Karumal with its hamlets, and a copper-plate deed; and in Ś. 1570 Raghunâtha gave Muḻuttakam, Nambitalai and Âttûr, with separate copper-plate deeds for the first, and the other two. None of these copper-plates are now to be found in the temple.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

KUKKUṬAPÂDA-GIRI AND KUKKUṬA SAṄGHÂRÂMA.

SIR,—On the fourth page of vol. XV of the *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India* is this passage :—" Mr. Beal has accused me of confounding the '*Vihâr* of the Cock's foot,' which was just outside the city of Pâṭaliputra, or Pâtna, with the '*Hill* of the Cock's foot,' which, according to Hwen Thsang, was 16 miles to the east of Gayâ. But it is Mr. Beal himself who has made a mistake, as I particularly mention in my report (vol. I, p. 16), that 'there was a monastery also of the same name (*Kukkuṭa-pâda Vihâra*), but this was *close to* Pâṭaliputra, or Pâtna.' The name of Kurkihâr I took to be *only* a shortened form of Kurak Vihâr, which must certainly have referred to a monastery. In fact, no Buddhist establishment could have existed without a monastery, and I presume that the monastery of Kurkihâr was known as the Kukkuṭa-pâda-giri Vihâra, or 'Vihâr of the Cock's-foot hill,' while the monastery at Pâṭaliputra was simply the Kukkuṭa-pâda Vihâra, or Vihâr of the Cock's-foot."

In reference to this extract I ask your permission to make the following remarks :—In the first place, I fail to understand what General Cunningham means when he says, I "accuse him" of so and so. In the note in my book (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 132), to which reference is made, I was speaking of the confusion which exists in reference to this "hill of the Cock's-foot." First of all Fahian places it three li south of Buddha Gayâ; then Stas. Julien in his Index (*Voy. des Pèl. Boud.* tome II, p. 452) refers to the "Koukkouṭârâma," and says it is the same as the convent alluded to by Hiuen Tsiang (tome I, p. 139), which was near Pâtna, and yet, he adds, the correct form is "Koukkouṭapâda Saṅghârâma," and refers us to tome III, p. 6, where the allusion is to a hill of "the Cock's-foot," at least fifty miles from the convent near Pâtna. Then I add that Burnouf in his *Introduction de l'hist. Ind. Bud.* (p. 366n.), has stated that the celebrated hermitage of "the Cock" was situated on the mountain called Kukkuṭapâda, near Gayâ; after this I go on thus :—" To add to the confusion—the Archæological Surveyor's *Report* (1861, p. 15), identifies Kurkihâr, about 16 miles to the east of Gayâ, with the Kukkuṭârâma, and then adds that 'this situation agrees exactly with Fah-hian's account, excepting that there is no three-peaked hill in the neighbourhood." "I am at a loss" (the note continues) "to know to what account he refers. On the whole, I prefer to consider the hermitage and the hill as distinct localities; the former near Pâtna, the latter some 15 miles to the E. or S.E. of Gayâ."

It will be seen from the above that I make no accusation, but I say that General Cunningham's account increases the confusion which exists in regard to the situation of the convent known as the Kukkuṭârâma, for he states that "the situation of Kurkihâr agrees exactly with Fah-hian's account," but Fah-hian places the "Cock's hill" three li to the south of Gayâ, and this does not agree with the position of Kurkihâr, which is 16 miles or so to the east of that place, neither does Fa-hian say anything about a three-peaked hill, and yet General Cunningham remarks that "the situation of Kurkihâr agrees exactly with Fa-hian's account, excepting that there is no three-peaked hill in the neighbourhood."

I think it will be seen that the difficulty before me at the time I wrote the note was (as indeed I state) to know to what account General Cunningham refers. But doubtless I overlooked the allusion made "to the monastery of the same name close to Pâṭaliputra" (although the names were not presumably the same, as the Surveyor-General remarks in the extract given above from the XVth vol. of his *Reports*), and to that extent I would wish to modify my criticism.

But the matter has become more involved, and the confusion worse confounded, by what has been written since 1861. I hope General Cunningham will pardon me for making some further remarks on what he has written (undoubtedly by oversight, yet misleading to those less informed than himself) on this subject. In the *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 460, he says :—" According to Fah-hian's account the hill of the Cock's-foot was three *li*, or half a mile, to the south of the holy tree of Buddha-Gayâ. For 3 *li* we should no doubt read 3 *yôjanas* or 21 miles, which agrees very closely with Hwen Thsang's distance of 17 miles." I had myself proposed to substitute *yojanas* for *lis* in Fa-hian's account (*Fa-hian*, p. 132 n.), and I was therefore gratified to find that General Cunningham thought, in 1871, that there was "no doubt" this was the right solution (although only a partial one,—for we must also substitute *east* for *south* in the pilgrim's narrative) of the difficulty. But now all this is changed, for in the 15th vol. of his *Reports*, printed in 1882 (to which reference was first made in this letter) I find to my astonishment the following remark (p. 4, n. 2) :—" Fa-hian himself has made a mistake in placing the Cock's-foot hill only 3 *li*, or half a mile, to the south of Pâṭaliputra. Mr. Beal would correct this to 3 *yôjanas*, or 21 miles. But as the actual

distance is over 50 miles, I would suggest 300 *li*, or 50 miles, as the true reading."

But, where are we? Fa-hian says nothing about Pâṭaliputra; and I had thought General Cunningham was satisfied, without doubt, that three *yôjanas* must be substituted for 3 *li*, in the Chinese text. This note certainly adds to the previous confusion.

Then, again, with reference to the "three-peaked hill;" in 1861 the Surveyor-General remarks that "there is no three-peaked hill in the neighbourhood of Kurkihâr, but there are three bare and rugged hills which rise boldly out of the plain about half a mile to the north of the village." (*Reports*, vol. I, p. 16.) These he identifies with the Cock's-foot mountain of Hiuen Thsiang. In the *Ancient Geography*, p. 460, this is repeated. But in vol. XV, p. 5, we read:—"Hwen Tsiang describes the hill as lofty and scarped, with three bold peaks that spring into the air. These peaks I have already identified with the three peaks of the Murali mountain, which stands three miles to the north-north-east of the town of Kurkihâr."

Are these "three peaks of the Murali mountain three miles to the N.N.E. of the town," the same as the "three bare and rugged hills about half a mile to the north of the village"? Here the confusion is as great as ever. And I am unable to find the reference to the Murali mountain. There is, indeed, allusion in the first vol. of the *Reports* to a distinct peak of the Barâbar group of hills which is called Murali (p. 42), but the Barâbar district is 16 miles north of Gayâ. Possibly the right reference has escaped me; but yet it is confusing, for the three peaks of a mountain either half a mile to the north of the village, or three miles to the N.N.E., would seem to correspond with the description of the Cock's-foot mount given by Hiuen Tsiang, and yet we are told, "There is no *three-peaked hill* in the neighbourhood of Kurkihâr." (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 460).

But once more: General Cunningham on p. 4 of his *Reports*, vol. XV, says, that Fa-hian's account is as follows:—"The great Chia-yeh (Kâśyapa) is at present in this mountain." It is plain, therefore, that when Fa-hian wrote he was supposed to be in the Kukkuṭa-pâda-giri. He was there, as Hiuen Tsiang's account plainly says, awaiting the coming of Maitrêya Buddha, to whom he was to deliver the golden robe presented to Śâkya Buddha by his aunt Prajâpatî. Accordingly Fa-hian tells us a little lower down that in a fastness within the mount, the "entire body," that is, the human body of Kâśyapa, is enshrined. But General Cunningham, quoting from a wrong translation of the Chinese text would resolve all this into "a full length image of Chia-yeh placed in a niche." Of course anyone has a right to translate a Chinese text. But I should have thought that some small acquaintance with Buddhist legend was desirable in the case of a person undertaking to translate a Buddhist book. But in any case I shall be borne out by all acquainted with the subject (and by none, I believe, more than by General Cunningham, after consideration) that the legend of Kâśyapa requires the translation I have given of his "entire, or, uncorrupted body," being still preserved in the Cock's-foot mount, awaiting the advent of Maitrêya.

This is manifest from Hiuen Tsiang's account, which General Cunningham refers to on p. 5 of the same volume. Here we are distinctly told that Kâśyapa ascended the north side of the mount, and passed to the S.W. side. There, being balked by the opposing rock, he opened a way for himself, and passed through the mount to the north-east summit; there he sat down with the robe of gold tissue in his hand; then by his spiritual power he caused the three peaks to unite as a sierra[1] over him, he being underneath the middle one. There he will await the coming of Maitrêya, who will receive from him the saintly robe, then Kâśyapa *will* ascend into the air, exhibit miracles, and his body will be consumed by self-produced fire, and thus men will be led to believe in Maitrêya.

This is the account of Hiuen Tsiang. Unfortunately Stas. Julien has missed the key to the interpretation, and translated it as though Maitrêya *had* come. But the Chinese is plain enough, and the mere fact that Kâśyapa was still supposed to be in the mountain when Fa-hian wrote his account, taken together with the fact that Maitrêya, the lord of the world, has *not* yet come, would be sufficient to show that this is the true version if there were any doubt about it; but there is none, for as I said before the Chinese is plain enough.

I have made the foregoing remarks not with any desire to find fault, much less to accuse, any one, but I have thought it right to explain myself, and to point out what I conceive to be errors of translation, and other inadvertencies, which gain authority by appearing without remark in the pages of such valuable works as the *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*.

Wark, Northumberland. S. BEAL.

[1] Julien gives it "*s'élévent en dôme,*" *Mém.* vol. II, p. 8.

THE TIGER AND THE CAT.

Tigers at first were ignorant until the king of the tigers once came to the cat and begged him for lessons. The cat consented, and taught the tiger to watch, to crouch, to spring, and the other accomplishments familiar to the race. At last, when he thought he had learnt everything the cat had to impart, the tiger made a spring at his teacher, intending to tear and eat him. Instantly the cat ran nimbly up a tree whither the tiger could not follow. "Come down," cried the tiger, "come down at once." "No, no," replied the cat, "how fortunate for me that I did not teach you more, or you might have been able to pursue me even here!"[1]

BOOK NOTICES.

CATALOGUE du MUSÉE GUIMET: Première partie—INDE, CHINE et JAPON, précédée d'un aperçu sur les Religions de l'extrême Orient, &c., par L. de Milloüé. Nouv. ed. (Lyon, 1883).

CATALOGUE AND HANDBOOK of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS in the INDIAN MUSEUM, by John Anderson, M.D., &c. Part I. Aśoka and Indo-Scythian Galleries. (Calcutta, 1883).

The importance of good museums both for the scientific study of history, mythology, ethnology, art, products and manufactures, and for the purposes of general instruction and education is now recognised, and can hardly be over-estimated. Museums are beginning to be no longer mere stores for 'curiosities,' where the contents were generally arranged at hap-hazard, without any idea of classification or aim to be instructive. Unfortunately too many are still so arranged, and their real public value entirely overlooked. Nor can we hope that it should be otherwise until men of influence and means, as well as governments, take an active interest in developing their utility. M. Émile Guimet, of Lyon, has set a noble example. After a mission to India, China and Japan, where he made large collections, he has built and endowed in his native city a large and very complete museum. Opened by the Congress of French Orientalists in 1878, this museum contains:—(1). A library of books and MSS. in Sanskrit, Tamiḷ, Siṁhalese, Tibetan, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, and in European languages, treating specially of religions. To these are to be added French translations of such as have not been already rendered into that language. Grammars and dictionaries of almost all the dialects of India, and of the ancient languages of Egypt, Greece, Rome and Phœnicia, will be available for persons desiring to study ancient or oriental languages. (2). A museum of Religions—containing all the gods of India, China, Japan, Egypt, Greece and the Roman empire. (3). A school in which Eastern Students may learn French, and Frenchmen study the living languages and religions of the far East. This school has native professors of different creeds (there are six Orientals in it we believe), who explain the different mythologies and the illustrative objects in the museum.

The aim of M. Guimet in establishing this magnificent foundation was "to facilitate the researches of scholars, and still more to extend—by popularising—the taste for Oriental studies and the religions of the East."

Notwithstanding the far greater interest that Britain has in India and the East, there is no such establishment so handsomely endowed, either in England or India, for the pursuit of Oriental studies. The only institution of the kind is the Indian Institute at Oxford, still in its infancy, and which is so largely, if not exclusively, due to the personal exertions of Prof. Monier Williams, but which, if properly supported, promises well.

The Musée Guimet at Lyon is a very elegant and commodious building, covering an area of fully 3000 square yards and of three stories, and since its establishment and the publication of the first *Catalogue* in 1880 (in 112 pages 8vo) the collections have grown so rapidly that the new edition is divided into three volumes—the first alone containing over 330 pages 12mo, and embracing, besides a short introductory sketch of the principal Oriental religions, only the collections from India, China and Japan. The second part will be devoted to the religions of Ancient Egypt, Greece, Italy and Gaul, with a list of donors to the museum; and the third will describe the collection of the ceramic works of China and Japan.

The library, we learn, "contains more than 12,000 volumes in all languages, printed and in manuscript, relative to the religions, history, philosophy and literature of different peoples, voyages and travels, ancient and modern, palm-leaf MSS. from India, Japan, &c." The walls are decorated with Chinese, and Japanese paintings, and with a special series made by M. Félix Régamey in India, China, and Japan. There are also specimens of Chinese, Singhalese and other coins, objects of jade, &c. &c. In the collection are numerous images, of bronze, brass, stone, &c., from all parts. The whole forms a most important collection of mythological and artistic objects. Among them, we observe (p. 48), a stone head (probably of a Bôdhisattva) from the Élurâ Caves.

[1] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng*. Vol. LII, p. 88.

What Vandal was allowed to break this off and carry it away to France?

Nor is this all; besides the *Reports* of the Provincial Oriental Congress of Lyons (1878) in two volumes, the Musée issues its *Annales* in quarto volumes, of which four have already appeared, and other three are promised immediately. The first volume, of 386 pages, issued in 1880, contains fifteen separate papers, of which two are translations of articles by Dr. Eitel and the Rev. Mr. Alwis. The second volume (1881) is of 578 pages, and contains :—(1). A translation of Prof. Max Müller's paper on "Sanskrit Texts discovered in Japan," from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (N.S., vol. XII, pp. 153-188). (2). Ô-*mi-to-ching* or the smaller edition of the *Sukhâvatî-vyûha* as translated into Chinese by Kumârajîva (A. D. 402), rendered into French by MM. Ymaïzumi and Ymata,—to which is added a facsimile of the Sanskrit text, but the editor does not say from what MS., or whether it has been corrected in any way. (3). The Metre or Prosody of Bharata being the Sanskrit text of the latter half of the 5th and the whole of the 6th adhyâyas of the *Nâṭya-śâstra*, with a French version by M. Paul Regnaud. (4). A. Csoma Körösi's "Analysis of the *Kanjur*" from the XXth volume of the *Asiatic Researches* (1834), translated into French with some notes and additions by M. Léon Feer: some seven separate indexes and vocabularies are added to this translation, but unfortunately—from their referring to book and section, rather than to page, and from the absence of head-lines indicating the sections in the text—these indexes do not facilitate references so much as they ought to have done. At the end are six pages of errata in small type, again without reference to the pages, and with the preliminary notice that only the more glaring mistakes in the Sanskrit names are corrected, the Tibetan titles and the French text (in which are many mistakes) being left to the reader's care.

The third volume (1881) contains a translation of Em. de Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, by M. de Milloüé, the Director of the Musée. The errata to this volume consist chiefly in the strange mistake of "après J.-C." for "avant J.-C.," but on p. 32 we observe the omission of about a line of the original (p. 48 top). It may be questioned whether the funds of the Musée would not have been better spent in translating Köppen's valuable work. And the same may be said of the version of Dr. Edkins's *Religion in China*, which occupies the greater part of the fourth volume. The other three papers in it relate to Egyptology and classical mythology.

Besides these larger volumes the Musée issues its *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, edited by M. Maurice Vernes, assisted by other scholars. Of this magazine a number of about 144 pages appears every second month. With such potent accessories the museum could scarcely fail to be a success.

Dr. Anderson's *Catalogue of the Indian Museum* at Calcutta, Part I, is also only a section of the complete catalogue, but so far as it goes it makes painfully manifest how imperfect are even our best collections in India compared with what has been attained by the efforts of single individuals like M. Guimet and Dr. Jagor in Europe. The Indian Museum, founded in 1866, received the archæological collections of the Bengal Asiatic Society as the nucleus of this department, and this has been enriched since by sculptures from Bhârhut, Gandhâra, and Buddha-Gayâ,—very important treasures indeed; but how many of the Jamâlgarhi figures have been carried off by private individuals, and sold or presented to foreign museums, or are in private hands, and so lost to the public—whether in India or England? Our Government has need to bestir itself if it would secure either for Indian or English museums a fairly complete historical representation of the art and mythology of India and the East. The private donors to the Indian Museum are strikingly few, we could wish Dr. Anderson would give in Part II, a complete list of them, with references to the pages where the donations are described. With the exception of Dr. Râjêndralâla Mitra, C.I.E., we have observed the name of no native among them; yet how easily could many a native afford help to form a national collection of which India might be proud! Natives complain of Government allowing foreign libraries to purchase copies of manuscripts which are by no means unique, yet they do not loyally come forward to aid in forming either national or provincial collections of unique sculptures, coins, copperplates and manuscripts, but either hoard them to be destroyed or lost, or sell them clandestinely to caterers for museums in Austria, Germany, &c.

Dr. Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook* is too much of the latter to be a clear and handy *Catalogue*. The Index, though good, does not help this, and the Table of Contents, where it might have been remedied, is far too brief to do so. But much judicious care has been spent upon it, and the compilation is a most creditable one. When completed it will show the wants of the Museum, and may we not hope that all who can will help to make it as complete as it really ought to be—embracing a full representation of the art, history and mythology of the Hindu races, as well as of their ethnology in all its bearings!

INDEX.

* Abbreviations, as in former volumes.

ERRATA IN VOL. XII.

p. 43b, l. 3 fr. bot. *for* Jmmegiljin *read* Immegiljin

p. 47b, l. 12, *for* olpiṁ *read* olpiṁ

,, l. 13, *dele* the last two of the marks, indicating illegible letters, after the word *śira*

,, l. 15, *for* The *read* the

p. 47b, l. 35, *for* Dharmâprau *read* Dharmâpura

p. 50, Table V. 1st col. *for* 1634 *read* 1664

53*a*, l. 21, *for* Gargya *read* Garga

56*a*, n. l. 3 *for* Açoka *read* Aśôka

57*b*, 2nd fr. bot. *for c* and naturally *ch*, *read ch* and naturally *chh*

60*b*, l. 37, *for* p. 58*b*, *read* 56*b*

61*a*, l. 4 *for gṛhiṇî read grihiṇî*

61*b*, l. 14 from bottom read *Beiträgen zur*

61*b*, l. 20 after *Vedá*, only a comma.

63*b* l. 13 *for maŕica read maricha*

69*a* l. 19 *for c read ch*

p. 148 [1] *for* ओं *read* ओ.

,, [3] *for* °रबिन्द° *read* °रविन्द°.

p. 148*b*, l. 7, *for* bring *read* brings

,, note l. 3 from bottom, for वंशान् *read* °वँशान्.

p. 149 [22] join °श्र[त]हृदयः.

p. 149*a*, l. 5 from bottom, *for* रन्सा°. *read* रान्स°.

,, l. 3 from bottom, *read* तदाज्ञा°.

,, l. 1 from bottom, *for* नू *read* नु.

p. 149*b*, l. 1 from bottom, *read* obliterated; read समरशतजय

p. 200*b*, l. 39, *for* Gûrjarât, *read* Gujarât

p. 200*a*, Tr. l. 19, and 203*b*, notes, last line, for *kamaṅḍalu* read *kamaṇḍalu*

p. 228, l. 1, *for* KṚISHṆARÂJA I *read* KṚISHṆARÂJA I

p. 231*a*, l. 6, *for* + *read* × in two places

,, l. 8, *for* + *read* ×

,, l. 16, *for* Vikramâ *read* Vikrama

p. 231*a*, note, last line, *for* Vikramâ *read* Vikrama

p. 232, note 14, l. 4, *for* karkasaṁ *read* Karkasaṁ

p. 232*b*, l. 1, *for* 864, *read* 486

p. 233, note 22, l. 8, *for* Manati *read* Mêguti

,, ,, l. 9, *dele* below he gives A.D. 635;

,, ,, l. 10, *for* give *read* gives

,, note 26, l. 3, *for* Sâhasâṅka *read* Sâhasaṅka

p. 234*a*, l. 42, *for* Paulus all Yunâni *read* Paulus al Yunâni

,, l. 45, *for* Va-âha *read* Varâha

p. 234*b*, l. 19 *delete* comma *after* -varman

p. 150*a*, l. 19 from bottom *for* Piṅḍî *read* Piṇḍî,

p. 150*a*, l. 33, for *Vrittaviḷása read* the *Vṛittaviḷása*

p. 179*a*. line 18, *for* in *read* on

p. 185, [7] *for* ॥ [34] *read* ॥ [45]

,, [9] *for* पाराहणकं ग्राम : *read* पाराहणकं नाम ग्रामः

[15] *for* प्रक्षेपणीयःभूमि° *read* प्रक्षेपणीयः भूमि°

[16] *for* °ब्रह्मदाय *read* °ब्रह्मदाय°

[2] *for* विदु° *read* विद्यु°.

[4] *for* वेदव्या- *read* वैदव्या-

[6] *for* भवैष्ण- *read* भूर्वैष्ण-.

[9] *for* साधू: *read* साधुः

p. 185 footnote, *insert* l. 7, read सहस्रशोभुञ्जत, l. 17, read सत्तस्वेकोन°. Plate III.

p. 186, [13] *for* तथा[।] *read* तथ[ा].

,, [16] *for* ब्रह्माण्डं *read* ब्रह्माडं.

p. 186*a*, l. 24 of translation, *for* Brâhman *read* Brahman.

p. 187*b*, l. 15 from bottom, for (*forced her*) read (*and forced her*).

p. 188*b*, l. 9, *for* K ṛ i t a v i r y a *read* K ṛ i t a v î r y a

,, l. 16 from bottom, for *Dhruvaraja* read *Dhruvarâja*.

,, l. 36, *for* r a j a, *read* r â j a

p. 189*a*, l. 10 from bottom, for *Doḍdhi* read *Dhoḍḍhi*.

p. 190*a*, l. 7, *for* G o v i n d a r â j a *read* G ô v i n d a r â j a

p. 200*a*, l. 28, *for* Kalyâṅa *read* Kalyâṇa

p. 246, note 34, l. 2, *for* see Inscr. *read* see *e.g.* Inscr.

,, ,, 39, l. 6, *for* Agraharâs *read* Agrahâras

p. 247*a*, note, l. 4, for *hárárthaṁ* read *hárárthaṁ*

p. 247*b*, note, l. 2, for *dityaláliyo* read *dityaláḷiyo*

p. 274*b*, l. 7 from bottom, *for* and on the seal *read* and on the Asirgarh seal.

p. 274*b*, l. 5 from bottom, *for* vol. III, p. 378, *read* vol. V, p. 482.

p. 275*b*, l. 12, *for* श्रीम्मेहाराजा हि[डर्मे] *read* श्रीम्मेहाराजाहि[डर्मे]

p. 275*b*, l. 13, *for* सुनोमेहाराज मही *read* सुनोमेहाराजमही

p. 315*b*, note, *for* Dharmakartas *read* Dharmakartâs

p. 317*a*, l. 24 from bot., *for* Svâmi *read* Svâmî

p. 317*a*, note 7, *for* pujâ *read* pûjâ in two places.

p. 317*b*, l. 29 from bot., for *puṇyáhavâchana* read *puṇyáhavâchanam*

p. 319*b*, l. 8, for *árghyam* read *arghyam*

p. 320*b*, l. 1, for *nandikálau* read *nandíkálau*

p. 321*a*, note, l. 3 from bot., for *Pañchagvyê* read *Pañchagavyê*

„ l. 36, for *dikástotra* read *di-kástotra*

p. 240*b*, l. 25, *for* the compilations *read* the *Śrautasûtras* and the compilations

„ l. 29, *for* learn regarding *read* hear of

p. 241*a*, l. 22, *for* Bhagîrathî *read* (Bhâgîrathî)

„ l. 26, *for* Mahâbhirava, *read* Mahâbhairava

p. 242*b*, l. 33, *for* Arya, *read* Ârya

p. 245, l. 14, *for* क्र *read* क्त

p. 246*a*, l. 8, *for* who bathed *read* who (viz. the Bhâraśivas) bathed

p. 246, note 31, l. 5, for *ansa* read *ansa-*

p. 323*a*, l. 31, from bot., for *kóshtê* read *kóshṭê*

p. 325*a*, l. 31, for *purushámiṛiga* read *purushámṛiga*; and for *nakshatrá* read *nakshatra*

p. 325*a*, l. 17, for *digbanda* read *digbandha*

p. 325*a*, l. 24, for *Nîránjana* read *Niráñjana*

p. 326*b*, l. 15, for *sadaṅgukátta* read *śaḍaṅgukáṭṭa*

p. 326*b*, l. 18, *for* Saduragiri *read* Śaduragiri

p. 326*b*, l. 28, *for* Pârvatavardhinî *read* Parvatavardhinî

p. 326*b*, l. 33, for *Seṛṛavan* read *śeṛṛavan*